



IRELAND  
PAST  
AND  
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ALEXANDER SULLIVAN.



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# IRELAND

PAST AND PRESENT.

EMBRACING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE

## LAND QUESTION

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

By DAVID POWER CONYNGHAM, LL. D.,

*Author of The Irish Brigade, and its Campaigns; Lives of the Irish Saints  
and Martyrs; etc., etc., etc.*

ALSO, A VERY FULL AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF

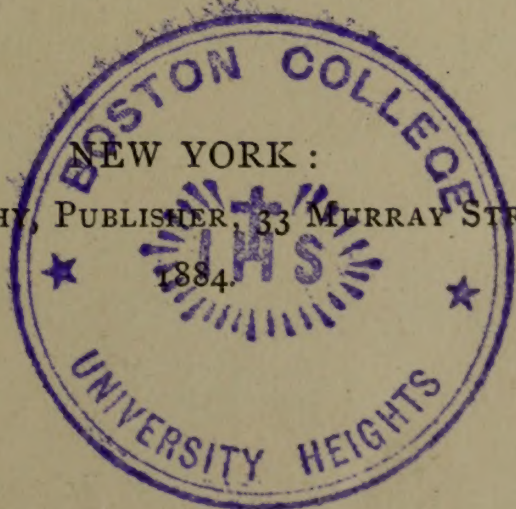
## THE PENAL LAWS,

BY PARNELL,

AND TALKS ABOUT IRELAND, BY REDPATH.

NEW YORK :  
JAMES SHEEHY, PUBLISHER, 33 MURRAY STREET.

1884.





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CHARLES STEWART PARNELL,

THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY, THE APOSTLE OF LIBERTY,

THE GRACCHUS OF IRELAND,

THE TRIED AND TRUSTED ADVOCATE OF THE PEOPLE'S

RIGHT TO LIVE IN THE LAND OF THEIR BIRTH

AND ENJOY THE FRUITS OF ITS SOIL.

**THE STERN OPPONENT OF ENGLISH MISRULE,**

HE STANDS BEFORE THE WORLD UNASSAILABLE IN HIS PURITY,

*REMARKABLE IN HIS WISDOM,*

*AND UNFLINCHING IN HIS RESOLUTION.*

GLORIOUS IN HIS NOBLE STRUGGLE ON BEHALF OF AN

OPPRESSED PEOPLE ;

TRIUMPHANT EVEN IN A DUNGEON,

FOR BRITISH TYRANNY FAILED TO STILL HIS TONGUE,

OR CRUSH HIS HEARTFELT ASPIRATIONS AND SCATHING

APPEALS ON BEHALF OF WHAT OUGHT TO BE A FREE PEOPLE

ENJOYING THE BLESSINGS OF THEIR OWN LAWS

ON THEIR OWN LAND, IN A

**FREE AND INDEPENDENT COUNTRY.**

2042



DEDICATION.

TO THE PATRIOTIC PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

WHO ARE SO GALLANTLY WAGING AGAINST THE

DESPOTIC POWER OF ENGLAND AND HER MERCILESS

ALLIES, THE IRISH LANDLORDS,

ONE OF THE MOST

HEROIC AND SELF SACRIFICING STRUGGLES ON RECORD,

FOR THE GOD-GIVEN RIGHTS OF

LIVING IN THEIR NATIVE LAND AND ENJOYING THE

FRUITS OF THE SOIL AS CREATED BY

THEIR OWN INDUSTRY,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

## INTRODUCTION.

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WE live in a utilitarian age, an age of progress, rapid thought and rapid action. Few men have the time or leisure to devote years or months to abstruse studies, so that history, like everything else, to be popular, must be condensed and reduced to the conception of the times.

Men who cannot, or will not, wade through the columns of a voluminous history will anxiously devour a concise and condensed one, embracing in as few words as possible all the salient points of a more elaborate work.

On this account I have been tempted to condense into the present volume all that is necessary and valuable to know in Irish history, at the same time not losing sight of the fact that great and exciting events demand a lucid and detailed statement.

Impressed by the progressive idea of the times and the tendency to condense and concentrate, I have tried to condense the salient points in the history of Ireland into as brief a space as possible.

We have given the reader a brief sketch of Ireland's earliest settlers and history; of her growth as a nation, of her increasing wealth and power, of her military greatness, her religious sanctity, and also of her subjection to English rule and domin-



ion. With, as it were, a glimpse at the past, we have placed before our readers an elaborate statement of recent and exciting events. We give an elaborate account of the Rebellion of '98, the Repeal agitation, the events of '48, the Fenian rising, and last but not least, a full history of that wonderful social reformation, the Land League movement. The work, is in fact, a lucid condensation of Irish history from the earliest settlement of the country down to the present day.

In addition, we have collected the views and opinions of some of the foremost thinkers and ablest political writers of the day, on the causes that have produced such wretchedness, want, and misery in Ireland. The opinions set forth by these writers and speakers cannot be deemed in any sense partial or prejudiced, yet they all concur in laying at England's door the sin and shame of Ireland's deplorable condition.

A nation that cannot or will not rule a people subject to its authority but by coercion and military despotism, is unfit to govern, and the governed owes no allegiance to such a power. As well might a member of a firm who was systematically robbing his partner insist upon the latter continuing the partnership, as that England should insist upon the alliance between herself and Ireland. With the latter it is a matter of necessity, not choice, and as soon as a favorable opportunity offers to dissolve the hated partnership she will not fail to embrace it.

There never was, nor never shall be, any bonds of affection between the two countries, for wrong, oppression, and coercion on the part of England have driven the iron so deeply into the heart of Ireland, that the sore will continue to fester and rankle even if the barb were removed.

It is a sad commentary upon England's rule in Ireland to-



day, that, since the Union, famines have been periodical, deaths from starvation can be counted by the million, while the decimation of the peasantry by artificial famines, evictions, starvation, and forced emigration, is something fearful to contemplate.

The population of Ireland in 1846 was over nine millions; then came the terrible famine years, which swept the Irish, like a plague, off the face of the earth. While the world stood aghast at the terrible picture of poverty, wretchedness, and ruin Ireland presented, and with unbounded charity poured money and bread-stuff to the aid of the famishing people, England closed her ports against their charity, allowed millions of bushels of corn to rot in her granaries, and her leading organ, *The London Times*, savagely cried out: "The Irish are gone with a vengeance, the Lord be praised!"

The terrible famine had desolated the land, decades of years have passed over, another famine has since done its work, and to-day Ireland's population is only a little over half what it was some thirty-five years ago.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Ireland hates England profoundly and deeply, and with an undying hatred which even time can scarcely eradicate.

In this work we have tried to delineate Ireland's torture and England's bloody reign in a truthful and impartial spirit, though we must confess that it requires more than angelic patience on the part of an author with hot Irish blood in his veins, and Irish sympathies in his heart, to write on such a subject with patience and equanimity of temper.

We have added to the work an excellent chronological index of dates and remarkable events, which will be found of great interest, and also the muster-roll of the officers of the Volunteers of 1782., etc., etc.



< In conclusion, let us hope that Ireland has passed through her darkest hour—her bitterest sorrow,—and that kind Providence will soon remove the poisoned cup from her lips, and that she will ere long stand before the world glorious in her disenthralled beauty, a star in the firmament of Nations, and a gem among the Republics of Europe.

THE AUTHOR.

NEW YORK, March 17th, 1883.







D. P. CONYNGHAM. LL. D.



## MAJOR DAVID POWER CONYNGHAM, LL.D.

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D. P. Conyngham, editor of the *New York Tablet*, died on Sunday evening, April 1st, 1883, at his residence in New York, of pneumonia. So sudden and unlooked for was his death, that the first most of his friends learned of it was from the obituary in the daily papers.

Major Conyngham was born near Killenaule, County Tipperary, Ireland, about fifty years ago, and inherited a comfortable patrimony in the district.

He came of that class known in Ireland as gentlemen farmers, and was closely allied to some who have left their mark in the record of patriotism and literature. He was a cousin of the late Charles Kickham. He was educated at the Queen's University, Cork, where he gave evidence of literary inclinations at an early age. While still very young, James Duffy, of Dublin, published two works of fiction from his pen, which gave promise of future success. Intended by his parents for the priesthood, he felt the want of a vocation, abandoned the idea, and left to his brother, the late Rev. Maurice Conyngham, of this city, that distinction so much coveted in Irish families.

Having become mixed up with national affairs, in the rising of '48, young Conyngham found it advisable to leave home.

He came to America in 1863 as war correspondent of a prominent Dublin journal, and with letters of com-

mendation from Smith O'Brien and P. J. Smyth to General Thomas Francis Meagher.

He was engaged as war correspondent by the *New York Herald*, and served as volunteer aid-de-camp on General Meagher's staff. He accompanied Sherman in his "March to the Sea," and earned fresh laurels as a soldier and writer. He participated in most of the engagements; was wounded at the battle of Resaca, and was personally congratulated on the battle-field for his gallantry by General Schofield. After the war he received from the Department at Washington the complimentary commission of Major.

In 1866 Major Conyngham became proprietor of the *Irish People*, the organ of the Fenian Brotherhood in those days, and in 1868 founded the *Staten Island Leader*, in conjunction with the late P. H. Gill. Disposing of his interest, he became part proprietor of the *Sunday Democrat*.

Ceasing connection with the *Democrat*, Major Conyngham became an attache of the Post-Office Department, under Postmaster James, which position he resigned to take editorial management of the *New York Tablet*, with the Messrs. Sadlier, a few years ago. He gave that paper a strong national as well as Catholic tone, which added greatly to its popularity. A short time ago, he, in partnership with General M. Kerwin, became proprietor of the *Tablet*.

He was a staunch Irish Nationalist, and an advocate of the absolute independence of Ireland from British rule.

Major Conyngham was the author of many works, the best known of which are "The History of the Irish Brigade," "Sherman's March Through the South," "Sarsfield, or, The Last Great Struggle for Ireland," "The O'Donnells of Glen Cottage," the "O'Mahoneys, a Tale of the Rebellion of '98." "The Sisters of Charity on the



Southern Battlefields," "Rose Parnell, the Flower of Avondale," "Lives of the Irish Saints and Martyrs," etc., etc. After the publication of the last-named work, Major Conyngham received a rescript letter from Pius IX. thanking him for it, while the University of Notre Dame conferred on him the degree of LL.D.

"Ireland, Past and Present," was the last production of Dr. Conyngham's prolific pen, and was finished only a few days previous to the lamented author's death.

At a meeting of the Irish Brigade Association, held at the armory of the Sixty-ninth Regiment on the 10th inst., the following resolutions were adopted:

*Whereas*, It has pleased Almighty God to remove from this earthly sphere our beloved friend, comrade, and historian, Major David P. Conyngham, at a time when a career of great usefulness and brilliant prospects had opened before him; therefore

*Resolved*, That, while bowing before the awful fiat of an all-wise Providence, and consoling ourselves by the recollections of his many virtues and noble qualities, we beg to tender to his brother and sisters the expression of our profoundest sorrow for their and our loss; also

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be spread on the minutes of the Association, and a copy of the same forwarded to his relatives, and also published in *The New York Tablet*.

(Signed),

D. F. BURKE, Pres.

WM. O'MEAGHER, Sec.

NEW YORK, April 10th, 1883.





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# IRELAND, PAST AND PRESENT.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PAGAN IRELAND.

*How Ireland was Colonized—Its Earliest Inhabitants, from Partholan down to the Milesians—Its Settlement in Albania—Its Wars and Conquests in Britain and against the Romans.*

THE history of Ireland is a proud and startling one, that should awaken a sympathetic chord in the heart of every patriot and Christian. Once the patron of learning and literature, the home of art and science, the star that illumined the darkness of the Western world, she has been bowed down and dishonored by centuries of persecution and oppression. A nation that once defied the armed legions of Rome, and hurled back the Vikings and their fierce followers from her shores, has been subjugated, not so much by the arms of England, as by the intrigue, treachery, and deceit of her ruthless enemy.

Despite the fact that for seven centuries she has been overrun by the armies of England, plundered by her soldiers and statesmen, and strangled by her cruel and despotic laws, still she stands before the world to-day, untamed and unconquered, struggling manfully with her destiny, meeting the galling taunts and bloody

coercion of the enemy with a defiant spirit of independence in her tone and hope in her future destiny. There is an air of romance and chivalry in her history that invests her with a heroic beauty, and that inspires her people with an unconquerable resolve never to give up the struggle until they place the diadem of liberty upon her brow, and make her in wealth and power what she is in beauty, namely, the "Emerald Isle of the Ocean."

The Pagan history of Ireland has been scarcely less glorious in military achievements, and in the arts which constitute civilization and refinement, than her Christian one. Her princes and chieftains carried their triumphant banners through England and Scotland, and often the Roman Eagle drooped her pinions in shame before the Sunburst of Erin, while the last of Ireland's Pagan kings fell at the very foot of the Alps, while pursuing her routed legions.

The arms of imperial Rome, which laid the world prostrate at the feet of the Cæsars, were never able to subjugate Ireland. Her warlike sons were never dragged after the chariot-wheels of her victorious generals, or sold as slaves in her markets. Their blood was never shed in the gladiatorial arena to grace a Roman holiday, nor upon her altars to consecrate Pagan rites and sacrifices.

Yet this proud, this martial people, whose arms had defied the Roman power, when the light of faith was spread among them, bowed their heads in humble submission before the standard of the Cross, and meekly embraced the strange doctrines of its followers, abandoning a religion that flattered their passions and fascinated their senses, for one of penance, mortification, and self-denial. It is a proud boast that Ireland is the only country in Europe where Christianity was not sown in



blood, and where it has survived unheard-of persecutions—the rack, the gibbet, spoliation, and all but extermination.

Before treating of the land agitation and the present condition of Ireland, we mean to give a synopsis of her past history from her earliest settlement, so that our readers may form some idea of her greatness when governed by her own princes and rulers, as well as the causes which have contributed to her subjugation and decline. Weakened by her continued warfare with the Danes, and by internecine quarrels, she became a prey to English invaders, and has ever since vainly struggled to regain her liberty, though each successive effort resulted in her being more mercilessly despoiled and robbed by her brutal invaders.

The early history of Ireland, like that of most countries, has been considerably obscured by tradition and fable. It has become the custom of every people to endeavor to ennoble their origin, and establish for it an ancient and illustrious foundation. On this account, the fabulous has become so blended with the real that the early histories of ancient countries have been involved in much obscurity. The Egyptians date back their history fifty thousand years, the Chaldeans much longer, for they claim to have made astronomical calculations four hundred thousand years before the birth of Christ. The Chinese claim a civilization long anterior to the creation. Even the early histories of Rome and Greece are obscured by similar fabulous claims to an origin which facts do not warrant nor history allow. It is probable that, in tracing their history, the ancient Milesians may have been addicted to the marvelous, like other people, but it must be recollected that in Ireland the history and traditions of its early inhabitants were carefully preserved both by

the bards and ollamhs, and that ancient historians confirm their claim to a very remote antiquity and a high state of civilization. In the "Argonautica" of Orpheus of Crotona (500 B. C.) Ireland is called Iernis. In the "De Mundo," attributed to Aristotle, it is called Ierne. Diodorus Siculus alludes to it as Iris or Irisi, and Strabo names it Ierne. Cæsar, Tacitus, and Pliny call it Hibernia; Mela and others, Juverna. The name of Ogygia, "most ancient land," was applied to it by Plutarch. In the third century the whole island took the name of Scotia, a term not then applied to the country now called Scotland, and which was then called Scotia Minor, or the lesser Scotia.

Historians generally admit that Ireland was settled about two thousand years before Christ. O'Flaherty's "Ogygia" fixes the arrival of the first colonies in Ireland, under Partholan, in the year of the world 1969, or three hundred and twelve years after the Deluge. They are supposed to have come originally from Scythia. After a settlement of about three hundred years in the country, the colony perished by a plague.

The island was next settled by a colony under Nemedius, a great-grand-nephew of Partholan, about the year 1727. He came from the shores of the Euxine Sea, with about a thousand followers, and his wife Macha, who died after a short residence in the island, and was buried at Admach, since called Armagh. Nemedius and his descendants held peaceful sway of the country for some time, until they were invaded by the Fomorians, who are supposed to have been Carthaginian pirates and adventurers, and defeated after several battles. Nemedius himself is said to have died of grief at Oilean-Arda-Neivy, now Barrymore, County Cork. The remnant of the Nemedian colony that had escaped the slaughter, left the country. A



colony of them settled in the north of Germany, from whom the Tuatha de Danaans were descended. Another colony, under Briotan Maol, grandson of Nemedius, settled in Britain, the country being so called after their chief.

The next settlers were a tribe of Firbolgs, or Belgians, of the race of Numidius. The expedition was under command of five brothers, who soon took possession of the country and divided it into five provinces, which gave birth to the pentarchy which lasted until the twelfth century. Slaingey, chief of Leinster, was monarch, or Ardrigh, of the whole island, and established his residence at Tara.

The Firbolgs did not remain long in peaceful possession of the country, for in the reign of Eogha, about eighty years after their settlement, a colony of Tuatha de Danains, whose ancestors had settled in Germany after being driven out of Ireland, made a descent upon the country under their chief Nuagha, and gave battle to the Firbolgs, commanded by their king, Eogha, at a place now called Partry, County Mayo. The Firbolgs were so badly beaten that the remnant of them had to seek an asylum in the wilds of Connaught. In the battle at Partry Nuagha lost his hand in the engagement, and had its place supplied by a silver one; hence his sobriquet of Airgiodlamh, or "The Silver-handed."

It is said that these Tuatha de Danaans were skilled in magic and all the superstitions of the Eastern nations. In their journey to Ireland they visited Norway and Denmark, and impressed the inhabitants with their diabolical incantations. They brought with them to Ireland the stone called the "Lea-Fail," or stone of Destiny. This stone, which gave to Ireland the name of "Innisfail," that is to say, the Island of Fail, was used at the coronation of their kings. It was said

to possess peculiar virtues, such as issuing a great noise during the coronation ceremonies, all of which power it lost at the coming of the Messiah. There is a prophecy also which says that wherever the stone should be preserved one of the race of Scotia should reign. Early in the thirteenth century, Fergus the Great having been elected by the Scotch Dalriads as their king, Murtough, Monarch of Ireland, sent him the coronation stone to be inaugurated upon, in order to perpetuate the diadem in the family. The stone was preserved in the abbey at Scone, until it was forcibly carried off by Edward I., King of England, and is said to be still preserved under the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey.

The Tuatha de Danaans held possession of Ireland, which they called Innisfail, for about two hundred years. Towards the end of their occupation, the three sons of Kearmada, the seventh king of their dynasty, reigned alternately for thirty years. They were married to three sisters, Bamba, Fodla, and Eire, after each of whom the country was called in turn. As the Milesian invasion took place during the reign of Keahur, the husband of Eire, the invaders retained the name of the country by which it was called on their arrival; hence the name of Eire has been preserved more generally and longer than the others.

The next conquerors of Ireland were the Milesians, who subdued the Tuatha de Danaans in the year 1234 B. C. The Milesians were a nomadic race, and traced their descent from Fenius Farsa, King of the Scythians, who invented the first alphabet, and was fourth in descent from Japheth, one of the three sons of Noah. One of the sons of Fenius Farsa, named Niul, made a voyage into Egypt and married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Ciniris, by whom he had a son named Gaodhal, who was bitten by a serpent. Moses cured



him by a touch of his wand, and foretold that the land which would be inhabited by his posterity would be free from serpents and venomous reptiles, which has been verified in regard to the islands of Crete and Ireland.

The posterity of Niul became so numerous that the Egyptians began to fear them, and compelled them to leave the country. After leaving Egypt, under the name of Gadaians they wandered for many years among the coasts of the Mediterranean, and finally settled in Spain, where they took the name of Milesians, and established themselves at Braganza, so called after their chief, Breogan.

The invasion of Ireland was led by Scota, the wife of Milesius, who had died in Spain, accompanied by her sons. Queen Scota was killed in the first battle, and was succeeded by her two sons, Heremon and Heber, who reigned conjointly. Ir, another son of Milesius, perished in a storm on the coast, with four of his brothers. He left children, who also obtained the sovereignty. As he was the first Milesian buried in the country, his followers called the country, in honor of him, Ireland.

The reign of Heber and Heremon was not a happy one, for dissensions having broken out between them, instigated by the wife of Heber, a battle ensued, in which Heber was killed.

During the reign of Heremon a colony from Gaul, called Picts, who had originally come from Thrace, arrived in Ireland. They were not allowed to settle in the country, but left for Albania, as Scotland was then called. They had no women among them, and the Irish Milesians supplied them with wives, on condition of their paying to them annual tribute, and vesting the sovereignty in the female line forever.

It is not easy to define the religion and customs of the Milesians. Some think that they had a knowledge of the true God, which they received from Moses and the Israelites, with whom they had connection before the passage of the Red Sea. However this may be, they became a most superstitious people, worshiping various kinds of idols. They paid great honor to their Druids, who were to them priests, philosophers, legislators, and judges, as well as to their bards and military heroes. Their divinities were common to them and to other nations of the world. As legislators and judges the Druids were arbiters in all public affairs, and were invested with power to reward or punish. The word "druid" was derived from "*darr*," which means oak, with which the island was covered, and under which the Druids worshiped. They had several idols, the chief being named Kean Caoithi, or "Head of the Gods." Clogher was called after a stone or idol covered with gold, which gave forth oracles. Next to the Druids in importance ranked the Filea, or bards, they enjoyed high privileges, and sat with a right of suffrage in the assemblies of state. They were employed in singing the praise of distinguished men, and in preserving the genealogies of great families and the records of the country.

The Milesians had a number of idolatrous observances which Christianity has utilized. The May-day observances, still practiced in Ireland, originated in the offering of sacrifice to the great idol Bael on that day, and the custom of driving cattle through fire on St. John's Eve has been handed down to us from Pagan times.

The Milesians had their origin from the Scythians, and their customs and literature from the Egyptians. As these were the most polished of ancient nations, the Milesians brought with them to Ireland their laws,



their religion, and their literature. They were also a martial people—brave, religious, and impulsive. They were well versed in science, the arts and manufactures, for we find that as early as the reign of Figernmas the gold mines of Ireland were worked and shields were embossed with silver and gold, while the Ollamhs, or learned men of the country, wore finger-rings and chains of gold.

In the tribal divisions of Ireland the Heberians, or the descendants of Heber, and the descendents of Ith possessed Munster, the Irians, or descendants of Ir, after whom the country was called, possessed Ulster; Leinster was under the dominion of the Heremonians, and Connaught was held by Firdomnians, of the race of the Firbolgs. Their chiefs or petty princes were subject to the Ardrigh, or supreme monarch, and as the Milesians were a martial people, it is not surprising that numerous wars kept the country embroiled in bloody strife.

Very little definite is known of the histories of the different princes who ruled Ireland to the time of Ollave Fola. This great and wise monarch reigned about the close of the seventh century before Christ. He may be justly called the father of letters. He convoked a triennial assembly of the states at Tara, in Meath, where wise and stable laws were enacted for the administration of justice and the general government of the country. He also founded a college at Tara for the education of youth. He had assigned lands for the support of the various professors and judges. He had also appointed a Chief Druid to offer sacrifice, a doctor to attend to his health, a bard to sing his praise, an Ollamh to preserve genealogies, and a *Brehon* to administer justice.

The Brehon laws have been so called after the judges

who administered them, and they chiefly referred to the conditions on which the clans held land under their chiefs. They held that the land was for the benefit of the people, and belonged by right to the people, who merely paid tribute to the chief or prince who ruled over them, in the shape of kind or military services. And each clansman had an equal right to a proportionate share of the land occupied by his tribe. On the Continent and in England the feudal system held sway, and it debased the people by keeping them dependent on the nobles who held the land. The Brehon Code held sway in Ireland until after the English invasion.

The succession to all dignities in Ireland was regulated by the law of Tanistry, which provided that the candidate for power should be elected by the clansmen, after which he might assume the name of Tanist, or successor. In most cases, though, the oldest son or heir to the prince succeeded him, but, as was often the case, when he was not acceptable to the people, a ruler was chosen in his place. Thus the dignity was hereditary as to the family, but elective as to the person.

The provincial kings were independent of each other, but subject to the Ardrigh, and were chosen according to the law of Tanistry. Their capitals, where they resided, were Leighlin for the province of Leinster; Emania for Ulster, Cashel for Munster; and Cruachin for Connaught. These were again subdivided into districts and ruled by a multitude of petty princes or chiefs, who acknowledged the authority of their respective provincial kings, and which gave origin to the numerous clans whose quarrels and jealousies kept the country in continued strife.

After the death of Ollave Fola the records of the



country were greatly neglected, and only the histories of very distinguished rulers were preserved. Kimbaeth, who built the magnificent palace of Emania, which became the headquarters of the Red-Branch Knights, again collected the records and put them in a reliable and satisfactory condition. About this time the Phœnicians, Etruscans, and Carthaginians carried on an extensive trade with Ireland. About five hundred years before Christ, Hamilcar was sent by the Carthaginian Senate to explore the coast of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and in the preserved account of his expedition Ireland is mentioned as the "Holy Isle," whose rich soil the Hibernians tilled. It was also known to the Greeks about the same time, and Aristotle alludes to it by the name of Ierne. In the second century of the Christian era the country was generally known by the name of Scotia, so called in honor of the Milesian heroine of that name. After the invasion of Albania that country was also called Scotia by the conquerors, in honor of their native land, but with the affix of *Minor*, or the lesser, to distinguish it from the mother country, which was designated Scotia Major, or the greater Scotia.

From the reign of Aengus, who flourished about one hundred and fifty years before Christ, down to the introduction of Christianity, the country was kept in one continual ferment by the dissensions among its princes and rulers, and the extensive foreign expeditions carried on against the Picts in Albania and the Romans in Britain and Gaul.

The Irish, or more properly speaking, the Dalriads, of Ulster had established a colony in Albania before the birth of Christ. They and their kinsmen in Ulster were considered as one tribe, and were for some time governed by one chief. The colony became so power-

ful as to create the alarm of the Piets, and to excite their jealousy.

In the reign of Carbre II., or about the year 268 A. D., Ossian, the great bard of Ireland, and his son Oscar, both descendants of the warrior Fingal, and leaders of the Fiann of Leinster, flourished. Carbre went to war with Leana, King of Munster, for harboring the Fiann of Leinster, whom he had disbanded and outlawed. In the battle that followed at Gabra, A. D. 284, both Carbre and Oscar, son of Ossian, were killed. From the death of Carbre until the reign of Muredach, A. D. 331, there were no events of great historical importance in Ireland. During the reign of Muredach the palace of Emania in Ulster was destroyed by the men of Connaught.

Ireland at this time was in a very prosperous condition, and the people had acquired considerable wealth and power. Old English writers assert that they were "the most learned body of men in Europe, were eminently versed in astronomy and Grecian literature, and stood unrivaled in the cultivation of letters." Even at this early period they had colleges for the instruction of bards and Druids, to which students flocked from all parts of Europe. The English historian Whitaker says that 'in the reign of the celebrated Monarch Niall, the Arch-Druid of Ireland was acknowledged the sovereign pontiff of the order of Druids of Gaul, Britain, and Scotland.' The Irish, too, were at this period well versed in the manufacture of arms, vessels, and utensils for domestic use, and in gold chains and ornaments.

The funeral services of the Milesians were peculiar, and had been brought with them from the East. The body was laid in state, or as we say now, waked, for a few days. During this interval, all the friends and neighbors assembled to do honor to the departed. The



bards sang his pedigree and exploits, the Druids recited prayers and used charms and incantations, while the mourners raised the *caoine*, or funeral dirge, a custom still observed in remote parts of Ireland. The grave usually faced towards the east, and was lined with smooth stones. The body was simply wrapped in a cloak and laid in the tomb, over which was placed a mound, or a slab with the name of the deceased engraven upon it.

The Picts of Albania made war on the Irish colony in the reign of Niall. The Dalriads, justly alarmed at the menacing aspect of their neighbors, appealed to the Monarch of Ireland, to whom they still owed allegiance, for succor and protection. Niall responded to their call by crossing over to Albania at the head of a powerful army, which he transported over in cuirachs and large galleys, for the Irish were expert seamen, having learned navigation from the Phœnicians who traded among them, and soon succeeded in reducing the Picts to terms, compelling them to cede the territories of Cantire and Argyle to the Dalriads. He next invaded Britain, A. D. 368, and ravaged the country before him. He then embarked for Armorica, in Gaul, and returned laden with captives and booty. Among the captives taken in one of his expeditions was Succath, a youth who was destined to spread the light of the Gospel, not only over Ireland, but also over a great part of Europe. This was no other than Patrick, afterwards the Apostle of Ireland, who was sixteen years of age at the time, and who was accompanied by his two sisters, Lupida and Darrerca.

So great was the terror Niall had infused into the Britons that, as the poet Claudian informs us, they besought the Romans to protect them from his ravages,

and Stilicho, a general of Theodosius the Great, was forced to send additional troops to their aid.

“When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,  
And the ocean trembled, struck with hostile oars.”

Niall, or as he is called, “Niall of the Nine Hostages,” was killed while making a second expedition into Gaul against the Romans, near the river Loire, by Eocha, son of the King of Leinster, whom he had deposed on account of his crimes. Niall, who was slain in or about the year 403 A. D., was succeeded by Dathy, son of Fiachra, brother of the monarch. He was King of Connaught when elected Ardrigh, but resigned the throne in favor of his brother Amalgad, who gave his name to Tyrawly, in the County Mayo. In the reign of Dathy, who was the last Pagan monarch of Ireland, Nedfraoch, of the race of Olioll-Olum, governed Munster, and Eocha ruled in Leinster.

Dathy, full of the martial spirit of his race, and fired by the glorious achievements of his ancestors, resolved to invade Britain. At this time the Picts and Scots, both of whom were the implacable enemies of the Britons, conjointly made a raid on their neighbors. Dathy, after his victories in Britain, entered Gaul, and taking advantage of the demoralized state of the Roman army, who were fleeing from Britain, he followed them up to the very foot of the Alps, where he was killed by lightning, after having gained several victories over those who disputed his passage.



## CHAPTER II.

## CHRISTIAN IRELAND.

*The Light of the Gospel—St. Patrick's Mission--The Greatness and Glory of Christian Ireland.*

IRELAND, Christian Ireland, presents to the world one of the grandest pictures in either sacred or profane history. Here we see a proud, warlike people, whose soldiers had bidden defiance to the legions of Rome, and whose Sunburst had floated above the Eagles of the Cæsars even at the very foot of the Alps, bowing in humble submission before the saving banner of the Cross, and yielding ready obedience to the strange doctrines of the followers of the divine standard. The fierce and warlike tribes and chiefs, who were embittered by constant internecine wars, and prejudiced by the machinations of the Druids, seemed a rather intractable material to mould to the teachings and doctrine of Christianity. The results proved the reverse, for the bloodless victory which crowned the mission of St. Patrick is an evidence of the ready pliancy and facility with which the most stubborn and fierce natures will yield to new and strange impulses.

While in other countries Christianity has been the slow work of time, has been resisted by rulers and people, and seldom effected without a lavish effusion of blood, in Ireland, on the contrary, by the influence of one zealous, saintly missionary, and with little previous

preparation of the soil by other hands, Christianity burst forth at the first ray of the apostolic light, and with the sudden ripeness of a northern summer at once covered the whole land with its saving truths and blessed fruits. Kings and princes, chiefs and nobles, as if acting under divine impulse, joined the standard of the Cross and soon became its warmest defenders. Chiefs at variance in all else, met as brothers beneath the Christian banner. The proud Druid, the learned Brehon, and the gushing bard laid their superstitions meekly at the foot of the Cross, while the *Shenacus*, who heretofore narrated the martial exploits of heroes and chiefs, and the loves of fair dames and proud gallants, now related the mysterious wonders of the life and suffering of Jesus of Nazareth. By a singular blessing of Providence, unexampled in the whole history of the Church, a single drop of blood was not shed on account of religion through the entire course of this wonderful revolution, by which in the space of a few years Ireland was brought tranquilly under the dominion of the Gospel.

The time and birth-place of St. Patrick have both been warmly discussed and disputed by writers. Though Usher, Ware, Colgan, Jocelyn, and other eminent writers assert that he was born in Scotland, Dr. Lanigan and a scrutiny of old works have established the fact that he was a native of Boulogne-sur-Mer, in France. He says himself, in his "Confessions": "My father was Calpurnius, a deacon of the town of Bonaven Taberniæ. He had near the town a small villa, Enon, where I was made captive." It is an established fact that there is no place which might correspond with the name of Taberniæ in Scotland, but some writers, who would persist in making the Saint a Scotchman, try to escape this difficulty by describing the place as an old Roman



encampment near Dunbarton, but which time has eradicated. Boulogne-sur Mer, in Picardy, France, corresponds to Bonaven, Taberniæ, as has been proved even by French writers, and by the traditions still preserved in that part of France relative to the Saint. Keating and O'Flaherty, in their histories of Ireland, accept this view of it. All the circumstances connected with his early life confirm the impression that he was born in Gaul. His family resided there, and there he was taken prisoner in his early youth. His mother, Conchessa, was a near relative of St. Martin of Tours, and was undoubtedly a native of Brittany, in Armorican Gaul. The family of the Apostle was respectable, as the Saint himself states in his Epistle to Caroticus, in which he says, "I was noble according to the flesh."

St. Fiach, in his hymn, informs us that Patrick was baptized Succath, which means, "Strong in battle." The scholiast on this hymn adds that he was called *Corthraige*, while in slavery, on account of being sold to four masters, *Magonius* by St. Germanus, while a disciple of his, and *Patrick* by St. Celestine, as a mark of dignity. In all his writings we never find him styling himself anything but Patrick. the probability is that this was his original name, and that the others were given to him to indicate certain traits in his character.

Speaking of his early youth, he says in his "Confessions": "I knew not God, and was led into captivity by the Irish, as we deserved, because we estranged ourselves from God and did not keep his laws, and were disobedient to our pastors, who admonished us with regard to our salvation, and the Lord brought down upon us the anger of his Spirit, and dispersed us among many nations, even to the extremity of the earth, where my lowliness was conspicuous among foreigners, and

where the Lord discovered unto me a sense of my unbelief, that, even though late, I should be converted with my whole heart to the Lord my God, who had respect to my humiliation, and pitied my youth and ignorance, even before I knew him, and before I was wise and could distinguish between right and wrong, and strengthened me, and cherished me as a father would a son. This I know most surely, that before I was humbled I was like a stone that lies deep in the mud, and He who is mighty came and in his mercy raised me up, and again delivered me and fixed me in this place; and from thence I ought loudly to cry out and to return thanks to the Lord for his too great benefits, here and forever, which the mind of man cannot properly estimate."

How wonderful indeed are the ways of the Lord, and how often does he bring forth the greatest blessings out of tribulation and sufferings. He allowed his servant Joseph to be borne into captivity, in order to save Egypt and Israel from the horrors of famine, and that he might become the savior of his people. So with Patrick, the Lord willed that he should become captive, that he might conquer his conquerors and lead his enemies out of the bondage of sin and infidelity unto the light of the Gospel.

The most eminent writers on the hagiology of Ireland admit that Christianity was introduced into Ireland as early as the second century of the Christian era. Cormac-Ulfada, Monarch of Ireland in the third century, whose piety and leaning to Christianity had made him odious to the Pagans, is said to have encouraged the Christian religion. This reaching the ears of St. Celestine I., this great Pope resolved to send missionaries among the Irish people. The first whom he sent with full canonical powers was Paladius, a deacon of the Roman



Church, who, having been ordained Archbishop of all Ireland, set out on his mission, accompanied by twelve assistants, all as zealous as himself. They brought with them some volumes of the Old and New Testament and several precious relics, including those of Sts. Peter and Paul. They landed in the province of Leinster, where they were badly received by the Pagans. Jocelyn quotes a proverb current in the country, to the effect that "God did not reserve for Paladius, but for Patrick, the conversion of Ireland." However, they remained for some time in the country, baptizing several persons, and founded three churches—namely, Kill-Fin, Teach-na-Romanach, or "House of the Romans," and Domnach-Arte. Paladius and his followers were expelled from the country by Nathi, the then prince of the province. This holy missionary withdrew to Britain, and lived for some time among the Picts. St. Prosper places the mission of Paladius in Ireland in the year 431 of the Christian era, while the Venerable Bede fixes it eight years earlier. Be this as it may, the conversion of Ireland remained for St. Patrick.

The date of St. Patrick's birth and of his captivity are also matters of much conjecture among historians. It is generally agreed, though, that he was brought to Ireland as one of Niall's captives. This monarch invaded Gaul in the year 388, and we are inclined to the belief that it was in this expedition the youth was made captive, and not in his subsequent one, in which Niall perished. As Patrick was at the time of his captivity entering upon his sixteenth year, this would place the year of his birth in 372 or 373. When carried to Ireland Patrick was sold to one Milcho-Mac-Huanan, a petty prince in Ulster, who lived near the mountain of Slieve-Mis, and his two sisters were sold at the

same time to parties living in the present County Louth.

In his "Confessions" he gives us an account of how he occupied his time during his captivity, and says: "I always became strengthened in the belief, love, and fear of God, and prayed at least a hundred times a day, and as often during the night." Warned by a dream, he made his escape in the seventh year of his captivity. After undergoing many hardships and dangers, both by sea and land, he arrived in his native country in the year A. D. 396.

There he remained for some time, but admonished by a vision to return to Ireland, in order to rescue the inhabitants from the errors of idolatry, he resolved to hearken to the voice as if it came from the Lord. He was then about twenty-three years of age. He went first to the Monastery of Marmontiers, which was built near Tours by St. Martin. Here he spent some years in the practice of piety and monastic discipline. He went to Rome in the year 403, and was admitted a regular student of St. John of Lateran, where he spent some time. He afterwards visited many holy places and shrines, and is said to have performed several miracles. He lived under the holy St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, several years.

Patrick was thirty-eight years of age when the news of Paladius's death reached him. Acting on his own inclination and the advice of St. Germain, he went to Rome, carrying letters from St. Germain to St. Celestine, who was then Pope, recommending him for the Irish mission. Celestine himself consecrated him and appointed him Archbishop of Ireland, and sent him, invested with apostolical authority, to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of that island. Twenty priests and deacons were likewise ordained to accom-



pany St. Patrick on his mission. He returned to Auxerre to take leave of St. Germain, and having received several presents from this holy man, as well as his benediction, he set out on a mission the most wonderful in its result in Christian history.

He landed on the shores of Britain, and preached for a short time in the neighborhood of Monevia, or St. David's, in Wales. He also made a short visit to Cornwall. Borlase says: "By persisting in their Druidism the Britons of Cornwall drew the attention of St. Patrick to them, who, about the year 432, with twenty companions, halted on his way to Ireland on the shores of Cornwall, where he is said to have built a monastery."

St. Patrick landed in Ireland, in the County Wicklow, in the year 432, and in the fourth year of the reign of Laogare, Monarch of Ireland. He was vainly opposed by Nathi, prince of that part of the country, who had banished Paladius, who tried to incite the Pagans against him. While here St. Patrick baptized Senell, of the royal race of the Kings of Leinster, who gladly aided him in his missionary labors. Soon afterwards, being threatened by the inhabitants, incited by their prince, he returned to his ships, and after resting at an island near Dublin, since called Inis-Phadruig after him, he sailed for the North, and landed in the Bay of Ilber-Slaeng, at present Dundrum, in the County Down. Dichu, lord of the territory, taking them for pirates, assembled his followers to give them battle, but being suddenly struck with the presence of St. Patrick, he was converted on the spot and soon after baptized. This was the first conversion in Ulster, and a church was built on the spot, which is two miles from the present city of Down.

After providing for the necessities of the rising Church in that portion of Down, St. Patrick took leave of his disciple Dichu, and returned to Meath. He landed at a place called Cobbdi, below Drogheda, at the mouth of the Boyne. His intention was to visit Tara, the residence of the monarch, during a great assembly of princes, Druids, priests, and warriors, which was convened there. On his journey he was hospitably received by Sesgnen, lord of the territory, whom he baptized with his whole family. The Saint and his followers arrived at a place, now Slaine, on the Boyne, the day before Easter, and erected a tent there in sight of Tara. The monarch ordered the Bael fire to be lit, during which all other fires were to be extinguished. Patrick, disregarding the custom, lit a huge fire in front of his tent, and was immediately summoned before the monarch. Patrick approached the august assembly, the most royal-looking man there, and like Paul before Agrippa, he preached before them the word of God in such convincing words that many, even the Arch-Druid, Dubtach, and Ero, son of Dego, who was afterwards Bishop of Slaine, poured forth their praise of the true God.

It is said that the preaching of Patrick before this assembly, representing a nation, was attended by miracles and wonders. This we can credit, for there is nothing on record like the success of Patrick's efforts at Tara. There was a vast assemblage of great and learned men, full of the superstitions of their race and their fathers, converted as if by a miracle.

The Saint next repaired to Taiton, where the annual games and military exercises were celebrated, and preached the Gospel to the nobles and their followers. He soon converted a large number of nobles and princesses, including Ethne and Fedeline, daughters of



Laogare, the monarch, and also the Druids Mael and Caplaet, who were their tutors.

As we are not writing a life of St. Patrick, we cannot follow him through his wonderful mission. On his way from Tara he visited the Hy-Nialls, children of the Monarch Niall, who was brother to Laogare, who occupied the southern portion of Meath, and made some converts among them. He also baptized Eana, Prince of Kinel-Eana, near the Shannon, together with his son Cormac, afterwards Archbishop of Ardmach. In Brefny, the present County Leitrim, he destroyed the great idol Crom-Cruach, and baptized numbers of the inhabitants and left priests to minister to them.

He next entered Connaught, where a prince of the Hy-Brunes (O'Briens) gave him a large tract of land, now called Elphin, where he founded an episcopal see. He traveled through Clare and Galway, making numerous converts and establishing churches. At the approach of Lent he entered to a high mountain near the coast, now called Croagh-Phadruig, County Mayo, where he spent forty days in meditation and prayer. While here, Jocelyn says, he collected all the serpents and reptiles in the country and cast them into the ocean, but there is strong evidence that Ireland was exempt from poisonous animals long before the arrival of St. Patrick; in fact, there is no proof that such ever existed on the island at all.

After his retreat on the mountain he celebrated Easter in the Church of Abha-Feehuir, in the territory of Umaille, or O'Mally country. He preached for some time in Tirawly, and proceeded along the River Moy, until he reached Killala, where he built a church and established an episcopal see, the first bishop of which was St. Muredach.

After spending seven years spreading the Gospel in

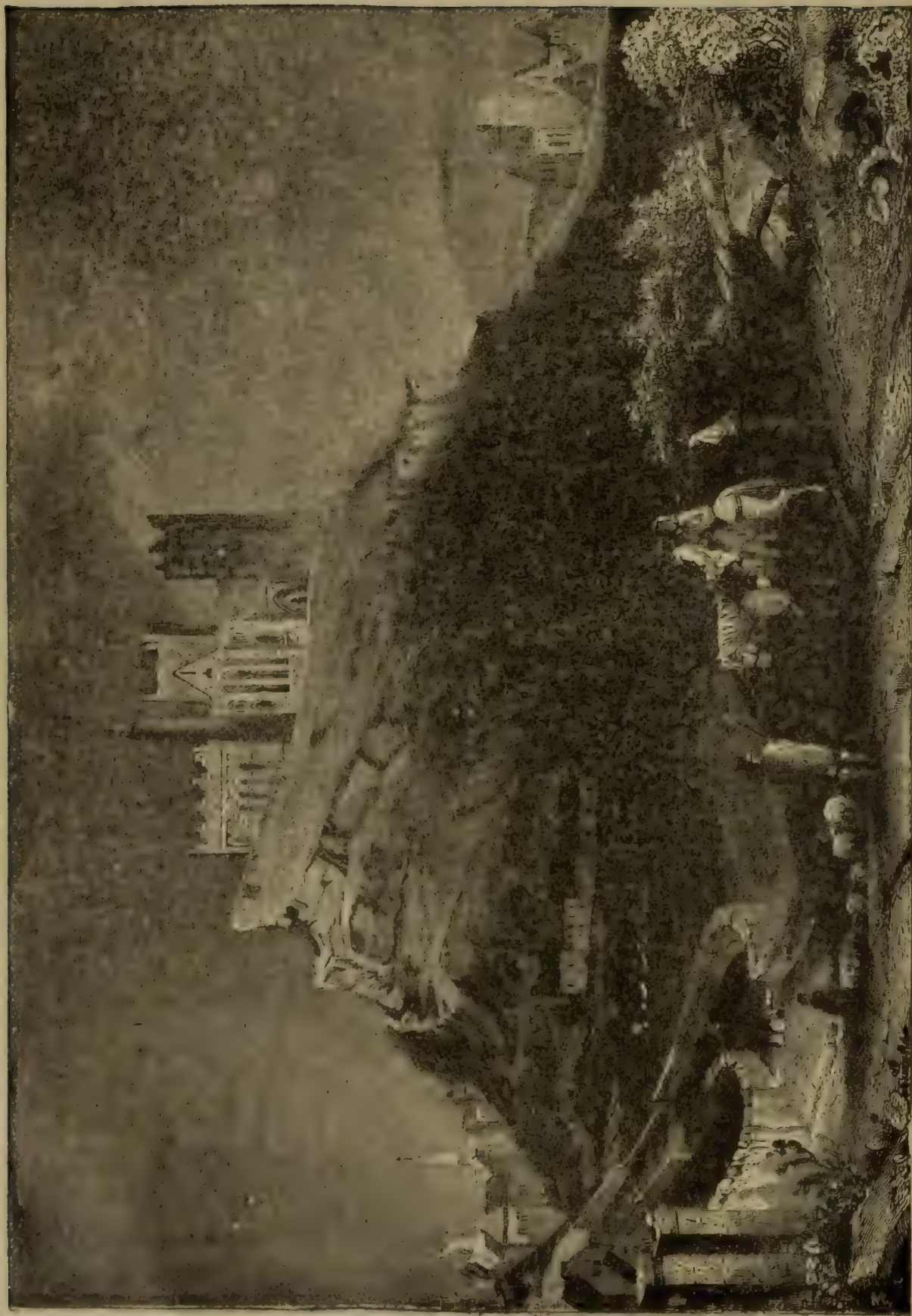
Connaught, he returned to Ulster in 441, visiting on his way Sligeach-Magh-Ean, a large plain in Donegal near Lough Earne. He traveled chiefly along the coast, visiting several princes and chiefs, making numerous converts and building innumerable churches.

St. Patrick, having completed his mission in the districts bordering on Lough Foyle, crossed the river Bann to Curbrathew, now Coleraine, and after preaching there for some time he proceeded through the country of the Dalriada, comprising Down and the southern part of Antrim, where he founded several churches. He next preached along the borders of Lough Neagh with equal success.

Being resolved on founding a metropolitan see, he proceeded to Ardmach, which was so called from its elevated position, or as some writers assert, from its being the burial-place of Macha, wife of Prince Nievy. Here in the year 445 St. Patrick laid the foundation both of a city and church. He also erected around it monasteries and schools which afterwards became celebrated. In 448 our holy Apostle held a synod at Armagh, and among the bishops present were Auxil and Isernin, regular canons of St. John of Lateran, who had accompanied him from Rome. He also ordained several priests to attend to the missions he had established. As yet St. Patrick had not visited Munster, or even but a small portion of Leinster. But in the meantime the light of the Gospel was shed on the inhabitants. Writers of Irish ecclesiastical history for the most part admit that when Paladius was driven out of Ireland several of his followers remained after him, preaching the Gospel. Among them was St. Ibear, who fled to Beg-Erin, now Bergy, in Wexford, where he established a church; St. Kieran of Saigir, who also established a monastery there, which was afterwards transferred to Kilkenny; St.







ST. PATRICKS ROCK CASHEL



Deelan, who established a noted monastery at Ardmore, County Waterford; and St. Ailbe, who established a monastery at Emly in Tipperary, and was therefore the first bishop of the see.

Having settled the affairs of the Church of Ardmach, he proceeded to Leinster through Meath, and was everywhere received with great reverence and distinction. At Bally-Ath-Cleath, now Dublin, all the people turned out to welcome him; he baptized them all, including several members of the king's family. St. Patrick spent the whole of that year preaching in Leinster, where he founded a great number of churches. He visited Leix, Ossory, Hy-Kinsellagh, and baptized the son of the King of Leinster.

He next proceeded to Munster, and going straight to Cashel, was received by the king and his court. The prince, Aongus, proved the sincerity of his faith, for during the ceremony of baptism, the Saint having leaned on his pastoral staff, which was pointed with iron, and which by chance rested on Aongus's foot, pierced it through. The prince never complained, and when remonstrated with, he modestly replied that he thought it was a part of the ceremony. It is said that St. Patrick's precursors, Ailbe, Deelan, Kieran, and Ilear, joined him in a synod at Cashel and acknowledged him as primate of the Church in Ireland, and he in return confirmed them in the possession of their churches and sees. From Cashel the Saint made a visitation to different parts of the country, to Cork and Kerry, preaching the Gospel and establishing missions, after which he returned to Cashel, where he was joyously received by the king. Indeed, in such veneration was he held by the royal family that a stone which he used in celebrating mass, called Leach-Phadruig, was placed under the coronation chair. In the year 455 our Saint

took his departure from Munster and returned to Ulster, where he devoted his time to building churches, making new converts, and strengthening old ones in the faith.

As if God had poured his blessing with his saving truths on the country, during St. Patrick's mission a time of profound peace prevailed, and Laogare summoned a convention at Tara to reform the religious and political affairs of the nation, at which assembly St. Patrick and other bishops took their places instead of the Druids, as heretofore.

Our glorious Saint lived to see the Church fully established in Ireland. Though advanced in years, he never relaxed in his spiritual or temporal exercises. He always traveled on foot, slept on the bare ground, recited the psalter, besides a number of hymns and prayers every day. At length, rich in virtue and cheered by the prosperous state of the Church in Ireland, he went to his reward in the year 493, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age, in the reign of the monarch Lughas VII. and the pontificate of St. Gesalius, having, during his long and laborious missionary career, converted all Ireland, built three hundred and sixty-five churches, consecrated over three hundred bishops, and ordained about three thousand priests. He was not buried in the Monastery of Sabhall, where he died, nor in Ardmach, his primatical see, but in the city of Down, where his remains were long honored on account of the miracles and graces granted by God to the faithful through his saintly intercession.

The growth of Christianity in Ireland was as wonderful as its introduction. In less than a century after the arrival of St. Patrick, by the labors and pious zeal of its disciples, the land became covered with churches and monasteries, which were filled with devout worshipers. Eminent schools and seminaries flourished,



which soon became the resort for students from all parts of Europe, and which supplied their colleges with teachers, their churches with monks and missionary priests. Among Patrick's great successors were St. Brigid, "the Mary of Ireland," who is venerated as the patroness of the country. She was born during the lifetime of St. Patrick, and most likely received his benediction, for she founded the celebrated Monastery of Kildare in the year 480, where she died in her seventieth year, A. D. 525. Monastic schools sprang up throughout the country, among the most famous of which were Mayo, founded by St. Ailbe; Clowes, by St. Tigernach; "Arran of the Saints," by St. Enda; Clonard, by St. Finian; Louth, by St. Mochta; Tuam, by St. Jarlath; Moville, by St. Finian; Clonfert Malua, by St. Malua; Clon-Mac-Noise, by St. Kieran; and Lismore, by St. Carthagh. The chief objects of these sacred retreats were to educate holy men, who might devote their lives to prayer, meditation, and study, and educate boys as missionaries to spread the Gospel in other lands, as well as to provide for the wants of the poor and needy.

In the words of Montalembert, in these sacred retreats "were trained an entire population of philosophers, of writers, of architects, of carvers, of painters, of calligraphers, of musicians, poets, and historians; but above all, of missionaries and preachers, destined to spread the light of the Gospel and of Christian education, not only in all the Celtic countries, of which Ireland was always the nursing mother, but throughout Europe, among all the Teutonic races—among the Franks and Burgundians, who were already masters of Gaul, as well as amid the dwellers by the Rhine and the Danube, and up to the frontiers of Italy." This is no vain or eulogistic tribute, for there is little doubt but

the celebrated St. Brendan crossed the Atlantic and landed in America. The great Virgilius (O'Farrell), Bishop of Saltzburg, who asserted the sphericity of the earth in the eighth century, was an Irishman. It is an admitted fact that when the mission of St. Augustine had failed in England, the Irish monks succeeded in Christianizing wholly or partially five out of the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy. Iona, the shrine of Columbkil, spread its Christian light over Scotland and Wales.

An Irishman is the patron saint of Austria; and to missionary Irish priests Gaul, Switzerland, and Germany chiefly owe the introduction of Christianity. Irishmen have reason to be proud of these facts, yet how little is generally known of the lives and labors of the great men who have made the literature of Ireland famous, and who have borne from her shores the standard of the Cross, to unfurl its sacred folds on the Christian battle fields of the world.



## CHAPTER III.

## IRELAND THE ISLAND OF SAINTS.

*The Danish Invasion—From the Arrival of the Danes to that of the Anglo-Normans—The Battle of Clontarf.*

ALTHOUGH the Christian religion was universally established in Ireland at the time of St. Patrick's death, and both princes and people worshiped the true God, it appears that the monarch had apostatized, and we are informed in history that his death was caused by lightning at Achacharea, in Meath, and his descendants were excluded from the throne, as St. Patrick foretold they would be in chastisement for their impiety.

In the reign of Dermid, which commenced A.D. 544, a terrible plague broke out in Ireland, which carried off nearly one-third of the people. The celebrated St. Columba, or Columbkil, Apostle of the Picts, flourished about this time, and established the renowned Monastery of Iona in Scotland.

During the reign of Dermid a national assembly was held at Tara, at which a certain prince, having committed an act of violence, fled for safety to a church near by, but the monarch ordered him to be brought forth and put to death. To punish this violation of the right of sanctuary, the clergy, headed by St. Ruadan, passed in solemn procession around Tara, invoking the malediction of God upon it. From that day no king

ever sat at Tara, and soon afterwards Dermid was killed in battle. After this the monarchs usually dwelt at Aileach in Ulster, but their influence was greatly weakened by the estrangement of the other provinces, each of which contended for the chief capital. During the reign of Hugh II., who ascended the throne A.D. 572, a great national assembly or convention was held at Dromkeat, for the purpose of taking measures to check the growing power and insolence of the bards; also, to regulate the tribute on the Irish colony in Albania, and to depose the Prince of Ossory for refusing to pay tribute to the supreme monarch. The convention was presided over by the monarch in person. St. Columba and Aidan, King of Dalradia, were also present to plead the cause of the Albanian colony. Through the influence of St. Columba the bards were spared the suppression which threatened them, and were subjected to certain salutary regulations and restrictions, and were also assigned land on which to reside, on condition that they would give free instruction to all who sought it. The colony of Dalradia in Scotland was declared free and independent of either tribute or homage to the Monarch of Ireland, while the case of the Prince of Ossory was left undecided.

Hugh III. ascended the throne in 593, but little is known of his reign. Indeed, so great was the sanctity of the nation and the piety of the people at this period, that the annalists, who were generally monks, devoted their labors more to the ecclesiastical than to the civil affairs of the nation. On this account the history of the times is barren in everything except the founding of monasteries and religious institutions, some of which became renowned not only at home, but also throughout Europe. Indeed, we might justly attribute the rapid spread of the Gospel in Europe, in a



great measure, to the monastic institutions of Ireland. They sent forth their missionary priests to plant the Cross in lands shrouded in the darkness of Pagan infidelity, and to confirm the converts already embraced in the fold, by instructing them to practice the faith and dedicate themselves to God, and by giving them examples, by their exemplary lives, of the observance of all pious works of sanctity and charity, as well as how to practice penance and self-mortifications.

Even where St. Augustine, who was sent A. D. 596 by Pope Gregory the Great, with a body of monks, to preach the Gospel to the Saxons, failed,—for he only succeeded in converting Kent,—the Irish monks, aided by those from Iona, soon spread the light among the inhabitants, and succeeded in bringing them within the fold of the true God. Camden, an English historian, speaking of these missionaries, says “the disciples of St. Patrick made such great progress in Christianity, that in the following age Ireland was called the ‘Island of Saints,’ ” and none could be more learned and holy than the Irish monks in their own country, in Britain, and on the Continent of Europe. Even the Venerable Bede, the father of English history, declares that during this age “Ireland supplied all Europe with multitudes of zealous missionaries, who announced the name of Jesus Christ among some nations, and revived it among others.”

Among Ireland’s great missionary priests of the time was St. Columbanus, who about the year 585 left Ireland with twelve companions and passed into Gaul. On account of the invasion of the barbarians and the general negligence among the clergy there, many abuses existed and discipline was entirely neglected. Our Saint attacked the abuses in the Church, and the sanctity of his life added weight to his instructions,

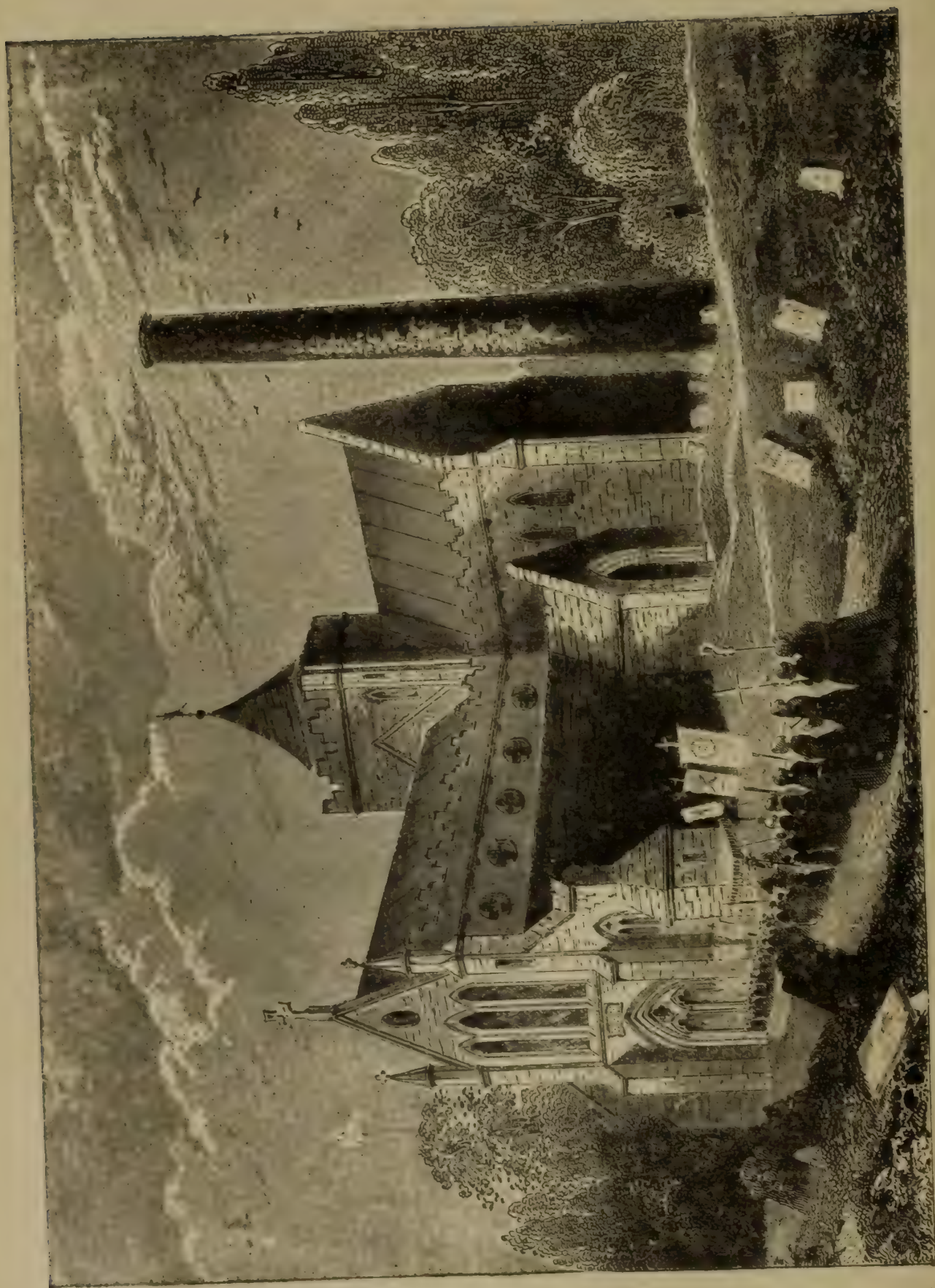
and induced numbers to abandon their evil ways and become zealous members of the Church. His reputation at length reached King Gontram of Burgundy, who gave him land, on which he built the famous Monastery of Luxevil, and afterwards that of Fontaine. His labors and piety were so great that he has been recognized as the Apostle of Eastern France. He next preached to the Pagans in Switzerland, and then went preaching the Gospel into Italy, where he was well received by King Agilulph of Lombardy, where he established the great Monastery of Bobbio, in which he died in 615.

The town of St. Gall, in France, was called after St. Gall, a follower of Columbanus, who founded a celebrated monastery there; St. Fridolin followed in their footsteps, and his memory was celebrated for centuries in Lorraine, Alsace, Germany, and Switzerland, where he died A. D. 725. The great and learned Feargal, commonly called Virgilius, was also a distinguished Irish missionary, who arrived in France A. D. 743. King Pepin became greatly attached to him and recommended him to Otho, Duke of Bavaria, on whose recommendation he was appointed Abbot of Saltzburg, where, after a zealous and rather stormy life, he died, A. D. 785.

These are but a few of the great Irish monks who went forth, like the Apostles, preaching the Gospel and spreading the seed of Christianity in their path. While the mother hive was pouring forth swarms of missionaries over Europe, those who remained behind were building churches and monasteries, establishing free schools, to which the youth from England, Scotland, and France flocked for their education, tilling the soil, and bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and lastly, but not least, in copying the Gospel, committing







ST. CANICE, KILKENNY.



the archives of the country to history, and in elaborating and transcribing those wonderful historical records, many of which are preserved to the present day. Some idea may be formed of the learned state of Ireland during this period, and the reputation her schools had attained, when we state that over eight hundred students attended Lismore universities; about the same number were educated at Rathlin, while fifteen hundred were educated at Devenish; and Bangor, Clonard, Armadown, and Armagh fed, clothed, and educated over three thousand students each, and of these a large number were entertained and educated free.

The great Universities of Paris and Pavia were founded by two Irish monks, namely, Clement and Albin, during the reign of Charlemagne. Within this period it has been calculated that the Irish monks established in England twelve monasteries; in Scotland, thirteen; in Belgium, nine; in France, nineteen; in Alsace, ten; in Lorraine, seven; in Bavaria, sixteen; in Italy, six; in Switzerland and Thuringia, fifteen. In the same period, or since the introduction of Christianity down to the Danish invasion, Ireland produced more than five hundred saints, of whom forty-four were venerated in England; forty-five in France, of whom six were martyrs; thirty in Belgium; one hundred and fifty in Germany, of whom thirty-six were martyrs; thirteen in Italy; and eight in Iceland and Norway, all of whom were martyred, besides several in Scotland and elsewhere. So renowned had the schools of Ireland become that the Venerable Bede tells us that "in the time of Finian and Colman (seventh century) many nobles and others of the English nation were living in Ireland, whither they had gone either to cultivate the sacred studies, or to lead more chaste lives.

Some became monks, and others merely attended the monasteries to hear the lectures of the professors. But all were cheerfully received by the Irish, who supplied them gratis with books and teachers."

Among the distinguished foreigners educated in Ireland were Eanfrid, King of Bernicia; Oswald and Alcfrid, Kings of Northumbria; Dagobert, King of Austrasia, and King Alfred of England. Camden, the English historian, tells us that "anciently the Saxons flocked to Ireland as a mart of sacred learning," and the fact is frequently mentioned in the lives of the eminent men among them, of whom it is related that,

"With love of learning and example fired,  
To Ireland, famed for wisdom, they retired."

#### THE DANISH INVASION.

Hugh VI. ascended the throne of Ireland A. D. 797. At this period the Church was fully established in the country. There were bishops and pastors everywhere; every section had its church, and every church its pastor. It is possible that a diocese was then inconsiderable, for while in Ireland to-day there are only twenty-eight bishops, there were in the time of St. Patrick more than three hundred bishops in the island. The Church had attained its brightest eminence at this period, for with the incursion of the barbarians, as the Danes were designated, A. D. 795, a reign of blood, rapine, and carnage ensued. Towns, churches, and monasteries were burned without remorse, the clergy and people were massacred or carried away as slaves, and terror and devastation overspread the land.

The Danes were natives of Norway and Denmark. They were Pagans, fierce and warlike in battle, for they believed that their future happiness depended



on their bravery and the number they killed in battle. They were armed with a battle-axe, a two-edged sword, bow and javelin, and a large leathern shield. They were, properly speaking, a colony of Goths, and called Danes after a celebrated chief named Dan, son of Hamel, whom they had chosen for their monarch. Denmark and Norway were allied together by their geographical position and by the claims of common kindred, and as their population increased they made inroads on Gaul and the coasts of Britain. They were great navigators and noted pirates, and soon swept the neighboring coasts with their formidable fleets led on by their daring Vikings, or Sea Kings, as they were justly called. Such was the enemy that ravaged the coasts of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries, and checked the progress of Charlemagne in the conquest of the Saxons. In France they were called Normans, which signifies North-men, or more properly from the fact that they took possession of that part of the country called Normandy, which some writers hold was named after them. In England they were called Ostmans, that is, people from the East, while in Ireland they were called in the language of the country "Lochlaminigs," which signifies "powerful at sea." So that in most histories we find them designated by different names, including those of Danes, Norwegians, and Normans.

According to Irish annals the Danes first appeared on the Irish coast in 795. They laid waste the country bordering the sea in Albania, and pillaged the isle of Rathlin in the County Antrim, and carried off several of the inhabitants as captives. In 798 they made another raid on the coasts of the north of Ireland and the Hebrides. Their object at first was plunder, but being pleased with the fertility of the country and the

rich spoils of its monasteries, they resolved to conquer it. They landed on the coast of Munster, having with them a chosen body of troops and a fleet of fifty vessels. They commenced pillaging and massacring on all sides, laying waste the province. Airtre, King of Munster, gave them battle and drove them back to their vessels with great slaughter. About the same time they pillaged Iona and massacred the monks in the abbey. Soon after this, A. D. 812, another Danish fleet landed troops on the coasts of Munster, but were again defeated with great loss by Feidlime, successor to King Airtre. At the same time another fleet landed troops on the eastern coasts. They advanced into the country, spreading terror and dismay on all sides. They ravaged the celebrated Abbey of Bangor and killed the abbot with nine hundred monks. Another body landed at Wexford and laid waste the country before them, burned churches and monasteries, and massacred their inhabitants. The troops of Ossory gave them battle and defeated them with great loss, the Danes leaving seven hundred dead on the field. Not disheartened by defeats, but rather stimulated by the richness of the spoils in prospect, they landed a large force in Limerick, which commenced its career of rapine and massacre. They were again defeated and compelled to take to their ships for safety. They seemed discouraged by their repeated defeats, but in reality were only preparing to make a more resolute and combined attack on Scotia, as their chroniclers call Ireland, a name by which the country was best known in the ninth century.

About the year 818 Turgesius landed with a formidable fleet in the north of Ireland. He had the reputation of being a great warrior, but was a cruel, vindictive tyrant. On the news of his arrival, all the Danes who had been foolishly allowed to settle in the country



joined him. Turgesius commenced operations by issuing orders to spare neither age nor sex. As there were no fortifications in the country, the Danes commenced the system of throwing up forts to protect them wherever they encamped for any time, or found it necessary to leave a guard, so that in the course of time the country became covered with forts, the remains of which still exist.

Turgesius stationed a part of his fleet in Lough Neagh, another in Lough Rea, and the rest in front of Limerick. From these fleets and the raths or garrisons established near them Turgesius poured forth his troops to deluge in blood the country. The tyrant's orders were too faithfully executed. The church and abbey of Armagh were plundered three times in one month, and the monks and the seven thousand students which it contained were either assassinated or put to flight. On all sides, monasteries and churches were ruthlessly plundered, and their inmates butchered. While Turgesius was devastating the country, Ireland was distracted and divided by internecine wars and feuds between her princes and rulers.

Hugh, the Monarch of Ireland, instead of concentrating his forces against the Danes, waged war on the people of Leinster. In this reign the wrath of God seemed to visit the country: over a thousand persons were killed by lightning, the sea deluged a large section of the country, and the island of Inisfidhe was rent in three parts by an earthquake.

Hugh, who died in 819, was succeeded by King Conquovar, or Connor, who felt more keenly than his predecessor the misfortunes of the country. He collected all his forces to oppose the Danes, who now began to establish themselves permanently in the country, and gave them battle at Tailton, where they

were signally defeated. The Danes were able to protect themselves within their forts until they received reinforcements from their own country. In a fierce battle with the inhabitants of Leinster soon afterwards, the Danes were again victorious.

Conquovar made desperate efforts to unite the warring Irish chiefs against the invaders, but failed, and it is said that he died of a broken heart. He was succeeded by Niall, son of Hugh IV., who made efforts to expel the Danes. In 835, reinforcements having arrived from Norway, the Danes laid waste the province of Connaught, with part of Meath and Leinster. They also devastated a great part of Ulster, demolished the churches, and treated the Christians with all kinds of savage brutality. They again seized on Armagh, and burned the Monasteries of Inis-Keattrach, Clon-Mac-Noise, Tirdiglass, and several others.

The year 840 was remarkable for the destruction of the Picts in Scotland. After a long war the Scots defeated them and their King, Kenneth, and incorporated their territory with their own, thus establishing the Kingdom of Scotland.

While the Normans were pouring hordes of their daring adventurers into Ireland, the Irish princes were at war with each other. We find the King of Cashel making war on some of his refractory subjects, and the monarch more bent on chastising refractory princes than on expelling the Danes. However, after having crushed out several revolts, he defeated the Danes in numerous engagements. Niall, having defeated the Danes in the territory of Tirconnel, was on his return home, when unfortunately he was drowned in crossing the river at Callan, County Kilkenny. The village was since called Callan, after Niall's additional name of "Caille," and the river is still known as the King's River.



After the death of Niall-Caille, the throne of Ireland remained vacant for some time, and the followers of Turgesius declared him king. Troops were sent from Norway to sustain his claims. This exasperated the Irish princes and chiefs so greatly that for a time they forgot their private quarrels and made common cause against the enemy, and defeated the Danes in several engagements. At Ardrahan, in Meath, they were defeated by the tribe of the Dailgais. The Kings of Cashel and Leinster joined their forces and defeated them at Scia-Naght, slaying Tomair, their chief and heir to the crown of Denmark, and twelve hundred men. They were again defeated at Cashel and Limerick, as also in several engagements in Meath and West Meath.

The Danes were now desperate, and should soon have been compelled to leave the island if only followed up in the same vigorous manner, but the Irish chiefs had their own quarrels to settle, and new reinforcements pouring in from Norway, Turgesius was again able to act on the offensive, and soon made himself master of Dublin and established a strong colony of Danes around it in the territory of Fingal. He became so formidable that he actually assumed supreme power, and commenced to regulate the affairs of both Church and State. He was fast reducing the country to a state of servitude and ignorance, for he had placed his soldiers to garrison each village or house, had burnt and destroyed the monasteries and colleges with their stores of learning, and was fast driving the country into a state of barbarism, when his cruel reign was brought to a bloody end. The tyrant fell in love with Melcha, daughter of Malachi, Prince of Meath. He asked her from her father. Had he refused the barbarian, it would be certain destruction to himself and family; so he formed a scheme to get rid of the oppressor, and possibly of the invaders.

He pretended to accept his offer, only stipulating that fifteen young ladies should accompany her on her marriage-day. This being agreed upon, Malachi selected fifteen beardless youths, who were dressed in female attire, and secretly armed. On the festival night Turgesius with some of his officers indulged freely in wine, when the youths, throwing off their disguise, seized and bound him, and then threw open the gates to Malachi and his followers, who burst in, killing all who opposed them. Turgesius himself was bound and flung into Lough Vair, where he perished. A general rising of the Irish and a wholesale massacre of the Danes followed. The latter, having lost their daring leader, made a small show of resistance, and most of them fled from the island.

In their gratitude to Malachi for their deliverance from the Danes, the people declared him their monarch. Malachi proved to be a wise and valiant prince, and defeated the Danes in several engagements. He restored peace and tranquillity to the nation, religion again flourished, the churches and monasteries were again rebuilt, and the princes and people restored to their inheritance. He did not suffer much from new invasions, for the adventurers from Denmark and Norway quarreled among themselves, and the consequence was that as long as they remained divided they ceased to be formidable to any foreign power.

The expelled Normans, unable to regain their hold by force of arms, had recourse to diplomacy. The brothers of Turgesius traded with the Irish, and their friends largely colonized Waterford, Limerick, and Dublin under the pretense of trade. In time they became formidable, and even killed the King of Munster in a skirmish. Malachi, desiring to visit Rome on a pious pilgrimage, sent ambassadors and presents to the court



of Charles the Bald, of France, to inform him of his victories over the Danes, as well as to apprise him of his desire to pass through France on his way to Rome. The King of France received the ambassadors with distinction, and favored the Irish so much that he had many saintly and learned men of that nation around him.

Notwithstanding the troubles which disturbed Malachi's reign, this pious prince governed his subjects with equity and justice. He formed alliances with foreign princes, and gained several victories over the enemies of his country, but his weakness in having given a footing to the Danes in the seaport towns of the island, after the cruelties they had perpetrated, lessens considerably the opinion we should entertain of his wisdom and judgment. Malachi died A.D. 863, much regretted, and was interred with much pomp at Clon-Mac-Noise.

Hugh VII., son of Niall-Caille, who was drowned at Callan, succeeded Malachi. He was married to a daughter of Kenneth, King of Scotland. During the reign of this monarch and that of his successor, Flann, son of Malachi, the Danes again became formidable, and burned several monasteries. They might have fully regained their power had not quarrels broken out among themselves. In 892 Godfrey, son of Ivor, the Danish prince, was assassinated in Dublin by the intrigues of his brother Sitrick, which conflict divided the Danes into two factions. Sitrick did not long survive his fratricide, for he was killed by his own people.

The reign of Flann, was on the whole rather prosperous for Ireland, for, although the Danes succeeded in plundering Clonard, Armagh, Cork, and Lismore, they were too much divided among themselves to make general war on the Irish; besides, at this time, Harold,

who ruled Norway, had made war against the Sea Kings, and attacking them in their strongholds, pursued them with so much vigor that these pirates were unable to give much attention to foreign expeditions.

During this reign also Alfred the Great ruled in England, and brought from Ireland monks for his monasteries and learned men as professors in the English universities.

The throne of Munster was occupied by Cormac MacCullenan, Bishop of Cashel, who was crowned king A. D. 900. He compiled the "Saltair of Cashel." He allowed himself to be drawn into a foolish war with the Monarch Flann, and marched into Leinster, where he and six thousand of his followers were slain in a battle fought at a place called Beallach-Mugna, in the year 907. He was both a spiritual and a temporal prince. Olcoliar, who died in 851, and Cenfoelad, who died in 872, were at the same time Kings of Cashel and Bishops of Emly.

The Danes, having again regained their power in Dublin, threatened the conquest of all Ireland. Their most powerful enemies were the Kings of Munster, who kept up a continual conflict with them. Keallachan, King of Cashel, greatly signalized himself against the Danes. Sitrick, chief of the Danes, offered him his sister in marriage, and also to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive. Under such promises, he succeeded in getting the king into his hands as a prisoner. Kennede, who administered the government during the king's absence, sent his army of Munster men to revenge the cowardly trick. They were under command of Donnogh MacKeefe, Prince of Fermoighe, an experienced general. At the same time Kennede dispatched a fleet under command of the Prince of Desmond to attack the Danish ships. Donnogh followed



the Danes to Dundalk, driving them from Armagh. They embarked on board their ships, only to encounter the Irish fleet under Fionn, Prince of Desmond, and one of the most obstinate encounters on record took place.

Faillihe-Fionn closed on the Danish fleet, and desirous of setting his troops the example, he leaped, sword in hand, into the Danish admiral's ship, in which was Sitrick, his brother Tor, and Magnus, and Keallachan, King of Munster, who was tied to the mast. This brave man and his followers made dreadful havoc among the enemy, and clearing a passage to his king, he cut his bonds and set him at liberty, but he was slain while doing so. Prince Fiongall, seeing the conflict doubtful, rushed on Sitrick, and seizing him by the body, threw himself into the sea, where both perished. Seagda and Conall, two other chiefs, fired by this example, seized on Tor and Magnus, and in like manner jumped into the sea with them. The Danes, having lost their commanders, soon gave way and their fleet was routed with great slaughter. Keallachan returned with the army to Munster and pursued the Danes with implacable hostility.

Godfrid, King of the Ostmans of Dublin, pillaged Armagh in 921, but was defeated near Limerick in an expedition to support the Danes of Munster. About this time the Danes made a raid on Roscrea, in Tipperary, during the celebrated fair which was held there on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, but were routed with a loss of four thousand men and their chief, Oilfinn.

We cannot devote space in this *résumé* of Irish history to narrate the innumerable battles which took place between the Irish and the Danes. About the year 950 the Danes began to embrace the Christian re-

ligion and to intermarry with the natives, which tended greatly to soften their fierce natures.

During the reign of Malachi II., who succeeded his father A. D. 980, the Danes again became formidable. They were defeated by the monarch at Tara, where five thousand of their number, including their chiefs, were slain. He defeated the Danes who held the territory of Feangal, and captured the city of Dublin, releasing several Irishmen held prisoners there.

Brian, King of Munster, was also carrying on a fierce warfare against the enemy, and pursued them as far as Dublin, after killing six thousand of them in one engagement.

The Danes were in alliance with the Prince of Leinster, and owing to this fact, and the weakness of Malachi, there was danger of their conquering the country. The princes of Munster and Connaught, fearing such a result, decided that the sceptre as Ardrigh should be transferred to the warlike Brian, King of Munster, named Boiroidmhe, son of Kennede, and grandson of Lorcán, of the race of Heber Fionn, who having received the abdication of Malachi at Athlone, A. D. 1002, was declared monarch of all Ireland. Brian, having received the fealty of O'Connor, King of Connaught, Hugh O'Neill, King of Ulster, and other princes and chiefs, repaired to Tara, where he was solemnly crowned.

In his reign surnames were adopted in Ireland, and O and Mac were as honorable prefixes to show that the persons using them were descendants of some family.

After the assembly at Tara had dissolved. Brian retired to Kincora, near Killaloe, on the banks of the Shannon, where he held court. The most remarkable event in Brian's life was the battle of Clontarf, which originated as follows: Maelmurra, Prince of Leinster,



was taunted at a game of chess by Murrough, Brian's eldest son. Maelmurra vowed vengeance, and in order to gratify his revenge, opened negotiations with the Danes, and sending his agents to England, Denmark, and the Isle of Man, also to the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the coasts of Scotland, he entered into an alliance with them, while, on the other hand, they were only too glad of so favorable a chance to conquer the country. King Brian, justly alarmed at the vast preparations making by Maelmurra and his Danish allies, set to work with his usual energy, and being nobly seconded by Malachi, the dethroned monarch, the King of Connaught, and by nearly all the other Irish princes, the aged monarch, who was eighty-eight years of age, found himself at the head of an army of about twenty thousand men. All things being ready, they commenced their march for Dublin, where at a place called Clontarf, a short distance from the city, the Leinster troops and their Danish allies, numbering about the same as Brian's army, awaited them. Fourteen hundred of the Danes were in chain armor, and were under command of such brave warriors as Anrud, Bradur, Sigur, and Canuteson. The Irish forces were led by Murrough and the Princes of Munster, Meath, and Connaught. This battle, which took place on Good Friday, 23d of April, 1014, though desperate and sanguinary, was glorious to the Irish, who gained a complete victory over the enemy. The loss on both sides was very great. The enemy lost about twelve thousand men, including Maelmurra, King of Leinster, with two sons of the King of Denmark, and several of their most noted chiefs. The Irish lost about seven thousand, including the monarch himself, who was killed in his tent by a fugitive Dane; his son Murrough, who commanded the army; and his grandson, and several chiefs and princes. This celebrated battle

crushed the power of the Danes, destroyed their hope of conquest, and gave prestige to the arms of Ireland throughout Europe.

After the battle of Clontarf, Malachi, who had been dethroned twelve years before, ascended the throne of Ireland, and Donnough O'Brien, Prince of Thomoud, who led back the Munster troops from Clontarf, was declared King of Munster.

The Danes never recovered from the effects of Clontarf, and though they made feeble efforts to regain their ascendancy, they were defeated in several engagements by Prince Malachi and his successors, "until in the reign of Thurlough I., A. D. 1072, they finally acknowledged allegiance to the Monarch of Ireland."



## CHAPTER IV.

## THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION.

*From the Landing of the Saxon Invaders down to the Protestant Reformation—Art MacMurrough—How Ireland was Betrayed—Disunion and Jealousy the Ruin of Ireland.*

RELIGION in Ireland, which had fallen into many abuses during the long wars with the Danes, was again purified, and many noble churches and monasteries were built, such as the Church of Kildare, in 1060; St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1070; Holy Cross Abbey, in 1080; and the Cathedrals of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, about the same time. Ireland was freed from the barbarous inroads of the Danes, and might have been happy and prosperous, only for the ambitious jealousies of her kings and princes, who were continually at war with each other, thus harassing the country and keeping the people divided into warring factions. The wars between the various claimants to the throne of Ireland paved the way for the English invasion under Henry II.

In the year 1153 Devorgill, wife of O'Rourke, Prince of Breffny, eloped with Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, an act which has entailed almost as much misery on Ireland as the eating of the forbidden fruit by Mother Eve has on the human race. In the year 1154 Henry II. ascended the throne of England, and

in the same year Nicholas Breakspeare, an Englishman, was elected Pope. MacMurrough had drawn upon himself the vengeance of Roderick, Monarch of Ireland, and other princes, for his dastardly conduct in seducing the wife of the Prince of Brefni. After being expelled the renegade made his way to England, and sought the assistance of Henry to reinstate him, promising him that he would become tributary to him and aid him in conquering the country, on condition that he would aid him in becoming Monarch of Ireland. Though Henry was pleased with the scheme, he was not then in a position to do so, but he encouraged some adventurous noblemen to undertake the daring enterprise, assuring them of his countenance and support.

On the 11th of May, 1169, Robert Fitzstephen landed near Wexford with thirty knights, sixty men in armor, and three hundred men. Next day Maurice de Pendergast joined him with about one hundred men. Donald, son of Dermod, joined them with over five hundred followers; these were reinforced by more of the friends of the treacherous MacMurrough. Wexford at once surrendered to them, and the garrison, which was friendly to Dermod, increased the army of the invaders.

The progress of Dermod and his allies began to alarm the Monarch Roderick, who effected a treaty with MacMurrough, recognizing him as King of Leinster, on condition that he would dismiss his Anglo-Norman supporters. The faithless MacMurrough proved his treachery, for after signing the treaty, he encouraged the invaders, and the same year he welcomed to his standard Maurice Fitzgerald, with ten knights, thirty esquires, and one hundred footmen, and Raymond Le Gros, with about one hundred followers. In fact, the perjured MacMurrough had only lulled the fears of





YOUGHAL ABBEY.





Roderick the better to enable him to bring over his allies, and to organize a formidable army. Waterford was the next place that fell into the invaders' hands. Here they showed that even then the Saxon enemy was not ignorant of the resources of civilization, for they tortured twenty of the inhabitants, breaking their limbs, and flung them into the sea, as an example to the living to conduct themselves in a law-abiding manner.

In August, 1170, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, landed with over twelve hundred followers, and assumed the leadership. He espoused Eva, daughter of the recreant Leinster King, and then, having mustered his forces, which consisted of about ten thousand Leinster troops, and his foreign allies, numbering about two thousand more, he marched on Dublin and laid siege to it. The inhabitants made a gallant resistance, but were obliged to surrender. While the conditions were drawing up the enemy burst into the city, and slew many of the inhabitants.

The invaders had now, by the aid of the King of Leinster, become so powerful that they were able to bid defiance to the Ardrigh himself. Roderick, though a pious and brave prince, was deficient in resolution and military genius, and in this respect was no match for Strongbow and the brave and able generals who served under him. In May, 1171, MacMurrough died miserably at Dublin, after handing over his country to the Saxon invaders. October 18th, A. D. 1171, Henry II., with a fleet of four hundred vessels and an army of five hundred knights and four thousand men-at-arms, landed near Waterford. In his train were Hugh de Lacy, Theobald Walters, the first of the Butlers, William Fitzaldelm, ancestor of the Burkes, and many others whose descendants became famous in the

country. Henry remained seven months in the country, and both by arms and diplomacy did much in that time to strengthen England's power in Ireland.

In the first place, he used the celebrated bull of Pope Adrian, which many writers think was forged, as there is no copy of it in the archives at Rome, to influence the clergy, too many of whom at once bowed in submission to what they looked upon as the bull of the Holy See. Though this bull bears date 1155, it was not brought forward until the time of Henry's landing in Ireland. Many eminent writers maintain that it was a piece of gross forgery. Henry, who found creatures too ready to assassinate St. Thomas of Canterbury, did not want for venal writers to give publicity to a document so necessary for the justification of his invasion of Ireland. Even if the bull were genuine, which we hold it was not, Pope Adrian had no more right to hand over Ireland a manacled slave to England, than he had to bestow it on France or Italy.

Henry made good use of his time in Ireland; Cork Waterford, and Limerick surrendered to him. He commenced his career by introducing the system of confiscation, and generously granted Dublin to be possessed by the surplus population of Bristol, and all Ireland was duly apportioned to his followers. Through motives of policy, or rather on the principle of "divide and conquer," he recognized the titles and claims of the MacMurroughs of Leinster, the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Briens of Thomond, the O'Connors of Connaught, and the O'Malachys of Meath.

After Henry's return to England, the Irish chiefs began to make common cause against the enemy, and various engagements followed with varying success. In the year 1175 a synod was held at Waterford, at which Adrian's bull was made public for the first time.



The influence of this document must have been all-powerful, as is seen from the fact that before the close of the year Roderick sent his Chancellor, St. Lawrence O'Toole, at the head of an embassy to Henry II. The result was the treaty of Windsor, in which the Ardrigh yields precedence to Henry, while retaining both the emblems and the substance of his former power.

The Anglo-Norman chiefs now began to take a prominent part in Irish affairs. John de Courcy led a band of adventurers into Ulster, where they took foothold. In 1184 Pope Lucius III. released Dublin from the authority of Armagh, thus making of it an Anglo-Norman see. In 1185 John, the son of Henry, landed in Waterford with the title of Lord of Ireland. He spent eight months in the country, indulging in all kinds of excesses and dissipation, and heaping insults on the native princes.

In the year 1186 Roderick was deposed by his sons, and retired to the Monastery of Cong, where he died, November 9th, 1198. The most eminent man who flourished in Ireland at this period—eminent alike for his piety and his patriotism—was St. Lawrence, Archbishop of Dublin, who died A. D. 1180.

After the death of Roderick, Ireland had no Ardrigh. The provincial kings carried on the struggle against the invaders, but as they were too often at variance among themselves, and more bent on avenging private quarrels than on expelling the enemy, their efforts were unsuccessful, and they were finally swept away themselves. Henry II. died miserably in 1189, and was succeeded by Richard I., commonly called *Cœur de Lion*. The Anglo-Normans split up into factions, and the Irish might have regained their independence and expelled the invaders, but for the destructive wars raging among themselves, and chiefly among the princes

of Connaught, who were fighting for the shadow of a crown while the enemy had seized on the substance.

In 1199 John succeeded his brother Richard on the throne of England. In Ireland his authority was scarcely recognized. Therefore, in the year 1210, he collected seven hundred ships and crossed over with a large army. His visit only lasted a few months, and accomplished little or nothing. He did not march against the enemy, but mapped out the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny in Leinster, and Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary, in Munster, which he graciously bestowed on his followers, though the natives still held possession of them, unless near the garrisons. As the Danes built the raths, or forts, to protect them from the assaults of the natives, the English now built strong castles for their protection, the ruins of which still cover the island.

In the year 1224 the Dominicans established their first house in Dublin, under the patronage of the Anglo-Normans. The Franciscans, on the other hand, were more in favor with the natives, and founded their first house in Cork, through the liberality of Florence MacCarthy, in 1229.

This era was one of ceaseless war in Ireland. The invaders were at open strife among themselves, and the native chiefs, instead of taking advantage of their dissensions, only followed their example. An immense number of religious houses sprang up about this time. The Anglo-Normans, though zealous in destroying native monasteries, were munificent in their endowments of ones founded by monks of their own race, which they could well afford to do from the spoils of the others.



The quarrels between the Connaught princes for the right of succession, as also between the O'Neills and O'Donnells, is a sad comment upon the manner in which the English gained possession of Ireland. In 1259 O'Neill caused himself to be proclaimed Monarch of Ireland. He did not enjoy the barren title long, for he was killed the following year in battle.

The Geraldines, or retainers of the Fitzgeralds, who had settled in Munster, were continually harassed by O'Brien of Thomond and MacCarthy, Prince of Carbery.

About this time, according to Galleli, the Italians began to use the Irish harp, which had been introduced into that country about 1073.

One hundred years had now elapsed since the invasion of the Anglo-Normans, and Ireland was still unconquered. About one-third of the country was in the hands of the invaders, whereas all the rest remained subject to the native princes and laws. Richard de Burgh, the "Red Earl" of Ulster, was the most powerful Anglo-Norman lord in Ireland about this time. In Ulster and Connaught his sway was almost supreme. After humbling the house of O'Connor in Connaught, he successfully made war on the O'Neills and O'Donnells in Ulster, but was finally made prisoner by the Fitzgeralds, whose possessions in Meath he had invaded. He was soon afterwards set at liberty by an Anglo-Saxon Parliament, which was the first of the kind held in Ireland. He joined the army of Edward I. against the Scotch, and fought at the battle of Falkirk, where Wallace was defeated, and after a life of adventure and vicissitudes, he died in 1326.

When Edward II. invaded Scotland in 1314 the Irish joined the standard of Robert Bruce, and a body of archers sent by Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, con-

tributed greatly to the victory of Bannockburn. Chaucer, in alluding to it, says:

‘To Albion Scots we ne’er would yield;  
The Irish bowmen won the field.”

The result of this glorious victory in Scotland had a salutary effect on the Irish chiefs. Donald O’Neill, Prince of Ulster, organized a confederacy of native chiefs, and invited Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, to undertake the deliverance of the country.

Bruce accepted, and on May 25th, A. D. 1315, he landed near Glenarm, in Antrim, with six thousand men, and was immediately joined by O’Neill. All Ulster, except Carrickfergus, soon fell into their hands, and Bruce was elected King of Ireland and crowned at Dundalk amid great pomp and rejoicings. The King of England appealed to the Pope in the crisis. Donald O’Neill addressed an able letter to the Pope, in which he graphically depicts the sad state of Ireland and the outrages practiced on them by the English. The English combined all their forces under Birmingham and De Burgh, and after several engagements, in most of which the Irish troops were successful, they finally defeated Bruce’s army at Faughard, October 14th, 1318, where that gallant but ill-fated prince was slain.

The termination of the war with Bruce did not restore peace to the country. Dissensions multiplied both among natives and Anglo-Normans, and a general kind of internecine war ensued. For instance, at Ardnocher, West Meath, A. D. 1328, MacGeoghan defeated Lord Butler with a loss of three thousand men, and in the following year the Earl of Louth was slain at Ballybeagan, with a number of his followers. In 1331 eighty persons were burned in a church in Leinster, and two years afterwards two priests and about two hundred



worshipers met the same fate in a church in Thomond, while in 1339 about thirteen hundred natives were slain in Kerry by Earl Desmond.

About this time the Saxons and Normans amalgamated, and henceforth were known under the common appellation of Englishmen. About this time also the Anglo-Norman lords in Ireland had adopted the Irish language and habits, and many of them had become more Irish than the Irish themselves. In order to punish them, Edward III., in 1341, revoked all the privileges and grants of land made to them by himself and his ancestors. The following year he issued another edict, prohibiting the public employment of men born in Ireland, or who even married there, and declared that all offices of state should be filled by Englishmen. The Anglo-Norman lords met at Kilkenny and remonstrated in a menacing tone. As Edward was on the eve of a war with France, he found it prudent to yield for a time at least. The edicts of the King only influenced the Irish-born Normans to seek the friendship and alliance of the natives. The bitter spirit of hostility exhibited by the English to the Irish, and the policy of the government in keeping them divided the easier to conquer them, was thus inaugurated by Edward, and has been steadily observed even down to our own times. In 1357 it was declared treason to intermarry or hold relations of fosterage with the natives, and two years later it was enacted that "no mere Irishman could be a mayor or bailiff, or officer of any town within the English districts," nor could he, "hereafter, under pretense of kindred or other cause, be received into holy orders or advanced to any ecclesiastical benefice." Thus we find that Catholic England has been just as bitter in its proscriptive spirit against Ireland and the Irish as Protestant England; it has always been more a question of race and nationality than of religion.

In 1361 Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward, was sent over to Ireland as Lord Deputy, with fifteen hundred men. He proceeded to exterminate the rebel natives of Clare, but was defeated with considerable loss. Under him was enacted, in 1367, the celebrated statute of Kilkenny, which declared that "whereas many English of the land of Ireland, forsaking the English language, manners, mode of riding, and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies, and also have made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid, it is therefore enacted," among other provisions, "that all intermarriages, fosterings, gossipred, buying or selling with the 'enemie' shall be accounted treason; that English names, fashions, and manners shall be resumed under the penalty of the confiscation of the delinquent's lands; that March law and Brehon law are illegal, and that there shall be no law but English law; that the Irish shall not pasture their cattle on English lands; that the English shall not entertain Irish rhymers, minstrels, or newsmen; and, moreover, that no 'mere Irishman' shall be admitted to any ecclesiastical benefice or religious house situated within the English districts."

This sweeping edict compelled the Irish to combine against the common enemy. The result was that there was a general rising among the chiefs and princes. In 1369 O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, defeated Garret, Earl of Desmond, near Adare, and slew many of his followers. Limerick was then captured, and Carrickfergus shared the same fate. In 1375 Burke and Talbot, two English commanders, were defeated and slain at Downpatrick by Niall O'Neill of Ulster. It was at this time also that Art MacMurrough, King of Leinster,



entered on his long contest with the English spoilers, and became the great champion of national independence, as also Roderick, the last King of Connaught. The English were soon driven within the "Pale," as the English districts in Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Meath were called.

Art had defeated the English in several engagements, and Richard II., feeling the humiliation, took the field against him in person, but met with several repulses. By wiles he got the King of Leinster into his power, but the latter made his escape, and was soon again at the head of his troops. In 1397 he captured Carlow, and the following year he routed Lord Mortimer and his whole army. Richard, who had returned to England, hurried back to Ireland with an army of over twenty thousand men. MacMurrough, who now proclaimed himself "King and Lord of Ireland," A. D. 1399, retired before the immense army led by Richard, and laid waste the country so that his enemy had to fall back to his supplies on the coast. Richard had to return to England to oppose Henry, Duke of Lancaster, who was soon afterwards crowned as Henry IV.

The war continued several years with fluctuating results. In the year 1407 the Irish suffered a loss of eight hundred men at Callan, County Kilkenny; but this defeat was more than counterbalanced in the following year by a great victory which Art gained at Kilmainham over an English army numbering ten thousand men. On the 10th of May, 1414, O'Connor of Connaught defeated the enemy at Killucan, and three years later the aged MacMurrough died, after forty years of warfare against the enemies of his country.

The death of the great Art MacMurrough left Ireland without a leader capable of competing with the treacherous invaders. The mean, vindictive spite of the

English against the Irish was not even confined to laymen, but also influenced English ecclesiastics, most of whom held civil offices, and it was no unusual thing for princes, priests, and bishops to raid with armed bands against the natives. Such unchristian and tyrannical acts tended so much to unite the natives that we read in a petition to Henry VI., in 1430, that "the enemies and rebels, aided by the Scotch, had conquered or rendered tributary every part of the country, except the County Dublin." As a proof of the intolerant spirit of the English toward the Irish about this time, their Parliaments had passed several savage statutes. One was "an act that no person, liege or alien, shall take merchandise, or things to be sold, to faire, market, or other place amongst the Irish enemies, under pain of imprisonment, confiscation of goods, and felony. In 1442 an act was passed "that it should be lawful for every liege man to take all manner of Irish enemies, which in time of peace should come and converse amongst them, and treat them as of the King's enemies," that is, of course, to put them to death. In 1447 a law was enacted that men should shave their upper lip, or be treated as enemies; an act was passed compelling the sons of artisans to follow the occupations of their fathers, thus preventing their chance of preferment. The system of "coyn and livery," which empowered them to quarter themselves upon the natives free of charge, came into operation.

Under the viceroyalty of Richard, Duke of York, who was appointed in 1449, Ireland enjoyed a period of repose, and when the Duke inaugurated the War of the Roses at St. Alban's, in his attempt to gain the English throne, so popular was he with the Irish that they fought in support of his cause. The war in England between the rival houses of York and Lancaster,



which was inaugurated at St. Alban's in 1455, and terminated by the battle of Tewkesbury in 1485, afforded a chance to the Irish to fling off the English yoke. Unfortunately, though, there was not concert of action enough among them to accomplish such results.

In the third year of Edward IV. an act was passed, which forced every Irishman within the Pale "to take to him an English surname of one town, as, Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skyrne, Corke, Kinsale; or color, as, White, Blacke, Browne; or art or science, as, Smith or Carpenter; or office, as, Cooke or Butler; and that he and his issue shall use this name under penalty of forfeiture of his goods yearly." It appears that many persons complied with this law, for had they not they would be in constant danger of being put to death at any moment, because, in 1465, a law was made, entitled, "An act that it shall be lawful to kill any Irishman that is found robbing by day or night, or going or coming to rob or steal, having no faithful man of good name or fame in their company in English apparel." Thus, in truth, the only fact necessary to be ascertained was that a person was an Irishman; for, if he were not robbing, or coming from robbing, who could say but that he might be going to rob? Therefore, he might always be put to death. As an encouragement to secure the execution of this act, it was afterwards enacted that after the Englishman had murdered his man "going to rob," he might levy a tax on every household in the barony where the said thief was taken.

As another sample of English laws, in a Parliament held in Dublin by William Sherwood, Lord-Lientenant, and *Bishop* of Meath, it was decreed that any Englishman injured by a native beyond the Pale might take vengeance on the entire sept of the aggressor, A. D. 1475.

The introduction of guns, which were first used in Ireland by Hugh Roe O'Donnell in 1487, greatly changed the mode of warfare. About the same time Ireland was agitated by the Earl of Kildare taking the part of the pretender and also by the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck.

In 1494 Edward Poynings was Lord-Lieutenant, and, having assembled a Parliament at Drogheda in the following year, an act was passed, which provided, among other things, that thereafter no legislation whatever should be enacted in Ireland, until the bills proposed were first submitted to the King and Council in England, and returned approved under the great seal of the realm. This measure is known as "Poynings's Act."

During the reign of Henry VII. the authority of the Earl of Kildare, who was Lord-Lieutenant, was all-powerful within the Pale; the native chiefs were wasting their energies in frequent strifes, and the condition of affairs was sad on the whole. The turbulent Kildare quarreled with his son-in-law, Ulick de Burgo; a war broke out, in which Kildare was assisted by the Geraldines and other lords of the Pale, while O'Brien of Thomond and other Munster chiefs took side with De Burgo. A battle was fought at Knocktow, near Galway, in which Kildare routed his enemies, who lost two thousand men. As an instance of the undying hatred of the Anglo-Irish for the Irish, Leland, in his history, states that after the battle William Preston, Viscount of Gormanstown, said to the Earl of Kildare, "We have slaughtered our enemies, but to complete the good deed, we must proceed still further—cut the throats of those Irish of our party."

In 1509 Henry VII. was succeeded by Henry VIII., and in the following year Kildare, the Lord-Lieutenant, was defeated at Monetrar in Munster by O'Brien of



Thomond, assisted by the Earl of Desmond. Three years later Carrickfergus was taken, and its garrison put to the sword by Hugh O'Donnell of Tyrconnell. At this time also the Earl of Kildare died, and was succeeded by his son Gerald, the ninth and last *Catholic* earl of the name.

At the accession of Henry VIII. the English held in Ireland only half of the five counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Wexford, and Kildare. Even the bulk of the inhabitants of these districts were Irish in birth, habits, and language. The Geraldines of Munster were gradually extending their possessions by encroaching upon the native chiefs, but at last MacCarthy of Carbery and O'Brien of Thomond united their forces and defeated them with a loss of two thousand men, A. D. 1520. A less pleasing victory was that at Knockavoe in Ulster, where O'Neill lost nine hundred of his clansmen in a contest against his rival, O'Donnell.

Desmond assumed the dignity of a king, and in 1525 made overtures for an alliance with the King of France to drive the English out of the Pale, and thus establish himself as King of Ireland. The King ordered the Earl of Kildare to chastise the haughty Desmond, but Kildare not having done so, the King called him to London to account for his conduct. On his arrival there he was imprisoned in the Tower, and the enemies of the Earl forged dispatches to his son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, called "Silken Thomas," who was but twenty years of age, stating that his father had been murdered in the Tower. This fired the young man, who rushed into the council chamber in Dublin, flung his sword on the table, and renounced his allegiance to the King. Silken Thomas took up arms against the royal authority, and overran the neighborhood of Dublin, but after some time he was treacherously induced by a promise

of pardon by Lord Grey, the King's Deputy, to submit. He was treacherously sent a prisoner to England, and he and his five uncles were executed together at Tyburn, on February 3d, 1537.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE REFORMATION.

*Ireland and her English Protestant Rulers—Persecution of the Catholics—the Price Set on a Priest's Head—Confiscation, Spoliation, and Murder*

A NEW element was now infused into the conflict in Ireland, and to all the blind passions engendered by national hate was to be added the bitter strife of religious animosities. In the sixteenth century the heresies which had been for some time gaining ground in Germany had culminated in a rebellion against the Catholic Church. In Germany the principal leader was Martin Luther, a discarded friar; in Scotland, John Knox, an apostate monk; in Switzerland, John Calvin, a rigid fanatic; and in England, Henry VIII., a voluptuous tyrant, who murdered his wives.

In 1535 John Brown, an apostate priest, was made first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin by the King. Two years later a Parliament was convened in Dublin, which legally recognized the new religion. This Parliament was composed chiefly of the English of the Pale and of English officials in Dublin. As for the body of the Irish people, from the first they disowned the reformed religion, and with the exception of a few bishops and priests and some laymen who



were subsidized, all continued to adhere to the old faith. The reformers soon began to give an example of what they meant by the "Reformation," for they commenced a wholesale seizure of abbeys, convents, and monasteries, which were confiscated to the crown or given in bribes.

The Catholics in Ulster resorted to arms, but were defeated with great loss; they then entered into an alliance with James V. of Scotland, who fitted out a fleet, which never reached Ireland. In 1541 Henry VIII. assembled a Parliament of his followers in Dublin, and had himself proclaimed "King of Ireland." The following chiefs vowed submission to the usurper and acknowledged the new title, namely: Con O'Neill of Ulster, who was rewarded with the title of Earl of Tyrone; Murrough O'Brien, who was made Earl of Thomond; and Ulick MacWilliam Burke, who was dubbed Earl of Clanricarde; Brian Fitzpatrick and Matthew, the son of O'Neill, were created barons. But when they returned among their clans they were shunned and despised for their servility, and some of them had to go into exile to avoid the loathing and fury of men who before their submission would have died for them. During this reign Meath was divided into the counties of Meath and West Meath.

Henry was succeeded by his son, Edward VI., a boy of nine years, in 1547. During this short reign several Irish chiefs who rebelled were crushed out and their lands confiscated. Edward died in 1553, and was succeeded by his sister, Mary Tudor, who was a Catholic. In England the Parliament and most of the reformers renounced Protestantism. The districts of Leix and O'Faily, which had been confiscated under the former reign, were again overrun, and were henceforth called King's County and Queen's County. Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth in 1558, and the Parliament, whose

religion was that of the reigning sovereign, again became Protestant and declared the Queen the head of the Church. The most noted Irish chief at this period was Shane O'Neill the Proud, who took the title of "King of Ulster." He deposed his father, who had accepted from Henry the English title of Earl of Tyrone.

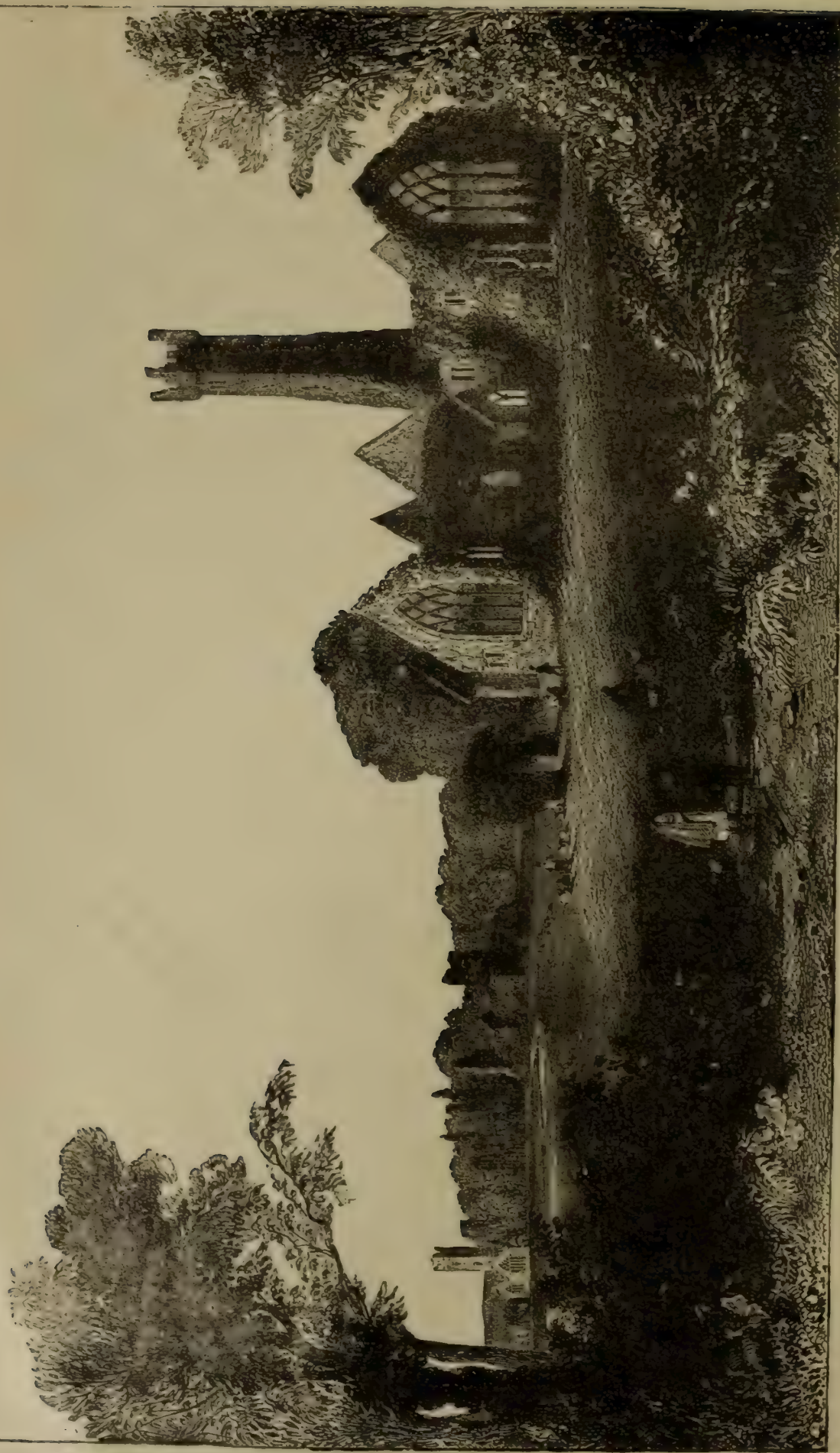
The Earl of Sussex, the then Queen's Deputy in Ireland, reconstructed the country, and changed the territory of Annaly into the County Longford, and the counties of Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, and Roscommon were formed out of the province of Connaught. In the meantime Shane O'Neill was extending his authority over the whole of Ulster. The Queen summoned him to England, but he became a favorite with her, and returned home only to commence hostilities, which he successfully did against the allies of Essex, including a body of Scotch who had landed in Ulster. Elizabeth sent commissioners to O'Neill, offering him the title of Earl of Tyrone and Baron of Dunganon. O'Neill proudly replied. "If," said he, "your mistress, Elizabeth, be Queen of England, I am O'Neill, King of Ulster; I never made peace with her without having been previously solicited to it by her. I am not ambitious of the abject title of earl; both my family and birth raise me above it. I will not yield precedence to any one; my ancestors have been Kings of Ulster. I have gained that kingdom by my sword, and by my sword I will preserve it."

English treachery accomplished what English arms could not, and the brave O'Neill was slain at Clanbuoy and a great portion of his vast estates were confiscated to the English crown or conferred upon the English followers. At the time of O'Neill's death, the English within the Pale were rather united by the common danger which threatened them on all sides, while outside





AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY, ADARE





the Pale the Irish were harassed by petty wars and the fiendish cruelty of the "undertakers" and other cutthroat carpetbaggers from England, who under protection of the government committed all kinds of outrages, crimes, and wholesale assassinations. They were furnished with all kinds of rights and privileges from the Queen to dispossess the natives and establish English colonies in their place. The most famous of these was Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, who in 1573 landed in Ulster with six hundred followers, in order to seize on the confiscated lands of O'Neill, granted to him by the Queen. The better to carry out his villainous designs, he invited Brian O'Neill of Clanbuoy and other chieftains to a banquet, where they were massacred, Essex being rewarded by the confiscation of their lands.

In Munster the houses of Ormond and Desmond, the Butlers and the Fitzgeralds, struggled for supremacy. A war followed which almost depopulated the fair fields of Munster. In the conflict the princes of Munster formed a league against the English. Our space will not permit us to follow the terrible struggle that followed. The Earl of Desmond was captured by the English and sent a prisoner to London. His cousin, James Fitzgerald, still waged the war, and had driven the English to such straits, that Elizabeth released the Earl on condition that he would put an end to the conflict. This the Earl was unable or unwilling to do, and the brave Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald continued the conflict. To add to the bitterness of parties, in 1577 Sir Francis Crosby, President of Leinster, with the approval of the Lord Deputy, invited the native chiefs to a conference at Mullaghmast, in King's County, holding out to them flattering inducements of a favorable settlement of affairs. The result was that about eight

hundred of the assembled chiefs and their retainers were murdered in cold blood.

Fitzmaurice fled to the Continent to obtain assistance from the Catholic powers, and with the assistance of Pope Gregory XIII. he organized an expedition for Ireland, but the expedition failed, owing to the treachery of the commander of the fleet, who was in the interest of England. The brave Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald returned to Ireland with a few followers, and was slain in a conflict with some of his own kindred who were as base as he was noble.

The old Earl of Desmond was again forced to take the field by his enemies, who coveted his broad acres. In this conflict the so-called chivalrous Sir Walter Raleigh distinguished himself by massacring in cold blood, after they had given up their arms under promise of safety, a garrison of eight hundred Spaniards who held the fort at Smerwick, County Kerry, and only surrendered on condition of their lives being spared and being allowed to return to their own country. The poet Spenser, who was present, encouraged the brutal crime.

After making a gallant struggle, Earl Desmond was forced in 1584 to seek safety in concealment. Overcome, his troops scattered, himself a fugitive, the Earl was at length discovered and murdered by an English soldier, and his head sent as a present to the Queen, who had said of O'Neill, "If he revolted, it would be better for her servants, as there would be estates enough for them all." This single expression of Elizabeth reveals the entire policy of the English government towards Ireland. That injured country was the great repast to which every monarch bid his lords sit down and eat. After they had gorged their fill, the remains were left for those who should come after. Tranquillity



succeeded these massacres, but it was the tranquillity of the graveyard. The proud and patriotic Irishmen were folded in the sleep of death, and the silence and repose around their lifeless corpses was called peace.

Desmond's vast estates, amounting to about six hundred thousand acres, were confiscated and divided among his enemies, who had goaded him on to destruction. The condition of Munster after the war was pitiable. In the language of the poet Spenser, who profitted by the spoils, that "most populous and plentiful country was reduced to a heap of carcasses and ashes;" and Holinshed tells us that the English soldiers "spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all were committed to the sword." After the rebellion the English soldiers inaugurated a regular war of extermination. They burned down the houses over the people, and if any attempted to escape they were flung back to feed the flames. It was a diversion to these monsters to take up infants on the points of their spears and whirl them about in their terrible agony, justifying their cowardly brutality by remarking that, "If they were allowed to live they would grow up papish rebels." Lombard, in his "Commentaries," tells us that "many women were found hanging on trees, with their children at their breasts, strangled by the mother's hair."

This savage state of things was even made more atrocious by the religious persecutions which accompanied it. The following illustrious persons were put to death on account of their religion about this time, namely: Patrick O'Healy, Bishop of Mayo, racked and strangled, 1578; Dr. O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, hanged, 1584; and Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, poisoned in the Tower of London, 1585. Besides these, scores of bishops and priests were barbarously hanged, drawn, and quartered for the faith, in different parts of the country.

No sooner was the Geraldine League drowned in blood than the hopes of bleeding Ireland were again revived. The Spanish Armada was fitted out against England by Philip II. of Spain. But the hope this promised was soon dispelled by the melancholy fate of the expedition. The brave Hugh O'Neill next took the field. He had organized a powerful confederacy of the Irish chiefs, but his principal allies were the Maguires of Fermanagh and the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell. O'Neill was an able general and crafty statesman, and in him the English found a formidable rival. He routed the army of Sir John Norris at Clontibert. He was also victorious in several encounters, the most prominent of which was the battle of the Yellow Ford, near Armagh, August 15th, 1598, in which the English loss was very large.

Elizabeth sent over her favorite, Robert, Earl of Essex, son of the famous Ulster "undertaker," to take command of the army. He had command of a large army, which he soon frittered away in conflict with the wily O'Neill, and he returned to England in disgrace. He was succeeded by Lord Mountjoy as the next Lord Deputy, who soon accomplished by art and cunning what Essex failed to do by the sword. He resorted to bribery and assassination. He issued new titles of honor and distinction to rival chiefs, in order to embroil them against each other. In 1601 about three thousand Spaniards landed and took possession of Kinsale, but were soon compelled to surrender to Mountjoy.

The country was reduced to a frightful state of desolation and death. Bishops and priests were slaughtered without compunction, and fifty-one monks who accepted the offer of a free passage, on condition of leaving the country, were all flung into the ocean.

The brave O'Neill had also to succumb to English



wiles and treachery, and submitted on honorable terms.

On the death of Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland, who took the title of "James I., King of Great Britain and Ireland," ascended the throne. Though the Irish expected justice under his reign, they were disappointed, for the penal laws were strictly enforced and religious persecution tolerated. A conspiracy was got up against O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, and other chiefs, who had to fly to the Continent in 1507. This was called the "Flight of the Earls." All of them died in exile, broken-hearted and in want. After their flight the six counties of Ulster were confiscated. The Protestant bishops of Ulster got forty-three thousand acres; Trinity College, thirty thousand acres; the trades-union associations of London, two hundred and nine thousand eight hundred acres, including the city of Derry, which they rebuilt and called Londonderry. Private individuals received the remainder in sections of one thousand, one thousand five hundred, and two thousand acres each—in all, about three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres. All Catholics were excluded from participation in the robbery.

A new confiscation soon followed, and under the color of defective titles, Sir William Parsons confiscated to the crown about five hundred thousand acres in Leinster, and proceedings had been undertaken to confiscate Connaught also, when James died, in 1625.

Charles I. treated his Irish subjects with the same cruelty as his father. He was advised by Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, under whose advice he confiscated large portions of Connaught, under the so-called "Defective Titles" commission. Strafford instituted a "court of wards," with power to take all Catholic children and bring them up as Protestants.

To avoid religious persecution at home, Lord Baltimore, an Irish Catholic peer, settled in Maryland in 1634, granting to all classes perfect religious equality.

In 1632 the Four Masters commenced their labors in the Abbey of Donegal, which they completed in 1636.

The Puritans, who were fanatical followers of Calvin, rose to great power both in England and Ireland in the reign of Charles I. They issued a manifesto in Ireland declaring that "they would not leave a priest in the country," and that they would convert the people with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other. They had sworn the extermination not only of Catholics, but also of the whole Irish race.

The Catholics were again driven to take up arms in self-defense, and took the field under the leadership of Roger O'Moore and Sir Phelim O'Neill. Sir Charles Coote, with the Scotch garrison at Carrickfergus, massacred three thousand unarmed men, women, and children on the Island Magee. Coote was a relentless butcher, and "a suckling babe or a pregnant woman received no more mercy from him than an enemy taken in arms." The Catholic lords of the Pale were driven to join their Irish co-religionists.

The government, in order to raise money to carry on the war, confiscated two and a half million acres of lands owned by Catholics, and sold them to Protestants for one million pounds, which enabled them to put an army in the field under command of James Butler, Duke of Ormond, whose treachery was only surpassed by his craft. The Council at Dublin Castle sent him the following instruction: "It is resolved that it is fit that his Lordship do endeavor with his Majesty's forces to wound, kill, slay, and destroy, by all the ways and means he may, all the said rebels, their adherents and relievers; and burn, waste, spoil, consume destroy, and



demolish all the places, towns, and houses where the said rebels are or have been relieved or harbored, and all the hay or corn there; and kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting, capable to bear arms." Given at the Castle of Dublin, on the 23d of February, 1642.

In March, 1642, the bishops of the Synod of Kells declared the war "just and lawful," and on the 10th of May following the Confederation of Kilkenny was held, at which the supreme power was vested in a council composed of three archbishops, two bishops, four lords, and fifteen commissioners. Lord Mountgarret was president of this council.

On July 6th Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill landed in Donegal with one hundred officers and supplies, and in September Colonel Thomas Preston arrived at Wexford with five hundred officers, arms and supplies. Owen Roe O'Neill was appointed to carry on the war in Ulster, Thomas Preston in Leinster, James Barry in Munster, and John Burke in Connaught. The Confederate troops were successful at Portlester, Kilworth, and Galway, but were defeated at Kilrush, Lisscarroll, Ballynakill, Rathconnell, and Ardmore.

The Puritans in England had taken up arms against the King, and in an evil hour the Anglo-Irish members of the Supreme Council entered into a truce with Ormond for twelve months and voted money and men to aid the King. While the Catholics were inactive, observing the truce, General Monroe attacked Newry and put several to death. While the Puritans were thus killing the Irish, the wily Ormond controlled the Confederation through the Anglo-Irish members. Though the Irish members and the Pope's nuncio were for immediate war, their counsels were overruled by the others. Even the "No Quarter Act," issued by the English Parliament in 1644, did not stimulate them to

a sense of their duty. This infamous order read as follows: "The lords and commons, assembled in the Parliament of England, do declare that no quarter shall be given to any Irishman, or to any papist born in Ireland, which shall be taken in hostility against the Parliament, either upon sea, or within the kingdom or dominion of Wales; and, therefore, do order that the Lord General, the Lord Admiral, and all other officers and commanders, both by sea and land, shall except all Irishmen and all papists born in Ireland out of all capitulation hereafter to be made with the enemy, and shall, upon the taking of every such Irishman and papist born in Ireland, as aforesaid, forthwith put every such person to death." Fifteen hundred Irish were serving under the banner of Charles in Scotland, while the Puritans were massacring their kindred at home.

The arrival of John Baptisto Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, who landed in Munster as nuncio of Innocent X., with a supply of arms and money, gave heart to the Irish. He was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, but Ormond's wishes prevailed, and the Anglo-Irish members not only succeeded in thwarting the war party, but also effected a treaty with Charles, who wanted any assistance he could get against his own subjects. They even voted the King six thousand troops to aid him against his enemies. Soon after Charles was forced to seek refuge among the Scotch, who meanly sold him to his own Parliament for two hundred thousand pounds, and he was beheaded on January 30th, 1649.

Through the divisions in the Supreme Council Ireland lost another chance of flinging off the English yoke, for had she vigorously prosecuted the war at home, while the King and Parliamentarians were fighting it out in England, her success would have been assured. This has always been the ruin of Ireland;



petty quarrels and jealous rivalries step in to destroy her brightest hopes and most glowing prospects.

The brave Owen Roe O'Neill defeated the Puritans in several battles, the greatest of which was at Benburb where he defeated Monroe and eight thousand troops on June 4th, 1646. The Supreme Council soon came to an open rupture, and the war languished until Cromwell was able to turn his attention from English affairs to Ireland. In 1649 Rinuccini left Ireland in disgust, and Cromwell with fourteen thousand followers landed in Dublin the same year.

Cromwell's career in Ireland was one of the most bloody on record. It is remarkable for the amount of blood which he shed in a few months. Thus, at Drogheda, although quarter had been promised, the work of slaughter lasted five days, and the three thousand men comprising the garrison were put to the sword, together with one thousand unresisting victims, who had sought refuge in the great church. The few who escaped death were sent as slaves to the Barbadoes, September 11th. At Wexford the enemy broke into the town during a truce, and "no distinction," says Lingard, "was made between the defenseless inhabitants and the armed soldiers; nor could the shrieks of three hundred females, who had gathered round the great cross, preserve them from the swords of these ruthless barbarians." By Cromwell himself the number slaughtered here is put down at two thousand, including men, women, and children.

The only general able to meet him was the brave Owen Roe O'Neill, who died while marching to meet him, at Clough Oughter Castle, not without strong suspicion of being poisoned by his enemies.

Cromwell was declared Lord Protector in 1653. He confiscated in all about seven million acres of land in

Ireland, driving the natives "to hell or to Connaught." Not content with such sweeping confiscations, forty thousand fighting men were forced to seek shelter in foreign lands; and at least sixty thousand boys and girls, men and women, were sent as slaves to Virginia, New England, and the West India Islands. Cromwell died in 1658, after having massacred the Irish people in thousands, plundered their monasteries, churches, and convents, and put to death three bishops, three hundred priests, and several monks and nuns.

In 1660 Charles II. ascended the throne, and the treacherous Ormond was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Under him the Puritans ruled Ireland, and the Catholics met with nothing but persecution. All kinds of new plots and outrages were charged to them, just as they are to the Land Leaguers in our day, as a pretext for persecuting them. Among the illustrious men persecuted to death was Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, who was executed at Tyburn, July 11th, 1681.

On the death of Charles he was succeeded by his brother, James II., A. D. 1685. James was a Catholic and tried to restore liberty of conscience, but the same Puritanical element which sent Charles I. to the block succeeded in depriving James of his throne. They induced William, Prince of Orange, who was married to James's daughter, to accept the crown. After James was driven from England he found refuge in Ireland, and loyal Irish hearts and arms to espouse his cause. That brave people, though weakened by successive and disastrous wars, and impoverished by confiscations, rallied around him, and would have placed him again on the throne, had not his own cowardice and effeminacy defeated their efforts. William followed James to Ireland, and the battle which settled the succession was fought at the Boyne, July 12th, 1690.



After James's flight the Irish continued the conflict, and the battles of Aughrim and Limerick attest how bravely they did so. After the siege of Limerick fourteen thousand men entered the service of France, and it is estimated that in all nearly half a million entered the French army. The penal laws caused thousands of young men to flee to America, or to join their countrymen in the service of France, Spain, and Austria. They were eagerly welcomed everywhere. Louis XIV. spoke of them as "my brave Irish." Francis I. of Germany said of them: "The more Irish officers in the Austrian army, the better; an Irish coward is an uncommon character." The Irish soldiers greatly distinguished themselves in the following battles: At Landen, in Flanders, and at Massiglia, in Savoy, 1693; at Cremona, in Italy, 1702; at Ramilles, in Flanders, 1706; at Almanza, in Spain, 1707; at Viletry, in Italy, 1713; and at Oran, in Sicily, 1733.

We have slightly digressed, so we return to William and the penal laws. After James had proved himself unworthy to be a king, the Irish would gladly have submitted to William, if he had promised them justice. But knowing that new confiscations awaited their submission, they resisted on: and but for causes over which they had no control and which no one could foresee, would probably have triumphed. This war, which reflects so much credit on the Irish arms, laid the foundation of the British national debt, which has since gone on accumulating, till it threatens to swallow up the wealth of the empire.

The confiscations of estates by the government of William turned out of their homes nearly 4,000 families, and robbed them of land to the value of £3,319,043, or over \$16,500,000. This mighty robbery was for high treason, which high treason consisted in defending

the British throne against a usurper. The century that succeeded the revolutionary war is simply a long record of oppressions, crimes, and sufferings. Ireland had ceased to struggle, and lay a helpless victim at the feet of its merciless masters. The vulture now plunged its beak into the bleeding form of its prey, and tore away the flesh at its leisure.

The penal laws enacted during this period are a perpetual stain on the English government. These, together with the injustice and tyranny of the local magistracy, the extortions of landlords, and the absence of justice in all trials where an Irishman was concerned, reduced the inhabitants almost to the last step humanity reaches in its downward passage. These laws, which would have disgraced the administration of Nero, imposed a fine on every Catholic who should absent himself from the service of the Established Church on the Sabbath; deprived them of the means of education, subjecting every Catholic who should open a school to a fine of £20, or three months' imprisonment; forbade Protestants to intermarry with them, and banished the entire Catholic clergy from the land. If the son of a Catholic became a Protestant, the father could not dispose of his property by will; a Catholic could not become the guardian of his own child; a Catholic could not succeed to the property of any of his Protestant relatives. In 1709 additional acts were passed, and among them a fixed reward offered for the discovery of Catholic priests!

“For discovering an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, £50.

“For discovering each regular clergyman, and each secular clergyman not registered, £20.

“For discovering each popish schoolmaster or usher, £10.’



A Catholic could not hold the office of sheriff or sit on grand juries ; hence in all trials between a Catholic and Protestant justice was a thing altogether out of the question. To crown the absurdity and baseness of this Protestant legislation, a bill was actually introduced, and passed both houses of Parliament, decreeing that every Catholic priest who came into the country should be "emasculated." After its passage, it was sent to the King, with the earnest request it might be placed in the Irish statute-book. It was, however, rejected by the English privy council. Nor did the enactment of these absurd and cruel laws exhaust the hatred of the enemies of Ireland. Her commerce and manufactures were restricted, so that her internal resources could not develop themselves, and her beautiful harbors lay unoccupied along her shores.

In 1727 George II. ascended the throne; like every other administration, this also must show its English blood, by plunging the knife a little deeper into dying Ireland. In the outset a bill was passed disfranchising all the Catholics in the nation. They then constituted *five-sixths* of the entire population: only one-sixth were left to vote, these being Protestants, and most of them English. A more tyrannical act could not well have been conceived; but the ingenuity of English rulers in devising modes of oppression seemed sharpened by practice.

## CHAPTER VI.

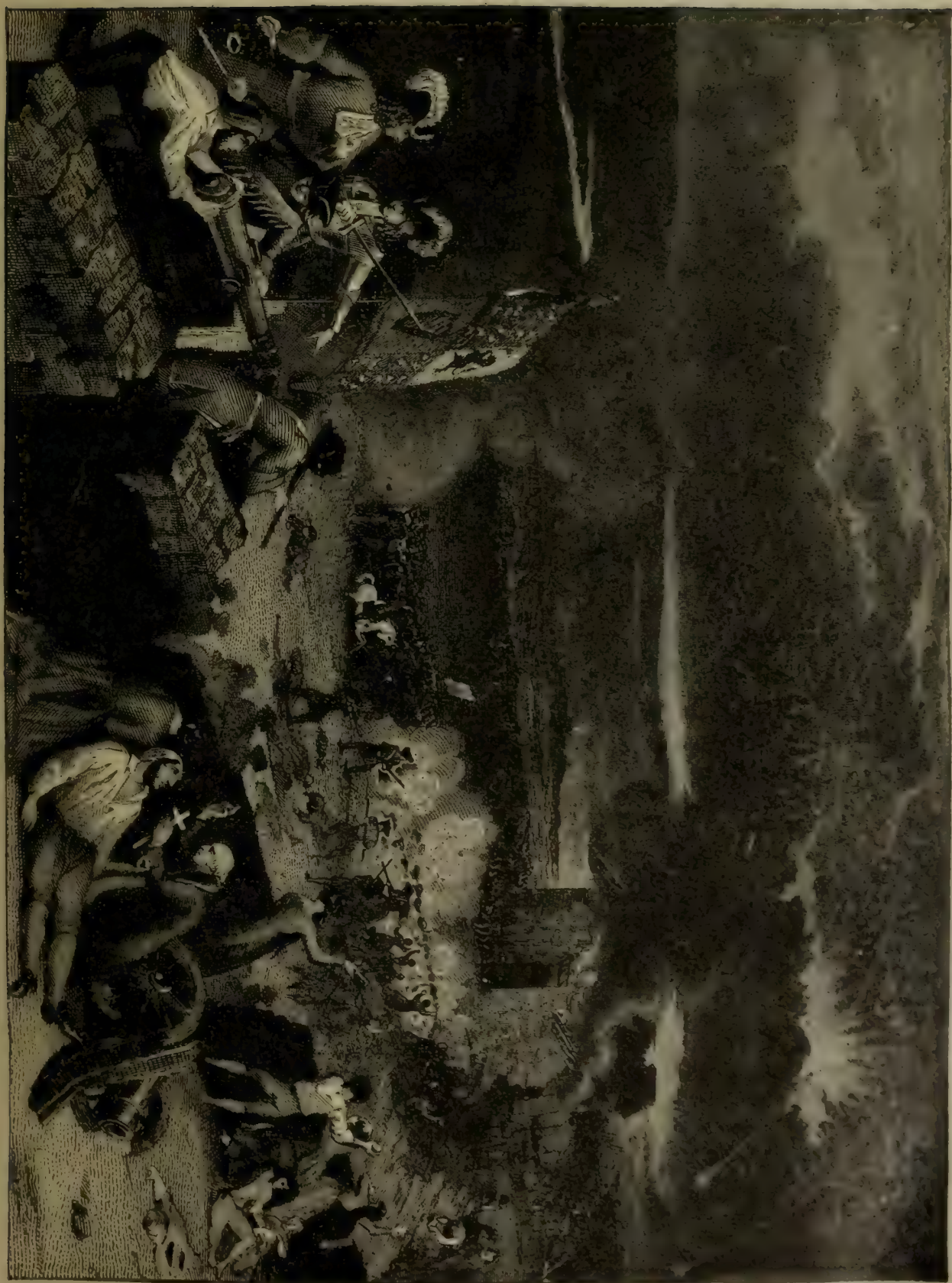
## THE VOLUNTEERS OF '82.

*The Declaration of Independence—The Rebellion of '98—The Union—The Repeal Movement—The Famine in Ireland—The Men of '48.*

AFTER the surrender of Limerick, Ireland seemed to give up all idea of armed resistance. Her only hope was in the return of the "Wild Geese," as those who had fled to France to enter her service were called.

The war in America infused new hopes into the Irish, and when the colonies declared their independence, July 4th, 1776, there was secret rejoicing at home, while the Irish in America rushed to do battle for independence. The Irish in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania raised in all about sixteen thousand soldiers, all Irish, for the Continental army. The "Pennsylvania Line," which was called the "Irish Brigade," was composed altogether of Irish. Among the leaders of the Revolution were these Irishmen: Montgomery, Moylan, Sullivan, Clinton, Stark, Knox, Hand, Dillon, Rutledge, O'Brien, Patrick Henry, and Commodore John Barry, the "Father of the American Navy"; Colonels Butler, Clinton, Fitzgerald, Gordan, Divine, Kennedy, McAllister, Nixon, Shea, Stewart, Thompson, and many others. Colonel Nixon first read the Declaration of Independence to the people. The following Irishmen









signed the Declaration of Independence: Charles Thompson, who was secretary to the Congress, George Read, Thomas Lynch, George Taylor, James Wilson, Edward Rutledge, Matthew Thornton, James Smith, Thomas McKean, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Fearing a French invasion, the government consented to the raising of the Irish Volunteers in Ulster, and in a few months Ireland had a national army eighty-eight thousand strong. Seeing their opportunity of wresting concessions from England, Flood, Perry, Grattan, and Charlemont inspired the army with their own national sentiments. Grattan, finding Ireland ripe and the time opportune, drew up resolutions establishing the judicial and legislative independence of Ireland, and, owing to his eloquence and devotion, they were approved by Parliament and became laws on receiving the sanction of the King, May 27th, 1782. The words of the patriot Grattan on this joyous occasion were: "I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with paternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injury to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*"

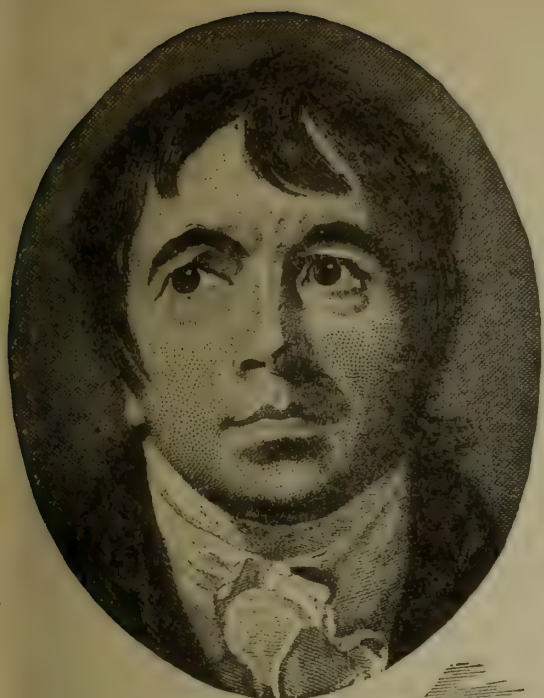
The prosperity of Ireland under her own Parliament was remarkable. Peace reigned, trade revived, the revenue increased, various industries were encouraged, the Bank of Ireland was established, and the future promised well for Ireland. This was but a transitory gleam of hope: England at peace was bent on undoing the concessions granted by England at war, and the Rebellion of '98, which was forced on the country in order to rob her of her Parliament, was the consequence. The people were goaded into rebellion. Martial law was proclaimed; thousands of soldiers, English, Ger-

man, Scotch, and Welsh, were brought into the country and allowed to live at free quarters. People were insulted and ill treated by these minions of the government, and there was no redress. The pitch-cap, whipping, half-hanging, picketing, burning off the hair, and like barbarities were sanctioned by the authorities. No man was sure of his life, and many were taken without warrant and hanged without trial in the streets and market-places. At Carnew twenty-eight persons were murdered by Orangemen and militia, and at Dunlevin thirty four more were shot without judge or jury.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was to lead the insurrection, was seized three days before the rising, on May 23d, and died of his wound. In the desperate struggle that followed the Irish peasantry, particularly those of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, fought with a heroism that struck terror into the disciplined troops of England. Of the leaders who took part in the conflict many were executed and the rest banished from the country. Among the former were Henry Joy McCracken, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, Matthew Tone, and Bartholomew Teeling. Of the latter, the most noted are MacNevin, Dr. Samson, and Thomas Addis Emmet, who settled in New York. This war was distinguished, like all former ones in Ireland, by frightful atrocities on the part of the English. In the conflict England lost over twenty thousand soldiers, and about thirty thousand peasants and insurgents were slain, many of them massacred in cold blood.

Ireland now lay helpless under the feet of England. The question of uniting the two countries was agitated, and all the machinery of the government put in operation to effect it. It was deemed necessary to get an Irish Parliament to sanction the "Act of Union," so

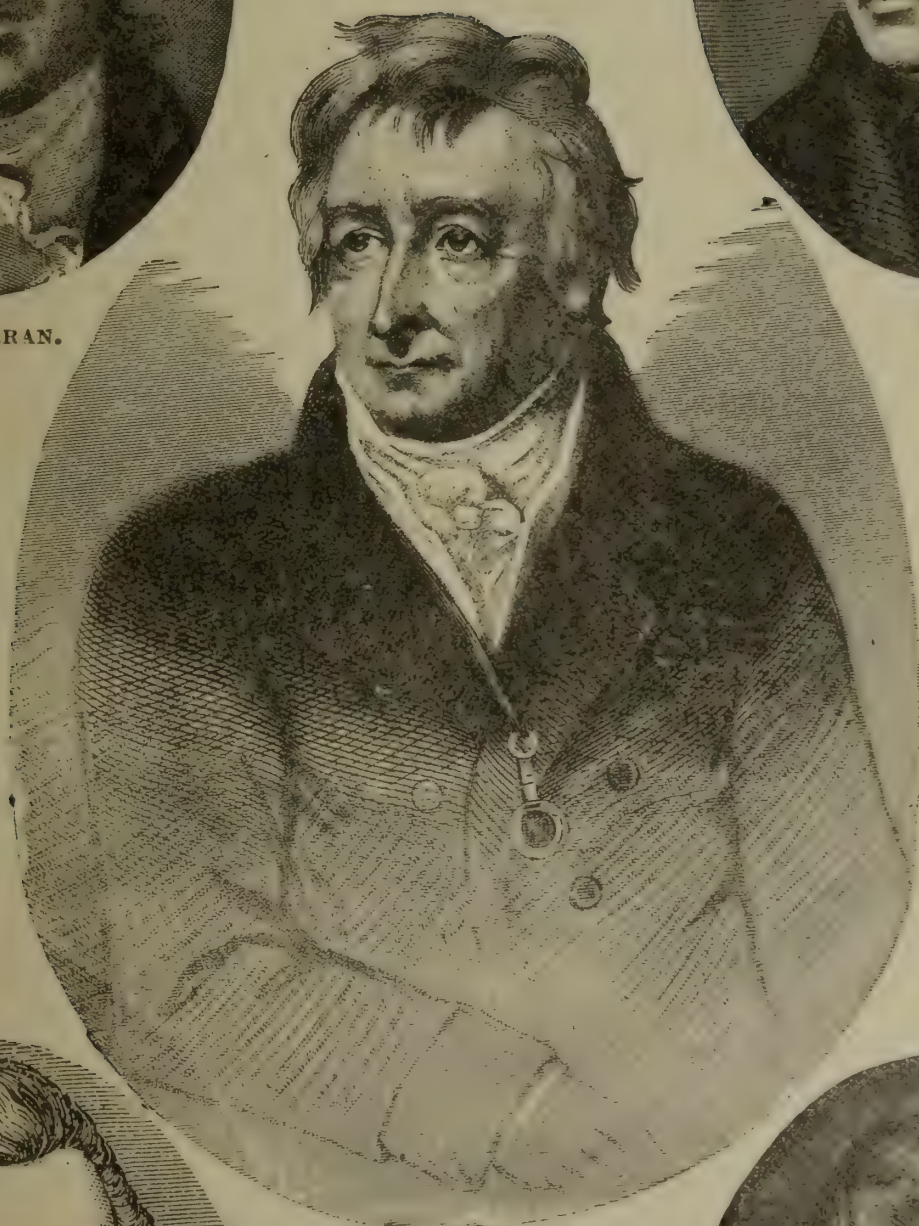




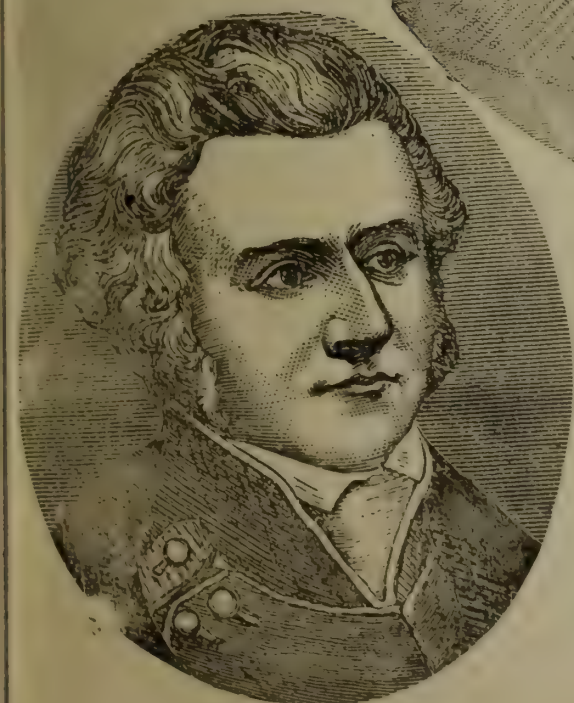
JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.



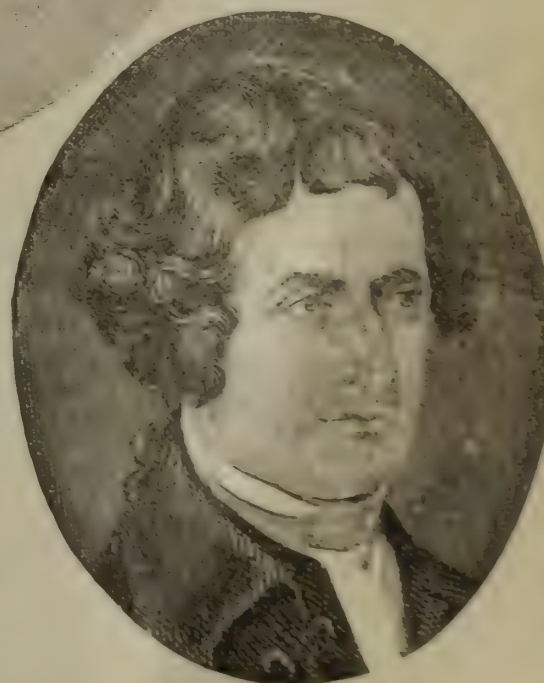
ROBERT EMMET.



HENRY GRATTAN.



THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.



EDMUND BURKE.





as to make it appear before the world as the act of Irishmen themselves. When the subject of "Union" was first mentioned, it was received with general indignation; and weak and prostrate as Ireland was, and formidable as was an English army of 126,000 men, ready to be precipitated on her defenseless population, yet she would doubtless have taken up arms rather than sanction it, if she had not been duped by false promises. But with all her fair pretensions, England could not have carried the Union without the presence of her immense military force. What could Ireland do? Prostrate from a sanguinary struggle—laid under martial law—the Habeas Corpus Act suspended—no protection to property, liberty, or life—the jails crowded with innocent victims—the scaffold red with the blood of those who had committed no crime—tortures and death on every side,—what could she do? How could she discuss the Union calmly, with more than 100,000 bayonets bristling around her, and pointing at her heart? Yet under all this formidable and merciless force, efforts *were* made to prevent the unholy alliance.

A meeting was called in Tipperary, attended by gentlemen of rank and fortune. But the high sheriff had scarcely taken the chair, before a company of English soldiers marched into the court-house, and dispersed the assembly. The same was done in Maryborough. To this fear of physical force were added bribes and corruption. Rotten boroughs were bought up, that those favorable to the English interest might be returned to the legislature. Lord Castlereagh declared in the House of Commons, that "he would carry the Union, though it might cost more than half a million in bribes." The price of a single vote on the question was £8,000, or nearly \$40,000, or, in its place, an appointment worth \$10,000 per annum. More than \$6,000,000 were spent

in buying up close rotten boroughs ; \$7,000,000 more in bribes ; making in all, in round numbers, *fourteen millions of dollars* distributed to effect the subjugation of Ireland. Yet with her 100,000 bayonets and \$14,000,000, there were 707,000 who petitioned *against* the Union, and only 5,000 *for it*. A very small majority in the legislature finally secured its passage, and that, too, when among those styling themselves representatives of the people, there were 116 placemen and officers who did not own an inch of land in Ireland.

But the "Act of Union" passed. In the language of Mr. Sampson, "It was on the first day of January, 1801, at the hour of noon, that the imperial united standard mounted on the Bedford Tower, in Dublin Castle, and the guns of the royal salute battery in the Phoenix Park, announced to weeping, bleeding, prostrate Ireland, that her independence was no more, and that her guilt-stained Parliament had done herself to death."

By a system of violence, theft, falsehood, and corruption unparalleled in the history of civilized nations, England forced Ireland into a union that destroyed her independence, ruined her commerce, exhausted her wealth, and left her a helpless victim at the feet of her spoiler. This charge of perfidy, treachery, and infamous theft against the English government, no one who is at all acquainted with this vilest of England's vile transactions will presume to deny. Said Lord Plunket at the time :

"I will be bold to say, that licentious and impious France, in all the unrestrained excesses that anarchy and atheism have given birth to, has not committed a more insidious act against her enemy, than is now attempted by the professed champion of civilized Europe against Ireland—a friend and ally in the hour of her calamity and distress. At a moment when our country



is filled with British troops—when the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended—whilst trials by court-martial are carrying on in different parts of the kingdom—while the people are made to believe that they have no right to meet and deliberate, and whilst the people are palsied by their fears, at the moment when we are distracted by internal dissensions—dissensions kept alive as the pretext of our present subjugation, and the instrument of our future thralldom—such is the time when the Union is proposed.”

On the 7th of June, A. D. 1800, the infamous measure was carried by a majority of sixty-five in the Commons and fifty-nine in the Lords. On the 2d of August following it received the approbation of the King, and the Parliament of Ireland ceased to exist.

The Rebellion of '98 and the “Union” were followed by Emmet’s rebellion, which partook more of the chivalrous than the real. The devoted and enthusiastic Robert Emmet paid the penalty of his patriotism on the scaffold. He said, “Till Ireland is free let not my epitaph be written;” and it shall not be. He offered himself up as a holocaust to liberty. He shouted one battle-cry in the ears of his countrymen and died. They err much, who suppose he accomplished nothing. A martyr never dies in vain. Every drop of his blood will yet send forth a living man fraught with the fire of his origin. The name of Emmet at this day stirs every patriot heart in that Green Isle like the blast of a trumpet. His dying words are remembered and repeated to every generation. He bequeathed his free spirit to his country in sacred trust, looking forward to that day when his emancipated nation should write his epitaph and honor his sacrifice. The flag of freedom shall yet wave over his ashes, and the shout of a ransomed people shake the earth that encloses him.

After the Rebellion of '98 and the execution of Emmet, a peace reigned in Ireland, but it was the sullen peace of despair and discontent. It is true, England no longer gave a bounty for the head of an Irish priest, but she rewarded his oppressors on a grander scale. The estates of Irish lords are not confiscated, and the peasantry shot in pastime; but are not her soldiers even now quartered upon the people—exciting their deadliest hatred, and fanning the coals of rebellion, which would bring a recurrence of those calamities? Her bards and songs are not destroyed as formerly, lest they should inspire the people to strike again for liberty, but is not the freedom of the press restricted, and the expression of public opinion a crime to be punished by exile or imprisonment? Have not her public meetings been scattered by ruthless soldiery, lest her champions might speak too freely of the abuses which have fired her people to deeds of blood, and maddened them with a thirst for revenge? But the spirit of direct opposition was crushed out of the people, and secret societies and organizations took the place of open revolt.

The effect of the Union was to increase the taxation of Ireland, to enable England to cripple her trade and commerce, and to drive from Ireland the capitalists and landlords who enriched her capital by spending their money there, but who now spend over fifty million dollars a year of the rental of Ireland in England and elsewhere.

The Catholic Emancipation was the next great question that agitated the minds of the Irish people, and under the leadership of the immortal Daniel O'Connell it assumed such proportions as to become a menace to England. In 1823 O'Connell established the Catholic Association, which soon embraced in its ranks



the hierarchy, and priesthood of Ireland, as well as all men of liberal ideas and religious toleration. In 1828 he was elected to Parliament, and refused to take the usual anti-Catholic oath, because, he said: "Part of it I know to be false; another part I do not believe to be true."

The agitation was successful, and a bill for the emancipation of Catholics was passed both by the Lords and Commons and approved by George IV., April 13th, 1829. In 1830 George died, and was succeeded by William IV. About this time the national school system was introduced and tithes were nominally abolished, but in reality retained under the name of rent charge.

The condition of the poor of Ireland became yearly worse since the Union; there was no trade, no commerce, no industries, by which the people could make a living; English laws, aided by the combination of English capital, had stamped them out, thus compelling the people to rely solely on the land for their living. This caused an unnatural competition for land, of which the landlords took advantage, and year after year raised the rent to such an exorbitant pitch that the unfortunate tenants were unable to bear the pressure, and poverty, eviction, and starvation were the consequence. The Poor-law Commission of 1839 reported that two million three hundred thousand of the agricultural laborers of Ireland were paupers; that those immediately above the lowest rank were the worst-clad, worst-fed, and worst-lodged peasantry in Europe.

About this time Father Mathew, one of the most remarkable men of modern times, began his crusade against intemperance.

In 1840 O'Connell organized the Repeal Association, for the purpose of obtaining a severance of the union

between England and Ireland. Soon the Repeal agitation spread over Ireland, and was well sustained by some of the ablest men of the day, including several bishops and numerous priests. To sustain the agitation the people paid a Repeal rent, which at one time ran up as high as to average £1,000, or \$5,000 per week. He held meetings in different parts of the country. Men flocked from England and Scotland to attend these meetings and to hear the great Liberator speak. As an instance of the numbers attending these meetings, at one held at Clowes there were fifty thousand; at Baltinglass, one hundred and fifty thousand; at Charleville, three hundred thousand; at Kilkenny, three hundred thousand; at Loughrea, Thurles, and Cork, five hundred thousand each; at Lismore, six hundred thousand; at Mullaghmast, eight hundred thousand; and at Tara, one million.

The government became alarmed at such monster displays, dismissed all Repealers from office, deluged the country with troops, forbade the meeting at Clontarf, and even threatened to suppress it by violence, and finally prosecuted O'Connell and eight of his associates, who were called the "state prisoners."

By packed juries and other means at which English officials are such experts, they succeeded in obtaining a favorable verdict. The sentence was a fine of £2,000 and one year's imprisonment. After three months the sentence was reversed by the House of Lords, and O'Connell was released. In referring to the manner in which the trial was conducted, Lord Denman said: "If such practices as have taken place in the present instance in Ireland shall continue, trial by jury will become a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

The manner in which the poor of Ireland were oppressed, and the great poverty prevailing among them,



compelled them to emigrate to other countries. At first the tide of emigration set in for Canada, and from the year 1815 to 1839 as many as three hundred and seventy-five thousand Irishmen emigrated to Canada. By the official census of 1841 there were 419,256 in England and Scotland, and within the ten years from 1839 to 1849 as many as 428,000 more arrived in Canada. Many of these, however, passed on to the United States, where in addition there settled 490,000 between the years 1820 and 1847. Besides these, many thousands also went from Ireland to settle in France, Belgium, Australia, and the distant colonies of the British Empire. These poor emigrants were the pioneers of Catholicity wherever they went. In England, in Scotland, in Australia, and chiefly in America, they have, by their fervent piety and deep religious convictions, planted the seed of the faith in fruitful soil, and have raised innumerable churches and temples to the worship, the honor, and glory of God.

After O'Connell's release from prison he commenced the renewal of the Repeal agitation, but he was bitterly opposed by a host of ardent young patriots, who spurned agitation and tame submission, and whose appeal was to the genius of the sword and the arbitration of battle. They started the Young Ireland party, and established the *Dublin Nation* as their organ. Its ablest writers were Charles Gavin Duffy, John Mitchel, and Thomas Davis. They were brilliant patriots, and soon poured red-hot shell among the enemy. The glowing and impassioned Thomas Francis Meagher, the silver-tongued young orator, Richard O'Gorman, the staid and stately William S. O'Brien, the fearless Michael Doheny and John Dillon, and the poetical inspiration of D'Arcy McGee, Dalton Williams, "Speranza," "Eva" Edward Walsh, Kevin O'Doherty, John

Savage, and a host of others poetized and deified the new gospel of physical force, until poor O'Connell saw himself deserted and broken down in health and spirits. He went on a visit to Rome, but died on the way at Genoa, on May 15th, 1847. The confederates were a brilliant but impracticable lot of young dreamers. They kept some life in a dying country, and made the most of the horrible famine, accusing England of first causing it by unjust laws, and then aiding it to exterminate the people. In all this they were not far out of the way. But while they were waging war with fiery tongue and burning words on paper against England, they were doing nothing practically to prepare for the crisis which they were fast precipitating. The government had transported Mitchel and others, and when Ireland was one vast garrison, in 1848, and the people dying in thousands from starvation, they suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and issued warrants for the arrest of Smith O'Brien, Meagher, Dillon, O'Gorman, and others.

The orator-patriots were not prepared for this, and had hastily to fly from Dublin to avoid arrest. They had neither arms, ammunition, money, or any matured plan to carry on war. They fled to different parts of the country. Smith O'Brien, Doheny, Dillon, McManus, and a few minor leaders, induced by Doheny, fled to Tipperary, where they were joined by Thomas F. Meagher, James Stephens, and others. They first went to Carrick-on-Suir, where the peasantry rushed around them, as also John O'Mahony and his followers, armed as best they could. Smith O'Brien told them all to go home and wait a little longer, until the crops would be ripe, for they had no means of supporting them. They next went to Cashel, where a similar scene occurred. From this they passed on to the





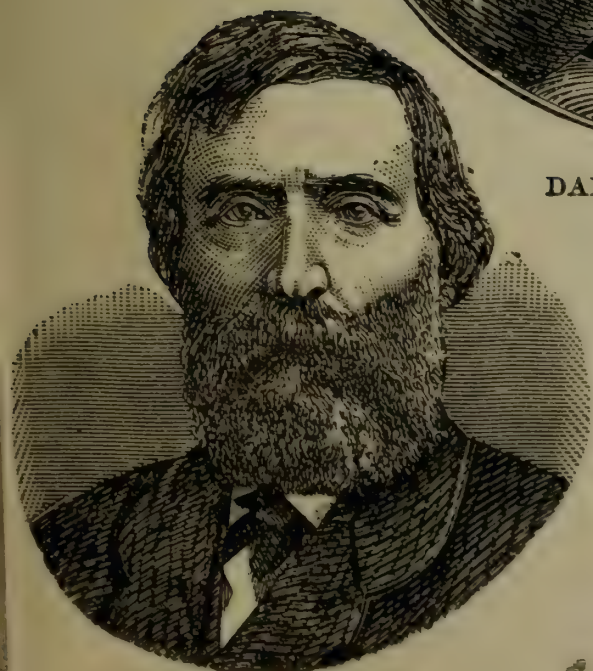
WM. SMITH O'BRIEN.



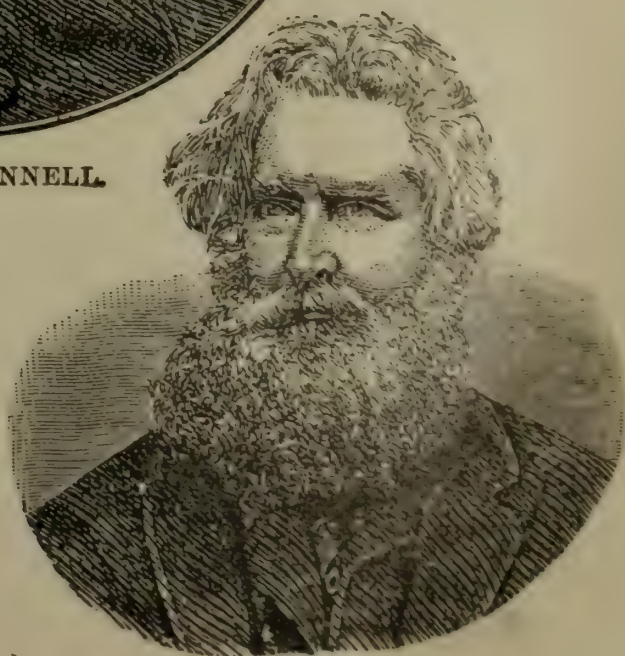
THOS. FRANCIS MEAGHER.



DANIEL O'CONNELL.



JOHN MITCHEL.



O'GORMAN MAHON.





Slievvaraagh Colliery district, where the peasants rushed in thousands around them. Even the very school-boys, the children of some of the leading men of that section, including the Kickhams, the Mullalys, the Conyng-hams, the Fitzgeralds, the Powers, the Meaghers, and others, some of whom subsequently figured in the American civil war, left their books and their lessons and rushed to join the patriot band. Alas, their young ardor was soon cooled. The leaders had neither the means nor the disposition to make war. They only wanted to keep from arrest until the harvest would ripen, so as to feed an army. The poor, half-starved peasant, as he wearily toiled home in obedience to the orders he received, saw the rich lands and parks around him, the owners of which had fled to Dublin or England, studded with fat sheep, deer, and oxen; and yet he should wait until the harvest would ripen before he could strike for life and liberty.

Smith O'Brien rested for a few days near the colliery, retaining only about fifty men as a guard. This the authorities knew well, and made preparations to arrest him. Inspectors Cox and Trant marched from Callan to Ballingarry, with over one hundred men, while at the same time Inspector Monaghan, with eighty men, started from Cashel to join them. To coöperate with these General McDonald marched from Thurles, where he had arrived by train from Dublin, with about five hundred regulars.

Smith O'Brien and his small guard lay at the "Commons," near Ballingarry, in fancied security, when word reached him on the morning of the 29th day of July that a large body of police was marching to arrest them. They were Trant's men from Callan. The brave colliers, without considering the result, rushed to attack them. The police had passed the village of

Ballingarry. Trant, seeing the menacing attitude of the peasantry, who were collecting around him from all quarters, and not hearing from Monaghan or the soldiers, thought it well to fortify himself somewhere. Seeing a strong stone farm-house near, he made for it. The colliers, seeing the move, tried to intercept him, and with that intention exchanged shots. Trant took possession of the house, which was built for a police barracks and stood on the top of a hill, and from it opened fire on the people, which they returned in vain, for it would take cannon to batter down that house on the top of Farrenrory Hill. This has been sneeringly called the "cabbage garden" battle, or the "fight at Mrs. McCormick's house." Here about one hundred peasants, with a few guns among them and without cover of any kind, stood the fire of over one hundred policemen well under cover. While this unequal conflict went on for some time, Monaghan's force approached. The men left before the house, and made an attack on the advancing column as it marched along a sunken road, hurling stones and all kinds of missiles at them.

The people were collecting from all sides, and it looked as if the police would have to succumb in the end, when the approach of General McDonald's troops compelled the colliers and peasants to sullenly retire, carrying with them the two dead men and the wounded of their party. Thus ended the hopes of the Young Ireland party and the battle of Farrenrory.

The famine in Ireland, which set in with the blight of the potato crop in 1846, and continued for nearly three years, was one of the most frightful that ever afflicted a nation or people. While it lasted nearly one million persons perished from actual starvation, while as many more fled the country in terror. In



'47 and '48 so prostrated were the people in many sections of the country, that they were unable to bury their dead, whose bodies were devoured by dogs and beasts of prey. In some cases whole families perished, in their homes of hunger alone, and the houses were set fire to, in order to consume the bodies of the victims of Irish famine caused by English misrule.

The dying wretches lived on grass and herbage of all kinds until nature gave way and death ended their pain. In many cases the living babe was found sucking the dead mother's breast. Even in the poor-houses so numerous were the deaths that the humane authorities provided coffins with spring bottoms, so that after bringing the remains to the spot they could dump it into the hole without going to the cost of a coffin to cover it. All this happened in Christian Ireland, under the fostering rule of England, and this at a time too when the warehouses and granaries of England were groaning with corn and provisions, and while the landlords of Ireland were daily shipping corn and fat stock to England. In fact, the ships of England, laden with corn and cattle to the gunwale, were sailing out from the ports of Ireland, while the ships of the world were sailing in with corn and provisions for the relief of the starving. In 1846 food to the value of fifteen million pounds was shipped to England, and in 1847, the "famine year," the produce of the country amounted to £44,958,120, an amount sufficient to feed twice the population of Ireland.

While England remained inactive, the Pacha of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, the Emperor of China, the Rajahs of India, conspired to do for Ireland what her so-styled rulers refused to do. America did more in this work of mercy than all the rest of the world put together.

The effect of the famine was sad in every way; besides those who died, tens of thousands fled in horror from the country. At the port of Liverpool alone, between the 13th of January, 1847, and the 13th of December, 1848, there landed 296,231 persons from Ireland. Of this vast number about 130,000 emigrated to the United States. Hence, in this way, emigration from Ireland was suddenly increased to 105,000 in 1846, to 215,000 in 1847, to 254,000 in 1849, to 249,000 in 1850, and to 289,000 in 1851. In Canada alone, between the 8th of May and the first week in June, 1847, as many as eighty-four plague-stricken ships entered the St. Lawrence, with cargoes of poor Irish emigrants. After the famine, in 1851, there were 733,866 Irish in England and Scotland, and within the ten years from 1847 to 1857 as many as 1,298,603 landed in the United States. The whole emigration from Ireland for this epoch amounted to 1,873,533 souls. After this the tide of emigration continued to flow in one steady stream, and from 1857 to the present time, 1882, it is calculated that over one and a half million Irish arrived in the United States alone.



## CHAPTER VII.

## THE FENIAN MOVEMENT.

*Organization in Ireland—The Irish Republic in America—The Arrests in 1865—Escape of James Stephens—The Fiasco of 1867—The Manchester Martyrs.*

FOR the past seven hundred years, the history of Ireland is but a record of one long, continuous struggle of her people against English rule and English oppression. Not a single generation has passed away without leaving its protest, written in blood, against the cruel tyranny and brutal wrongs perpetrated by the Saxon robbers. And yet all the force of the British crown, mercilessly and treacherously exerted, has failed to subdue the people of Ireland, or crush out their natural love of liberty and longings for national independence.

Of all the organized efforts of our people to break the British yoke and raise Ireland to the position of a nation, that of Fenianism, perhaps, was, and is yet, the most formidable. This vast confederation of the Irish race, as it may justly be termed, succeeded for a time in uniting under its standard nearly all the organizations and societies which existed throughout the United Kingdom for revolutionary purposes. Fenianism may be said to have sprung into life when, in 1858, James Stephens gathered up the shattered remnants of the

Phoenix Society, and brought the chief spirits of the movement under his control. Many of these daring rebels afterwards became extensively known, and have since acquired a world-wide reputation for their long sufferings in English prisons and their determined opposition to English rule in Ireland. The organization over which Mr. Stephens presided at this time was known as the "Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood," and it was not until some three years later that the title of "Fenians" became popularly known in Ireland. This was on the occasion of the union between the two sections, that in Ireland and the one in America presided over by John O'Mahony, to which, through his love of Gaelic tradition, he gave the title of "Fenians," the ancient name of an Irish national militia which existed in the second century. To John O'Mahony, therefore, is due the credit of having laid the foundation of a power that has since put England on the defensive, and cost her millions of treasure to combat; a power which is still striking blow after blow at the structure of her corrupt and demoralizing system of government in Ireland.

In 1863 a convention of representatives from all branches of the organization, both in Ireland and the United States, was held in Chicago, on which occasion the work to be done by both branches was mapped out. The Fenians of America, it was understood, would aid the men in Ireland in procuring money, arms, munitions of war, and would also send over officers to organize and take command of the troops, which were all ready to take the field as soon as the necessary means could be furnished. Accordingly the work went on steadily, each branch laboring zealously to perform its part, until the close of the American war gave a fresh and powerful impetus to the movement. Here, it seemed,

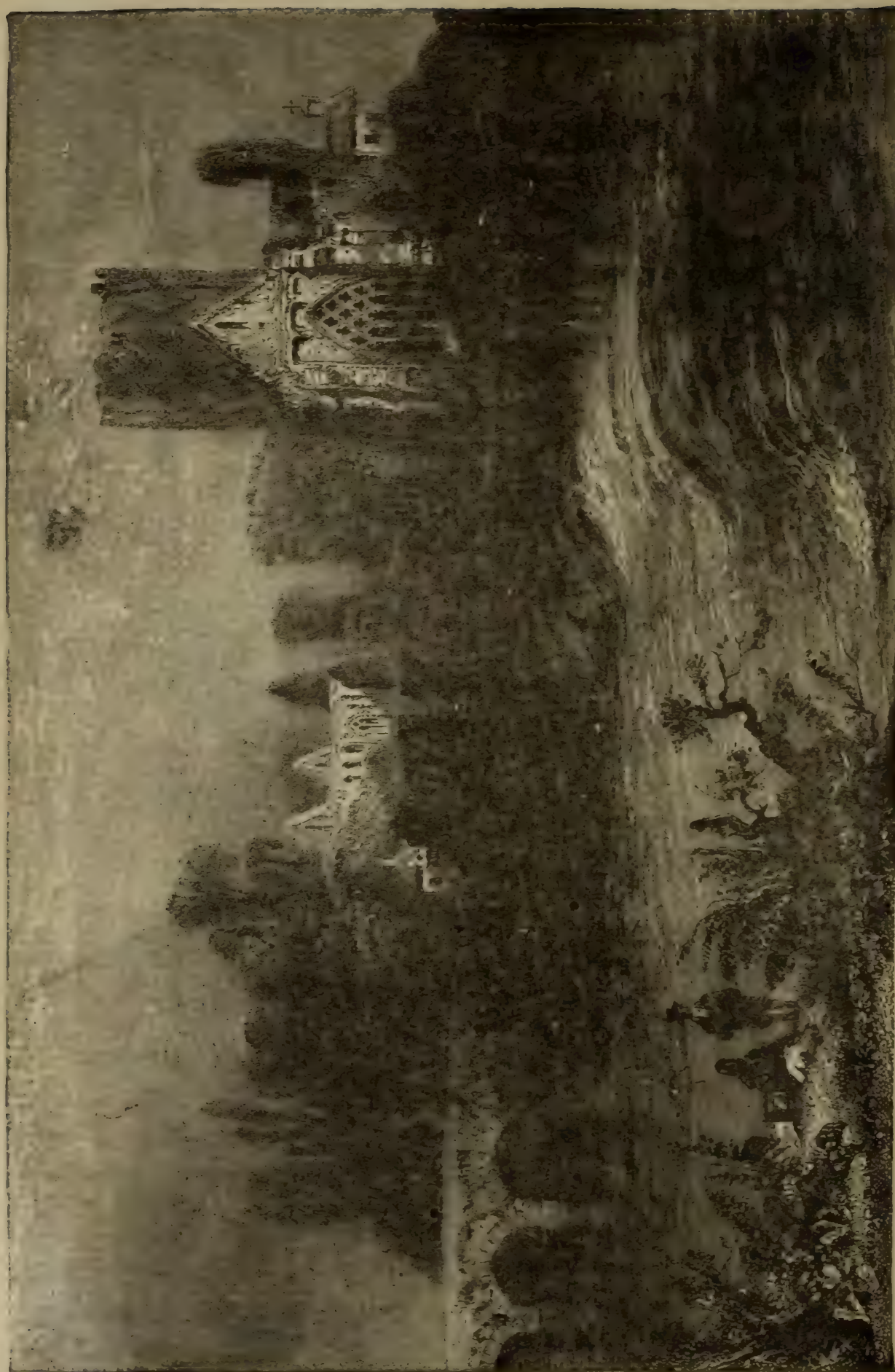


was the grand opportunity for which Ireland had been long and patiently waiting. Thousands of her exiled sons had been freed from their obligations to their adopted country, many of them having acquired a national distinction for bravery and military skill, and were now ready and anxious to exercise both in the cause of their native land. It was confidently hinted, after the Union army was mustered out of service, that the movement in Ireland was about to take place at once, and many of its officers lost no time in taking passage immediately for the old land. Among the first of these may be mentioned: General William G. Halpin, who had served with distinction in the Army of the Tennessee; General Denis F. Burke, who had commanded the Irish Brigade during a portion of the war; Colonel Michael Kerwin, who had commanded a brigade of cavalry under Sheridan and under Sherman during his "March from the sea"; General F. F. Millen, who had served in the Mexican army; Colonel Quirk, who had served in the Western army; Lieutenant-Colonel John H. Gleason; Majors Moore, Byron, and Bible; Captain Thomas J. Kelly, who had served as signal officer under Sherman; Captain McCafferty, of the Confederate army; Captain E. Dogherty, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Second Division, Army of the Potomac; Captain James Murphy; Captains Thomas J. Costello, Moynahan, and Mulhall, of the Irish Brigade; Captain D. J. Mykens, Captain Smyth, of the Artillery; Captain Underwood O'Connell; Captain Carroll, of the cavalry corps; Captain P. J. Condon, of the Irish Brigade; Captains McDermott and O'Rourke; Captain O'Connor; Colonel Denis Dowling, who resigned his position in the United States Army; Captain Daily, Captain Doheny, and over a hundred others whose names must be collected by the future historian.

The presence of so many strangers in the country, all giving evidence by their bearing of having received military training, excited unusual alarm among the officials of the Irish executive, and this, coupled with another significant demonstration which took place some years previously, set the secret machinery of the government at work in earnest to get at the bottom of the conspiracy. The significant demonstration referred to occurred at the funeral of Terence Bellew McManus, who escaped from Van Diemen's Land, and settled in San Francisco, where he died early in 1861, and in the latter part of the same year his friends had his body removed and transferred for interment to Ireland. A large delegation from the United States accompanied the body, where the open expression of disloyalty indulged in by the people aroused the suspicions of the crown authorities, and from that time forth watchful detectives were set on the track of all suspected persons. This circumstance, together with the bombastic articles which appeared in the columns of the Irish-American newspapers, about the vast force of experienced soldiers being thrown into Ireland, made the English government doubly watchful. The authorities had not long to watch, however; they were soon in possession of facts sufficient to warrant a general attack on the organization, the leaders of which had been for a long time well known to them. Accordingly a privy council was held at the Castle on the 15th of September, 1865, and on the same night the city was startled with the intelligence that *The Irish People* newspaper was seized, and that everybody connected with it was in the hands of the police. The excitement in the ranks of the confederates was intense. No one seemed to know the full extent of the damage done to the cause. "Is Stephens arrested?" was the







HOLY CROSS ABBEY.



question on every tongue, and it was not until the following morning that it became generally known that he was still at large. This knowledge tended somewhat to allay the excitement and general feeling of despondency, which for the moment seemed to take possession of every mind. "As long as the 'Boss' is free," was the cry, "the fight is bound to take place this year."

The extent of the seizure was soon known, and it was found that some of the choicest spirits of the movement were in the hands of the police. O'Donovan Rossa, Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, William Roantree, and many others, were among the first victims of the treacherous work of the perjured informer. "Who is the traitor?" was heard whispered on every side, and a vow of vengeance was uttered that boded no good to the wretch, if once unmasked.

On the night of the arrests, Mr. Stephens was holding a reception at the rooms of one of his organizers—Mr. Flood,—giving instructions to a number of the 'B's,' or centres, who were calling on him in turn, when the news of the capture was brought to him by Mr. O'Conner, one of his messengers. Mr. Stephens, on receiving the information, rushed excitedly into the waiting-room with the news, which startled every one present. Among them was Pierce Nagle, Stephens's trusted and confidential man, the one of all others who knew most of his surroundings, and of the men with whom he did business. This devotee, who fawned on his master with cat-like affection, positively shed tears when the news was communicated, and no man present was more bitter in his denunciation of the English tyrants than was the devotee Pierce Nagle. A few days later, when the prisoners were placed before the bar, and all eyes were looking for the man who was to

swear away their lives and liberty, Pierce Nagle took the witness-stand! A murmur of horror went through the throng in the court-room, every eye flashed, and every hand twitched, there were a hundred men within twenty feet of the wretch that day who could and who would have stilled his treacherous heart forever, had they been free from the restraint of a superior authority.

Of course the prisoners were all convicted. There could be no hope before an English judge, a packed jury, and an Irish informer. O'Donovan Rossa was sentenced for life, O'Leary and Luby twenty years each, Roantree and others from ten to fifteen years each. George Hopper, brother-in-law of Stephens, pleaded guilty, and was let off with two years' confinement. Meanwhile the search continued for Mr. Stephens. Until he was in the hands of the law, the government was supposed to be in imminent danger. Detectives scoured the city, handbills offering a large reward for his apprehension, or for information that might lead to his arrest, were posted all over the country, and all this time the gentleman so much dreaded and so diligently sought after, was quietly taking his ease and enjoying himself with his friends in a comfortable dwelling in an exposed part of the city, near Sandymount. All this time the informer and confidential messenger, Nagle, who had so suddenly resigned his position in the service of the Irish Republic, and taken service under the government of England, permitted the Castle authorities to continue their laborious and fruitless search, when at any moment he could have gone and placed his slimy hand on his former chief. This is one of the mysteries of these troubled times that must remain unsolved. If there is a dark side to it, perhaps it is as well that it should remain unknown,



until all the actors in that stirring drama shall have passed away.

A Military Council was now formed by authority of Mr. Stephens, at the request of the organization in America, which it was intended should take entire control of all the military management of the business in Ireland. But it was soon discovered that the C. O. I. R. had no intention of allowing any power or authority to pass out of his hands, and the very first proposition the Council submitted—to have the country divided into military districts—was vetoed by the commander-in-chief. The reasons he assigned for refusing his consent to this plan of getting the people under military discipline, were so absurd that some of the members took occasion to express their opinions in a way which was not entirely complimentary to the C. O. I. R. This being faithfully reported to him, he was evidently convinced that to play the dictator with such men might endanger his standing with the American branch of the organization, so he thereupon called a council of all the leaders in Ireland, who were instructed to meet him in Dublin on a certain night, for the purpose of discussing plans for the future. He also requested some of the officers of the Council to prepare plans for the capture of the city and for a general “rising.” This, it was supposed, would keep the military *intruders* busy for a time, and allow the statesmen to prepare their plans for a prolonged administration of the “Irish Republic, virtually established.” The night of the meeting arrived, and, as the expectation of a fight was in everybody’s mind, the officers had their plans ready for the investigation of the C. O. I. R. and other leaders of the movement who were expected to be present.

The first plan submitted was for the capture of the city of Dublin, and as that was the principal achieve-

ment to be gained, the plans were all minutely explained. The first point of importance to be taken was the Pigeon-house, which was chiefly valuable on account of the large quantity of arms and military stores it contained. It was garrisoned by one hundred and sixty men only, sixty of whom were sworn members of the organization and were ready to obey any orders they received from its chief. In this stronghold were stored twenty-five thousand stand of arms, and the plan proposed to Mr. Stephen was to get possession of these arms. He asked the officer:

“How many men do you require to carry out the plan?”

“One thousand men,” was the reply.

“Well, I can give you six thousand, if necessary. Now, let us hear what you propose doing.”

“Well, I propose to take two hundred picked men, armed with revolvers, dispose of them at points already selected adjacent to the garrison. At a prearranged signal from our friends inside, they will march in, take possession of the place, make prisoners of the enemy, and shoot those who resist. I will then have eight hundred good men, well organized and under command of competent officers, already under orders to assemble at a given time in the vicinity, into whose hands I will put the arms taken from the garrison, and this force will guard the wagons already provided to convey the arms and ammunition to Phoenix Park.”

“And what will you do with them then?”

“This: On the day previous you will have twenty thousand men ordered up from the country districts, *for active service*. The Exhibition is in progress at present, and every day excursion trains bring to the city from ten to thirty thousand people to visit it, so the arrival of our friends will excite no unusual suspi-



cion. You will order these men to assemble in the Park, and, inside of six hours after the capture of the Pigeon-house, we can march out of Dublin with an army of twenty or twenty-five thousand men. I will pledge my life to carry out this much of the plan, and after that you may issue such orders as you think proper; I will stand in nobody's way."

This plan was received with favor by all present. Some of the leaders from the country districts were enthusiastic over it. All the officers who were consulted approved heartily of it. The only difference of opinion was as to the number of men asked for to carry out the enterprise. But it was clearly shown that a greater number of men would be simply in the way, and as everything depended on prompt and secret action, it was conceded that the force named was ample to do the work. Mr. Stephens seemed disinclined to express an opinion. But it soon became manifest that he was not in favor of the plan, as it was likely to interfere with one of his own, which he very soon uncovered in his conversation with the "centres." The questions he put fully developed his object, which was to postpone the fight. He asked the representatives, "If, in case of a postponement, they could hold their forces together for three months longer, could they but be assured that, where they had but one rifle now, at the expiration of that time they would have three?" This was not a fair question; the men had been summoned to Dublin to consult about the best way of preparing for a fight, and now they were being used simply to justify Mr. Stephens's back-out. This view of the matter was intimated in a mild way by one of the officers of the Council. But Mr. Stephens resented the insinuation very indignantly.

The result of the conference, therefore, as might easily

be foreseen, was to put off the fight for three months longer. Disappointment could be traced in every face, indignation and resentment on many, and more than one brave, strong man left the room in tears. It was plain to a close observer that on that October night in the city of Dublin, the C. O. I. R. planted the first germ of mistrust in the minds of his hitherto devoted followers.

Some time previously, John Mitchel, who had been released from imprisonment by the United States government as a compliment to the Irish-American officers of the army, was sent to Paris as financial agent for the American organization, and an officer from Ireland went over to receive the money which had been deposited in his hands for the purchase of arms. The amount proved to be entirely inadequate for the purpose, and besides, the condition which Mr. Mitchel felt it his duty to impose before surrendering it gave great offence to Mr. Stephens. In the meantime an officer had been sent from the United States to negotiate for the purchase of arms, and had already commenced operations in England. Some three thousand rifles and about four hundred revolvers had up to this time found their way into Dublin. The want of arms was now felt to be the great drawback; and the complaint was universally heard, "Why are we waiting for money to buy them, when we could have had all we wanted simply for the taking?"

The work dragged slowly on, the detectives and police alone being kept busy. Day after day the most prominent men in the movement were picked up and thrown into prison. It was now seriously contemplated by some of the members of the Council to force Mr. Stephens to decide upon some definite plan of action, and in case of his refusal, to retire from all



further responsibility in what appeared to be his aimless conspiracy. This move on the part of the Council was prevented by the arrival of an envoy from America, who had been sent out some time before with "documents." The intelligence which the officer brought back was of the most startling character. The Council was immediately convened, and placed under the most solemn obligations of secrecy before the great state secret could be imparted. It turned out to be a direct pledge from Andrew Johnson, President of the United States of America, "that inside of six months England and the United States would be at war." This was indeed an important message, but where the information came from, or who originated it, has never since transpired. Certain it is, however, that there were more acquainted with the secret than the Military Council, for it was found to be a matter of common rumor around the hotels in Dublin within an hour after its disclosure by the envoy. There was nothing contained in the message that at the time appeared improbable to the American officers, many of whom knew the bitter feeling that existed against England before they left America. They knew well the part which England had borne against the government of the United States during the civil war. They knew that on every battlefield of the South was found beside the fallen Confederate a rifle, a sabre, or a revolver stamped with the British crown. They knew that rebel ships were built, armed, and manned by Englishmen to destroy American commerce. They saw the crews of these ships—who had been adjudged pirates according to all the usages of international law—disbanded in English ports against the official protest of the United States minister, and allowed to go free. They knew that British emissaries invaded American territory, robbed American

banks, and murdered American citizens. And with all this knowledge, and knowing the spirit of retaliation which burned in the heart of every disbanded soldier of the American Union, they thought it not improbable that war would come. But they were mistaken. This news, however, inspired fresh hope in the hearts of all, and it was resolved to wait awhile longer.

There were great things in store for the future, so it was mysteriously hinted at in all the communications of the C. O. I. R. His predictions were soon to be verified, but not exactly in the way he wished them to be understood.

On Saturday, the 11th of November, 1865, the city of Dublin was electrified with the cry, "Stephens is arrested! Stephens is arrested!" It was soon found to be true. Whether the informer Nagle had at length concluded to deliver up his chief, or whether owing to the skill of the detective force his place of residence had been discovered, has never been known. Fairfield House at Sandymount, where Stephens resided under the assumed name of Herbert, was surrounded on Saturday morning, just before daylight, by the whole of the G. Division of Police, guided by the notorious Dawson, the Dublin detective. The fences were immediately scaled and an entrance effected through the back door. No resistance was offered, though all the inmates slept with revolvers under their pillows. Stephens was first taken into custody, and then followed the arrest of Charles J. Kickham, Hugh Brophy, and Edward Duffy. A large sum of money, amounting to nearly two thousand pounds, together with a plentiful supply of groceries and wines, were found in the house. This *coup d'état*, it was surmised by the crown authorities, would end the struggle. But their surmises were doomed to disappointment. A meeting of the Council



was at once ordered and steps taken to "fill up the gap." This was one of Mr. Stephens's great boasts, that no matter how many men might be removed there were others to step in and take their places. Acting in this spirit, the Council organized a Provisional Directory, and wrote a very courteous letter to Mrs. Stephens, expressive of sympathy, and asking her to transfer to the Council any documents that might be of use, and whatever money she had on hand belonging to the public fund. No reply was received to this letter, but soon, through the medium of friends employed in Richmond Bridewell, a correspondence was opened with Mr. Stephens. The first use he made of this established line of communication was to send out a letter containing a peremptory order banishing the President of the Council from the country. This was a damper on the zeal of the Council. They were soon made to realize that the "filling up the gap" theory had no reference to the C. O. I. R. No man on earth could "fill the gap" caused by his removal! When pressed to give a reason for this outrageous action, he coolly stated that the President had sent an impertinent letter to his wife. Then he should have *transported* all the members of the Council, for every man was equally responsible for the *impertinent* letter referred to above.

Steps were then taken to accomplish Mr. Stephens's escape from prison, and once commenced it did not take long to make all the necessary arrangements. The first man approached was Daniel Byrne, a warder in the prison, and through him other friends of the movement inside were soon enlisted in the work. Duplicate keys were procured, and ere the end of the week Richmond Bridewell, one of the strongest prisons in Ireland, was virtually in the hands of the Fenians. On the night of the 24th of November, only two weeks

after his arrest, the plans were put into execution, and on the 25th, the day following, the city was doubly electrified with the startling cry, "Stephens has escaped! Stephens has escaped!" A look of confusion, bordering on horror, was on the face of every official of the government. One of their strongest bastiles had been invaded, and the chief conspirator against the peace of her Majesty's realm actually carried off from under their very noses! Let it be here recorded, to the honor of the prison officers engaged in this daring enterprise, that they declined to accept every offer of money, or to fly from the country to save themselves from prosecution. So well was the affair conducted, however, that not a single particle of evidence could be brought against any of them, and in their own good time they quietly emigrated to the United States. The governor of the prison, Mr Marquis, was dismissed, but he was entirely innocent of any complicity in the escape of Mr. Stephens.

Once more the indispensable C. O. R. I. took up his position in "the gap," and with a great flourish of trumpets declared that the year 1865 should be the year of fight. In fact, he had gone so far as to exact a pledge from the Council before leaving prison, that the fight should take place. On no other conditions would he consent to come out. Time and again, during the months that followed, he was urged by the officers to permit them to commence active military organization, and as often refused. The year of fight passed, and nearly two months of the one that followed. And still the C. O. I. R. remained in a state of stupor. At length the Council determined to force him to an issue, or retire from any further connection with him, and return to America.

The last meeting of the Military Council was held on



Friday night, the 16th of February, 1866, at which Mr Stephens's aimless policy was the chief subject of discussion. Grave suspicions were beginning to enter the minds of the officers that he had no intention to fight, and that they had no business to be in Ireland at all. No definite conclusion was arrived at on that night, but it was quite evident from the temper of the Council that ere long the C. O. I. R. would be left in quiet possession of the Irish Republic. In the meantime, however, the British authorities had been preparing to bring about this end in a way peculiarly their own.

On Saturday morning, February 17th, the whole police force of Dublin was set in motion, and before noon nearly every American officer in the city found himself the inmate of a police-station. That night the gloomy walls of Kilmainham enclosed over two hundred of the principal leaders of the Fenian movement. The "Habeas Corpus Suspension Act," under the authority of which these arrests were made by the government, had not yet become a law. It was not until the following day—Sunday—that it was signed. But when did England ever regard the law, in her dealings with Ireland or Irishmen? Meanwhile these wholesale arrests continued, until the prisons of Ireland were thronged with "suspects." The minions of the Castle were now in their glory. They had in their power a class of men whom they delighted to insult and persecute. From the lowest prison scullion up to the pompous British officer on guard in the jails, these petty insults were made a part of their daily duty. The officers of the "crack" Rifles, lately celebrated for their cowardly flight before a little band of Egyptian cavalry, were most persistent in their insulting remarks, particularly to the American officers, while engaged at exercise in the prison yards. The governor of Kilmainham, Price by name, but

aptly designated the "Gorilla," was another, whose brutal behavior shocked every sense of decency and common humanity. The demeanor of the victims of all these persecutions merits the noblest expression of praise, and will stand as a shining example of patient endurance and devotion to the cause of Ireland. No people on the earth can show a more devoted band of patriots than those who filled English prisons from the first capture of the *Irish People*, to the murder of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien by the English government.

A short time after the February arrests, Mr. Stephens, who had been concealed in the house of a Mrs. Butler of Summer Hill, took his departure in open daylight from the city, gained the coast, where a vessel was in waiting, which conveyed him to France, where he remained for some months before going to the United States. Thus vanished from the scene the "Central Organizer of the Irish Republic," a man, it is true, who built up the most powerful organization that ever existed in Ireland for armed revolution; but a man, nevertheless, who contributed more than all others to demoralize and render impotent the power he had created. James Stephens was an organizer and a natural-born conspirator, as prompt to conspire against the friends of the cause, when they crossed *his* path, as he was against its enemies. Had he been a patriot as well, he would have stepped aside when his work was done, and permitted other hands and other heads to guide the great machinery which he had constructed, and which he lacked the moral courage to put in motion.

His long concealment in Dublin, after his escape from prison, furnishes another evidence of Irish fidelity. Notwithstanding the large amount of money offered by



the government as a reward for his capture, the lady in whose house he lived, though in humble circumstances, and who could by a single word become wealthy, remained true to her plighted word. Ireland has her Nagles and Corydons, but they are as a drop in the ocean to the great mass of the brave and loyal people who love Ireland more than life itself.

Every day the Fenian trials went on before the modern "Norbury," Judge Keogh, and a packed jury, and of course to be brought before such a tribunal was equivalent to certain conviction. In the meantime a correspondence had been opened by the American officers with the American minister in London, Mr. Adams, and the American consul in Dublin, Mr. West, with a view to having a demand made by their government for their liberation. But it was soon discovered that both these gentlemen were more desirous of preventing any such action on the part of the United States than otherwise. This occasioned widespread indignation among the officers and their friends on both sides of the Atlantic, and communications were sent by some of them direct to Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State. It was finally concluded by the British authorities to release the Irish-Americans on condition that they would at once leave the country, a proposition which they indignantly declined. Meanwhile the diplomatic fencing went on, until the position the Irish-Americans occupied between the two countries was clearly defined. England claimed the inalienable right, "once a subject, always a subject," and "that notwithstanding any occupation these men might have pursued, in the United States, they were still held to be subjects of her Majesty the Queen." Nevertheless, the Queen was anxious to get them out of her dominions, and her faithful hirelings in Ireland rendered valuable service,

or thought they did, in carrying out her wishes. Nightly visits were made to the prison in which the officers were confined, by the Castle officials, who used all the sophistry and blarney of which they were masters—and that was not a little—to induce the American officers to return *home*. Chief among these nightly visitors was a Mr. Murray, a Castle Commissioner, and Mr. Burke, Under-Secretary or something to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant. To an uninitiated person, listening to the conversation which took place on the occasion of these visits, between the servants of the Queen and the *foreign invaders*, it would appear that the official was the real simon-pure patriot, the real lover of Ireland, and that his heart was full to overflowing with genuine love and sympathy for the misguided Americans, who were but the victims of a few bloodthirsty conspirators, plotting for the murder of priests and all the respectable people of the country. In fact, so offensive was this man Murray, one night, that General Denis F. Burke ordered him out of his cell, and forbade him ever entering it again as long as he occupied it.

Nearly all the links of communication between the several districts in Ireland had now been broken. The C. O. I. R. had left in “the gap” occasioned by his flight from the soil on which he had sworn to fight, Edward Duffy, a man too honest to dissemble and too weak to command. The organization in America, too, had been divided. John O’Mahony had already been deposed by the Fenian Senate, and William R. Roberts, of New York, elected to fill his place. This branch of the Fenian movement, by this time heartily disgusted with the procrastination of Mr. Stephens, determined to strike England through her possessions in Canada, and at once a movement was commenced in the direc-



tion of the Canadian border. By the 31st of May, 1866, a considerable force had assembled on the frontier, and many of them crossed over to the Canadian side. On the 2d of June a well-organized force, under command of General O'Neill, met the Canadian forces—among them the “Queen’s Own,”—which had been ordered out to meet the Fenians, and a spirited fight began, which resulted in the defeat and total rout of the British. In consequence of not being promptly supported, however, the troops under O'Neill were forced to retire, and a number of the Fenians were captured, who were afterwards tried and sentenced to be hanged. Among these latter was the Rev. Father John McMahon. But the sentences were finally commuted to imprisonment. On the 7th of June a proclamation was issued by President Johnson against the Fenian invasion of Canada, and under the direction of General Meade, the whole movement was soon effectually broken up.

A few weeks previous to this time James Stephens had arrived in New York from Paris, and succeeded in partially reinstating himself as head of what was termed the I. R. B. branch of the Fenian forces. His former unredeemed pledges, together with his despotic tendency to override the opinions of others, prevented him, however, from making much headway, until the arrival in the following August of many of the American officers, who had succeeded in obtaining their liberation from prison in Ireland, gave the movement new life.

A public meeting was called to be held at Jones’ Wood, which was one of the largest meetings of Irish-Americans ever held in the country. Before this immense assemblage of people, Mr. Stephens solemnly swore that ere the end of the present year he would be on Irish soil, fighting for Ireland’s independence. This

avowal appeared so glaringly impossible to those who had a full knowledge of the resources at his command, that many of them retired from the movement in disgust. During the following November Colonel Thomas J. Kelly, who had by this time entirely supplanted Mr. Stephens in the control of the movement, prepared for the departure of himself and followers for Ireland. A steamer, which had been purchased during the prosperous times for forty thousand dollars, was sold for fifteen thousand. With this paltry sum in the Fenian treasury, with the organization in Ireland in a necessarily demoralized condition, with the British government in full possession of all the plans and secrets of the organization, both in Ireland and America, this little handful of men—many of them, it is true, of the purest type of patriotism—sailed on what a moment's reflection would have shown them was but a forlorn hope. Mr. Stephens did not accompany them to fight on Irish soil, although his passage had been provided for. He sailed for France shortly after.

On the arrival of Kelly and his party in Ireland a secret council was held, and the 12th of February, 1867, was appointed for the "rising," but for some reason or other a subsequent order was issued postponing the day of action to the 5th of March. This order occasioned disastrous results, as it had not been sent out in time to reach the leaders at the several points, some of whom took the field in obedience to the first order. The most serious mistake occurred at Chester, England, where the centres had been under orders to commence an attack on Chester Castle simultaneously with their brothers in Ireland. This plan was faithfully adhered to, and in a most daring manner. The Castle was supposed to contain some twenty thousand stand of arms, and the intention was to capture the



arms, take possession of all the rolling stock on the railroad, put the arms and ammunition on board, dash for Holyhead, capture all the steamers in the harbor, and sail at once for Ireland, where they hoped to arrive before news of the daring feat could be transmitted. The very improbability, in fact, almost impossibility of such a mad scheme succeeding, was one of the strongest points in its favor. There can be no doubt, however, that the capture of Chester Castle would have been accomplished, had not an unexpected actor appeared on the scene in the person of John Joseph Corydon, the notorious traitor and spy. This vile creature, who had been sent from America in '65, and who passed himself off as an officer who had served in the Irish Brigade, but who was really never above a private—and a very worthless one at that—was taken into the confidence of Mr. Stephens against the protest of all the officers who knew his worthless character, and now, with all the knowledge he possessed of men and their motives, came to the surface as a thoroughbred informer. There was no doubt that this man had been giving information to the government from the start. Corydon, after gaining a knowledge of all the plans, reported to the chief constable at Liverpool, and the attacking party had hardly time to assemble, before the authorities were prepared to receive them. They knew well from that moment that there was a traitor in their ranks. But who was the traitor? was the question asked. The men now dispersed and returned to their homes the best way they could, but a party of them boarded a train for Holyhead, took the Dublin boat, and were arrested as soon as they put their feet on shore, Corydon among the number.

The 5th of March, the day to which the “rising” had been postponed, at length arrived, and now the

real fight was about to commence. Limerick Junction had been selected as a strategic point, and the forces ordered to assemble at this place were assigned to the command of General Massey. This man, whose real name was said to be Condin, no sooner stepped from the train to the station than he found himself in the hands of the police, and thereupon gave an exhibition of the wonderful courage said to have been displayed by him in the cause of the Confederate States of America, by *fainting dead away!* His real character was soon after displayed, when he appeared on the witness-stand as a full-fledged informer. The news of the capture spread through the surrounding country like wildfire, and it soon became evident to the insurgents that all their plans had been revealed to the crown authorities. Finding themselves almost wholly unarmed, and without any competent head to guide their movements, the people naturally became discouraged, and soon began to seek their homes in every direction.

In Cork County the rising assumed its most formidable shape, where, under the command of Captain Mackey, several police barracks were taken, where in every instance their defenders, the police, were treated with the greatest courtesy and forbearance. In fact, this was the prevailing spirit displayed by the people and their leaders all over the country wherever a temporary victory was obtained over their enemies. At Kilmallock, County Limerick, where Captain John McClure commanded, the town was in the hands of Nationalists during the greater part of the day; not a single act that could reflect on their honor or discipline was committed. Private property of every description was scrupulously guarded; even in the banks, where arms had been sought and found, not a single penny of the large sums of money on hand was



touched. The police, having been summoned from the neighboring towns, arrived in force late in the afternoon and compelled the Nationalists to retire, several of whom were killed or wounded. One among the killed was wholly unknown to the people of the vicinity, and to honor his memory, a monument was placed over his grave, inscribed, "Unknown."

A fight in Ireland without Tipperary, to be sure, would be a tame affair, and bold rebel Tipperary came gallantly to the front. But even the courage and headlong daring for which the people of this noble county are celebrated could not bear up under the depressing effects of imperfect organization, incompetent leadership, and a total want of arms and munitions of war. General Thomas F. Burke commanded in this district, but he too, like all his fellow-leaders, found himself in the hands of the police almost before he had time to realize the absurdity of the work he was about to commence.

In the city of Dublin, to which all eyes were turned, the attempted insurrection was the worst failure of all. The government authorities, fully posted in all the movements of the Nationalists by the traitor Corydon, permitted the thousands of men who left the city on the morning of the 5th of March to pass out unmolested. The departure of these men was no secret; it occurred in broad daylight, and even had there been no traitor in their ranks, the publicity given to the movement could not fail to have excited the suspicions of the Castle people. All the morning this remarkable procession continued to move in the direction of Tallaght, the place designated for the rendezvous, about five miles from Dublin, and near the base of the Wicklow Mountains. The first band that arrived, greatly to their surprise, were received with a volley of musketry,

which sent them back in confusion. Corydon the traitor had done his work well. The news of the betrayal was soon communicated to the advancing throng, and escape was sought in every direction. Before night, or rather before the following morning, hundreds of these misguided people were in the hands of England's merciless hirelings. It was as well, perhaps, that this part of the plan miscarried. Had the men of Dublin assembled under the leader who had been chosen to command them, nothing could have prevented a desperate struggle. General William G. Halpin was an officer who had rendered eminent service in the Union army during the American civil war, and had he once succeeded in getting these men under his control, his natural soldierly instincts and his unfaltering love of discipline would soon have moulded them into a formidable force, that would have at least put England's trained ranks to a fearful test. The men from Kingstown, always firm in their duty to the cause, captured on their way two police barracks and made prisoners of the police. These were the barracks at Stepaside and Glencullen. On arriving near Tallaght, however, they were soon made aware, by the people falling back, that the secrets of the organization had been betrayed, and all was over.

Thus ended the so-called "rising" of 1867, which for wild, utopian conception, and lack of ability in the execution of the plan as a whole, exceeds every other attempt known to the annals of Irish history. The movement, however, developed one fact, from which a lesson for the future may be learned: that the people of Ireland, properly guided, and with the means in their possession, will fight for their independence. Much has been said and written about the precipitous flight of the people before armed force, but there is nothing



in all this that ought to be recorded to their discredit. It only goes to prove that their natural common sense and sound judgment were superior to the false reasoning of enthusiastic, and in many instances incompetent leaders. This whole affair should teach the people of Ireland to trust to their own resources, to cultivate self-reliance more, and depend less on outside aid. There were in Ireland on that 5th of March, 1867, a thousand Irishmen, any one of whom were worth a dozen Cluserets or Fariolas, had they been only taught to rely on and to cultivate their own natural ability to command.

The news of the uprising in Ireland caused the greatest excitement among the Fenians of the United States, and instant steps were taken to send off all the aid possible to encourage "the men at home" to continue the struggle. The first fruits of this step was the purchase of a small vessel of about two hundred tons burden, which was cleared from the custom-house in New York under the name of the "Jackmel," with a cargo consigned to a mercantile house in Cuba. On rounding Sandy Hook the vessel was approached by a small tug-boat, which transferred from her deck to that of the Jackmel about fifty men, after which the little vessel immediately started on her trip to Cuba. But no sooner was she out of sight of land, than she changed her course for Ireland. A muster on deck of her passengers and crew disclosed many well-known New Yorkers, some of whom had served in the army or navy of the United States. The Sunburst was run up to the masthead amid the cheers and congratulations of all on board, and soon the "good ship" Jackmel's name was removed and in its place appeared, "Erin's Hope." Poor Erin had little to hope for from this grand expedition, for on arriving at the point of des-

tinuation—Sligo Bay—they found their course intercepted by British cruisers, and were obliged to tack and turn on and off, until at length, finding their provisions running short, they were compelled to land a part of their force near Dungarvan, after a passage of some two months, leaving on board only such numbers as could be provided with provisions back to America. About thirty of the crew of the “Erin’s Hope” landed on the Irish coast, and it was not long before they were enjoying the hospitalities of the “Gorilla” in Kilmainham Jail. But the Castle people were after all sorely puzzled to know what disposition they should make of their guests. None of the men had arms. There was nothing about them to show that they were anything more than a shipwrecked crew, and they had violated no law. But soon the whole secret was disclosed. A wretch—one Buckley, we believe,—whose cowardly heart should never have found place in the breast of a man, revealed all to the government, and a few days later the prisoners stood in the dock charged with treason-felony. The prisoners were all convicted, among whom were Warren and Costello, who claimed the protection of the United States government, but without avail, England holding to her inalienable right, “once a subject, always a subject,” and so these American citizens were sentenced to twelve and fifteen years respectively. This question of citizenship was since brought before the government of the United States, and through the efforts of the Irish-Americans and their influence with the government, England was forced to surrender her feudal right, and to recognize the authority of the United States government to demand protection for her citizens, irrespective of nativity, wherever their interests might be assailed.

The “Erin’s Hope” returned to New York with the



men who remained on board, and Captain Cavanagh, her commander, delivered up his charge, with a report of the expedition, to the Fenian authorities in that city. Here ended the history of the first armed invasion of Ireland that ever took place from the United States. It was a silly affair, and was a fitting *finale* to the great farce which first excited the delusive hopes that brought it into existence.

We are now called upon to record the saddest event of this whole sad and ill-timed affair. Immediately after the collapse of the movement, the broken ranks of the Nationalists were partially reformed, and in the following September Colonel Kelly, who had up to this time remained in Dublin, crossed over to England to attend a council of the Brotherhood in Manchester, where he was arrested by the police, together with a Captain Deasey, while loitering about the city. At first his real character was unknown to the police, and he was about being sentenced to jail for some local offense, when a spy disclosed his real name, and he was immediately remanded. As soon as the news had gone forth, the greatest excitement prevailed amongst the Manchester circles, and a secret council was at once convened, at which it was resolved to attack the prison van, and rescue Kelly. On Wednesday, the 18th of September, the prisoners Kelly and Deasey were again before the court, when a formal commitment was made out against them in their own proper names. From the court they were transferred to the van under guard of twelve policemen, and about three o'clock in the afternoon the van drove off to the jail at Salford. On the Hyde Park road, near Bellevue, the escort was attacked by a picked force from the circles of Manchester, and the prisoners, Kelly and Deasey, taken from the van. The constable inside, one Brett, having

possession of the key, refused to give it up, and one of the attacking party put his revolver to the key-hole and fired, intending to break the lock. Brett, it appears, at that very moment was looking through the key-hole, to ascertain the strength of the rescuing party, and the bullet entered his body, killing him almost instantly. A woman inside the van, also a prisoner, now took the key from the pocket of Brett and handed it out through the window of the van, when the door was unlocked, and the party withdrew, sending Kelly and Deasey in advance under protection of a few friends. The rescuers were now pursued by the police, assisted by the crowd, which had by this time collected to the number of several hundreds, and many of the daring band were captured and severely beaten and stoned by the mob. The five men arrested, William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin, Michael O'Brien, Thomas Maguire, and Edward Condon, were placed before the bar on the 28th of October, charged with the murder of Officer Brett. A commission had already been formed to try them. The five men were tried together under the same charge, and the evidence produced on the trial was of such a character that it was afterwards acknowledged by the crown counsel that little reliance should have been placed on it. The men were all convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged, but a reaction of public feeling soon after set in, and Maguire was pardoned and Condon reprieved. It will be borne in mind that all five were charged with the same crime, and convicted under the same evidence, and if the two latter were innocent, the other three must have been equally so. But the half-savage, howling mob demanded a sacrifice, and English justice bowed to the demand. It is a well-known fact that some of the men were not present with the rescuing



party, and it is equally as well known now that none of them fired the fatal shot.

Allen, when addressing the court, said: "No man in this court regrets the death of Sergeant Brett more than I do, and I positively say, in the presence of the Almighty and Ever-living God, that I am innocent,—aye, as innocent as any man in this court. I do not say this for the sake of mercy; I want no mercy, I'll have no mercy; I'll die, as many thousands have died, for the sake of their beloved land, and in defense of it."

Maguire declared that every witness against them had committed perjury.

One of the prisoners, at the conclusion of the trial, said :

"You will soon send us before God, and I am perfectly prepared to go. I have nothing to regret, or to retract, or take back. I can only say, *God save Ireland!*"

Stepping to the front of the dock, with their hands and eyes raised with solemn earnestness to Heaven, these five noble men, in a loud, firm voice, repeated: "God save Ireland!"

On the 22d of November a mob began to collect outside the prison gates, and the scenes that occurred during that night beggar description. With fierce yells and cries of vengeance against the "Fenian murderers," these savages passed the night in undisputed possession of the place, much to the disturbance of the devotional exercises in which the prisoners were engaged inside. On the cold, foggy morning of the 23d of November, 1867, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien were led forth to the scaffold. The Seventy-second Highlanders formed a line, with bayonets fixed, around the platform. Allen came first, pale but resolute. Next came Larkin, with a calm, religious resignation in his bearing. O'Brien

followed last. The proud, dignified step and well-poised head caused a blush of shame to spring to the cheek of more than one spectator, who seemed suddenly to realize that they were there to witness the murder of such a man! The mournful toll of the death-bell for the moment checked even the howlings of the savage crowd, and amid profound silence the three martyrs ascended the gallows. O'Brien stepped up to his two comrades, kissed them tenderly, and all three embraced each other with brotherly affection; the cords were adjusted around each neck, the bolts were drawn, and in a few minutes the souls of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien passed into eternity.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE WRETCHED CONDITION OF IRELAND.

*Views and Opinions of Foreign Writers—What Eminent German Professors Say—The Bishop of Autun—What American Writers and Speakers Think of England's Treatment of Ireland—Ireland's Claims on America.*

TO THOSE born in Ireland it is unnecessary to detail her wrongs and her grievances, or to picture her wretched condition, or the causes that have produced her misery, her suffering, and her degradation; but to Americans, who have heard and read so much about the glorious Constitution of England and the impartiality of her laws, it might be well to picture Ireland to them as seen by disinterested parties.

Beaumont, the celebrated French publicist, visited Ireland as far back as 1835, and said of it: "I have seen the Indian in his forest and the negro in his chains, and thought that I had beheld the lowest term of human misery; but I had not then known the lot of Ireland, for Irish misery forms a type of itself, of which the like exists nowhere else."

Von Raumer, the eminent German professor, visited Ireland in 1835, and wrote about it in a similar manner.

Kohl, another distinguished writer, visiting Ireland about the same time, said of it that "He doubted

whether in the whole world a nation could be found subjected to the physical privations of the peasantry in some parts of Ireland. . . . Nowhere but in Ireland could be found human creatures living, from year's end to year's end, on the same root, berry, or weed. There were animals, indeed, that did so, but human beings—nowhere save in Ireland."

Mr. Farrer says: "English travelers have not spoken less graphically than foreigners of the real state of parts of Ireland, from the time of Spenser, the poet, down to the account of Mr. Tuke in 1880."

"It is undeniable," said Inglis, after his visit to Ireland in 1834, "that the condition of the Irish poor is immeasurably worse than that of the West Indian slave."

Barrow, after a tour in Ireland in 1835, writes: "No picture drawn by the pencil, none by the pen, can possibly convey an idea of the sad reality. . . . There is no other country on the face of the earth where such extreme misery prevails as in Ireland."

Count Cavour published two articles on Ireland in 1843 and '44, in which he spoke "of the deplorable condition of the agricultural population."

Mind you, all these wrote about the state of Ireland long before the terrible famine of '47 and '48 sent its people in millions to paupers' graves, or outcasts upon the charity of the world. Ireland's misery still continued, though the population had been reduced to nearly one-half by famine, eviction, emigration, and death, and in 1853 Lasterye, a French writer, speaking of the wretched state of Ireland, said: "The question is always the same, before and after the Poor Law, before and after the famine, before and after the emigration, before and after the institution of the Encumbered Estates Court."



The Abbe Perrand, afterwards Bishop of Autun, visited the island in 1860, and wrote: "How great was my astonishment, more than twenty years after the second journey of De Beaumont, to come upon the very destitution so eloquently described by him in 1839!" Mr. Farrer says of him: "After living long in a department considered as one of the poorest and most backward in France, Perrand undertook to say. . . . "that the lot of the poorest peasant in France could not compare with the misery of a large part of Ireland."

Of the numerous American writers who have visited Ireland and described her sufferings in our own day, the following from the pen of Mr. Redpath embodies their report. He says: "Christianity has been called the religion of sorrow. If it be so, then the Holy Land of our day is in the West of Ireland. In spirit let us loose the sandals from our feet as we draw near that sacred ground. Every sod of its ancient soil is wet with the dew of human tears. Every murmur of its rippling brooks is accompanied with a chorus of sighs from breaking human hearts. Every breeze which sweeps across its barren moors carries to the mountain tops, and, I trust, far beyond, the groans and the prayers of a brave but despairing people. The sun never sets upon their sorrows, except to give place to the pitying stars which look down there on human woes."

The Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, one of America's ablest jurists, in a speech at Baltimore, April 18th, 1882, speaking of Ireland, said:

"For seven centuries Ireland has worn the yoke of political bondage. During all that time, except one short interval, she has not been permitted to make any laws for the protection of her own people in their persons or property. What they call Home Rule, or

the privilege of local self-government, is wholly denied them. Their affairs are entirely directed by another power, whose orders are executed by agents and overseers sent upon them for that purpose. Such a government is sure to be administered without the smallest regard for the rights, interests, feelings, or wishes of the people who are subject to it. Enemies and strangers so fastened upon a community will certainly rule for their own pleasure, advantage, and profit. Any person who does not know this to be a great fundamental fact, established by all human experience, and underlying the whole science of government, is not at all prepared to consider this subject, and he had better give no further attention to it. But if he understands that much, he also knows that the want of Home Rule in Ireland is the want of everything else. As a consequence of that privation she is oppressed, degraded, insulted, steeped in poverty to the very lips, and overwhelmed with afflictions, which make her peculiarly what Senator Bayard has called her—'the Island of Sorrows.' The general notion is that England and Ireland are united kingdoms; they are called so in the style and title of the Queen. But there is no real union, and there never was. There is a connection made by force; they are 'pinned together with bayonets.' Ireland is not governed according either to the common or statute law of England, but by special legislation made for her alone. An act of Parliament passed for the general benefit of the Queen's subjects does not apply to the Irish people, unless they are particularly included by name. The old statutes and royal concessions to popular liberty are so interpreted, as well as the later ones. Thus Ireland is construed out of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and other great securities which make Englishmen safe against



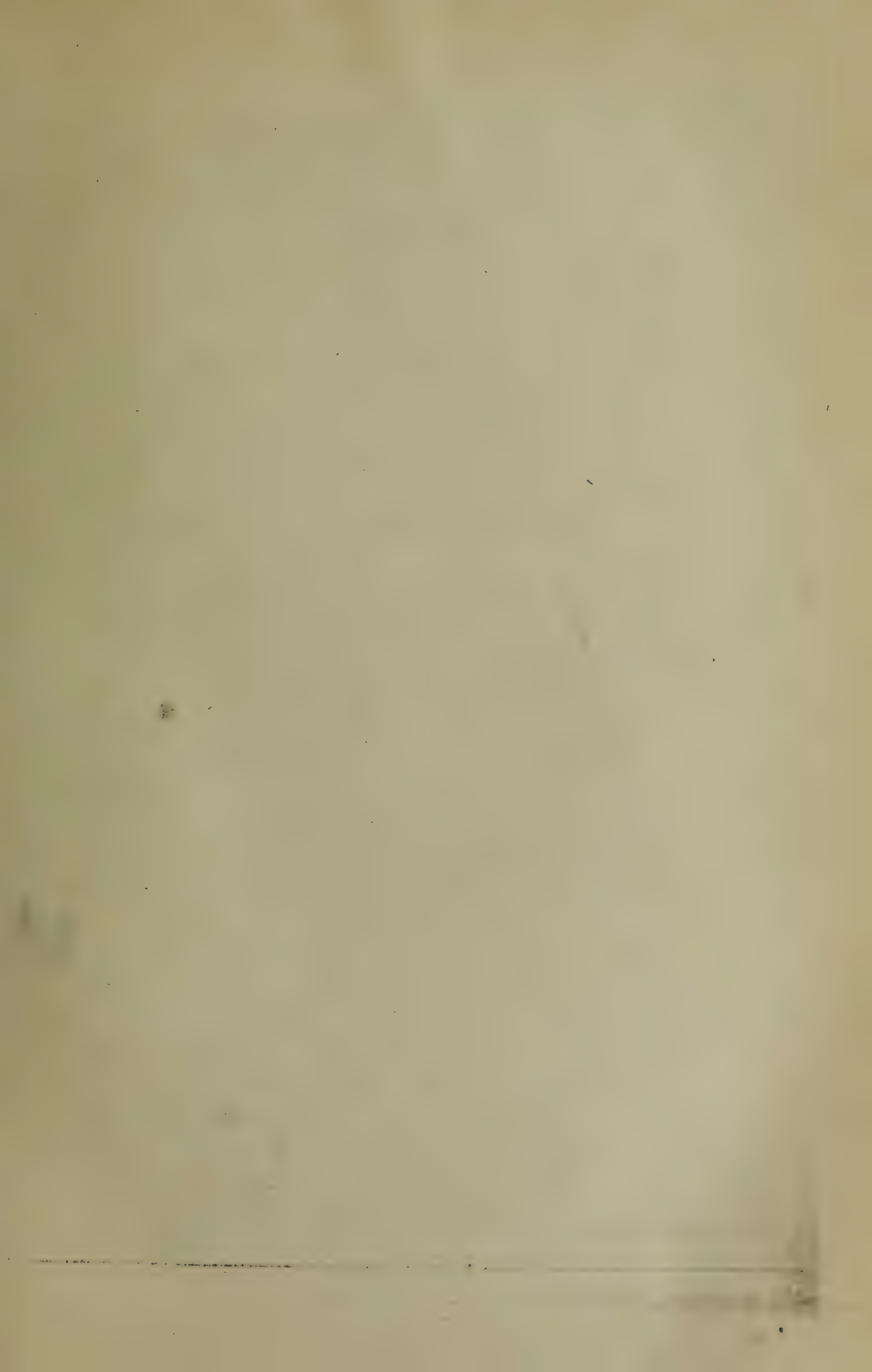
injustice. In effect, the British government, which is a limited monarchy at home, becomes an unrestrained and absolute despotism when it crosses the Channel; and the exercise of this unbounded power through all the centuries of its existence has been marked with the coarsest cruelty and the most heartless oppression that this world has ever witnessed. If the Irish had been inferior to the race which trampled them down, their fate would seem less hard. But intellectually and morally they were greatly superior; their civilization, science, art, and general intelligence were much further advanced. The deliberate and long-continued effort of England to darken the mind of Ireland, and reduce her people as much as possible to ignorance and illiterate barbarism, is a most shocking part of the story.

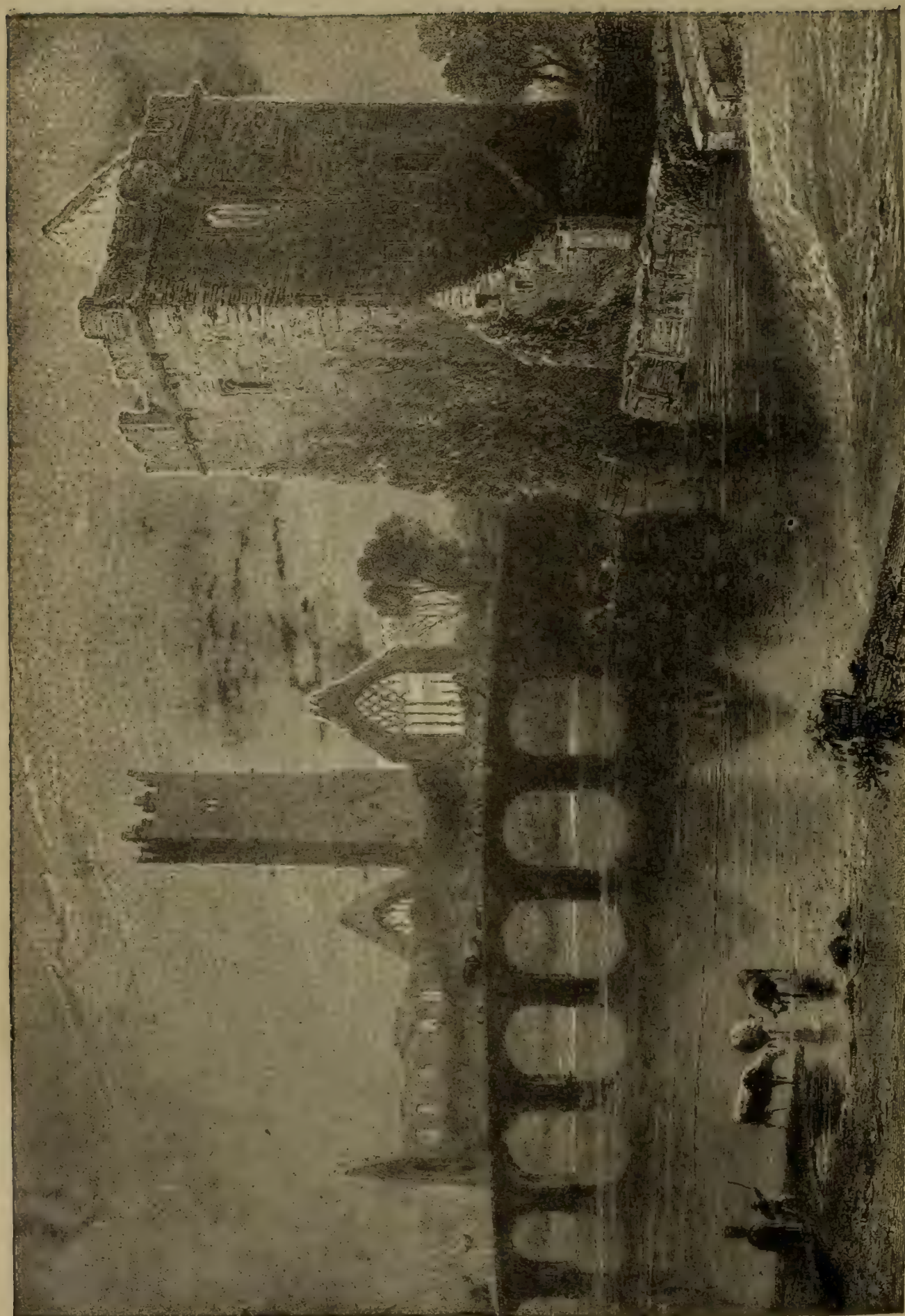
“Except Ireland, all the nations of the earth have been making some progress. Improvements in political as well as physical science and the discovery of new arts have brightened the face of the civilized world, and given dignity, independence, and comfort to the mass of its inhabitants. But the condition of the Irish people is more wretched than ever. A single fact will show how frightfully true this is. During the last forty years the population of other countries has doubled; in some of them it has trebled, and the average amount of provision and clothing for each individual is two and a half times as great. But in Ireland, with a more genial climate and a soil incomparably rich, the numbers have been reduced from 9,000,000 to 5,000,000, and of those who survive, the great majority are suffering the last extremes of want and necessity. Where are the other 4,000,000 and their multiplied offspring? What has become of the additional 12,000,000 who, according to the natural rule, should be living there now

in comfort and plenty? Famine has thinned them out; pestilence has swept them away; political persecution has driven them abroad. What is the cause of these terrible calamities? All men with one voice charge them upon that atrocious misgovernment which blights and curses them. When the blood of that unhappy people cries from the ground the British tyrant cannot answer like Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' The rulers of a nation are its keepers, responsible for its fate, and these men have an awful account to render. For every false drop in their veins an innocent life has perished.

"But if the Irish could not live by cultivating the soil, why did they not go to some other employment? This is a pertinent question, and the answer to it covers England with an infamy that nothing else can match. In fact and in truth, they did betake themselves to commerce and manufactures, and the hope was bright before them of a perfect success. But their English enemies ruthlessly broke up their business by penal legislation, destroying their trade, both foreign and domestic, by arbitrary prohibitions, crushed out the enterprise, and forced them back upon the land. Then why don't they fight? They have tried that, too. They never sink into tame submission. The most pathetic passages of history record the incidents of their struggle; their rights have been asserted with surpassing eloquence; the purest poetry in any language celebrates their valor. A long line of their most illustrious men have suffered martyrdom in the cause of liberty, and the common file of the people maintain a character for turbulent disloyalty which ought to excite universal admiration. Their spirit was never broken; they lack no gall to make oppression bitter. But each defeated effort to right themselves was made an excuse for the







ABBEY OF CLARE, GALWAY.



infliction of new outrages. Whole districts were depopulated by the process which they called a clearance—that is, the destruction of all habitations and the expulsion of all occupants, accompanied by circumstances of the direst cruelty. No chance was lost to hang or imprison a patriot. The higher he stood for talents and integrity, the surer he was to be claimed by the scaffold or the dungeon. The yoke was tightened on all who were allowed to live and go at large. It was a mortal offense to meet and petition for the redress of grievances. Political opinions adverse to the government were sure to call down its wrath and malice. Even the fidelity of the people to their religious convictions—the highest virtue that can adorn any human character—was imputed to them as a crime, and punished so barbarously that it cannot be thought of without detestation and horror.”

Mr. James Redpath, a distinguished American writer and lecturer, and at one time a most zealous abolitionist, went to Ireland, in 1880, to write up the state of the country for *The New York Tribune*. Though prejudiced against Ireland and the Irish when he went there, his generous American heart became full of gall against England when he saw the slavish, degraded condition in which the Irish people were kept under her blighting rule. We take the following short extracts from his “Talks about Ireland”:

#### THE WEST OF IRELAND.

Let us now, in spirit, take the shoes from off our feet as we draw nigh the holy ground of Connaught and Munster. There is nothing on this earth more sacred than human sorrow. Christianity itself has been called the Worship of Sorrow. If this definition

be a true one, then the Holy Land of our day is the West of Ireland. Every sod there has been wet with human tears. The murmurs of every rippling brook there, from time out of mind, have been accompanied by an invisible chorus of sighs from breaking human hearts. Every breeze that has swept across her barren moors has carried with it to the summits of her bleak mountain slopes (and, I trust, far beyond them) the groans and the prayers of a brave but a despairing people. The sun has never set on her sorrows, excepting to give place to the pitying stars that have looked down on human woes that excel in numbers their own constellated hosts.

I never yet saw a single cabin in the Southern States so wretched; I never met a slave so badly dressed—I never saw a slave so poorly fed—as three millions of the industrious people of Ireland are lodged, clothed, and fed to-day. Southern slavery, with the single exception—and that was a very important exception—of the right to sell vested in the slave-holder, was a system, infernal as it was, vastly superior to the system of Irish tenantry at this very hour. But I have my notes of a conversation with Father John O'Malley, in Boycott's own parish, and it is specific in its details. I will read them; only omitting my preliminary questions:

“As to their indolence,” said Father John, “from my own experience of them, and from what I have heard from so many high authorities about the peasantry in other countries, I consider the Irish peasantry as the most industrious and hard-working race on the face of the earth. What do you think, now that you have seen them at home?”

“With the sole exception of the Chinese,” I answered, “I think they are not excelled in industry by any race



in America, and that they are only equaled by the Germans."

"Not only all over the West," continued Father John, "does the head of the family himself work, and his grown boys, and all the women, but even the youngest females, as soon as they are able to do any work—not only in the house, but hard work in the fields, as you have seen everywhere. They are so industrious in their habits, and so soon are they set to work as children, that unless I make it a point to secure the attendance of the children at school between the ages of five and eleven, I might bid farewell to all hopes of teaching them at all. If the people did not work as incessantly as they do, how could they procure even the commonest sustenance for their large families, after paying such exorbitant rents and taxes? From my experience and observation, all over this West of Ireland (and I have had a large experience, and seen most of it thoroughly), I can truly say that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, whenever you see any Irish peasant not at work it is simply because he can find nothing to do.

"Now, then, as to his improvidence," continued Father John, "why, Mr Redpath, the very idea of charging these struggling peasants of Ireland with improvidence is cruel sarcasm. Let me tell you how the ordinary peasant lives. But, after all, I need not tell you how he lives—you have seen enough of it; but possibly you have had no opportunity to see how they are fed?"

"No, sir."

"Well," said the priest, "let me give you the daily bill of fare of these peasant families: For breakfast, potatoes. If they are pretty comfortable, they have a little milk and butter with it. But, in the great ma-

majority of cases, they have nothing but the potatoes, and possibly a salt herring. The dinner and the supper are only a repetition of the breakfast. That is their bill of fare all the year round, excepting at Easter and Christmas, when even the poorest try hard to get a few pounds of meat—generally ‘American meat.’”

I have heard so much and I have seen so much of the sorrows of the West, that when the memory of them rises up before me, I stand appalled at the vision. Again and again, since I came back from Ireland, I have tried to paint a picture of Western misery; but again and again, and as often as I have tried,—even in the solitude of my own chamber, where no human eye could see me,—I have broken down, and I have wept like a woman. If I could put the picture into words, I could not utter the words. For I cannot look on human sorrow with the cold and æsthetic eye of an artist. To me a once stalwart peasant—shivering in rags, and gaunt, and hollow-voiced, and staggering with hunger—to me he is not a mere picture of Irish life; to me he is a brother to be helped; to me he is a Christian prisoner to be rescued from the pitiless power of those infidel Saracens of the nineteenth century—the Irish landlords and the British government.

I know not where to begin, nor what county to select, in either of these unhappy provinces.

I have been in several villages where every man, woman, and child in them would have died from hunger within one month, or perhaps one week, from the hour in which the relief that they now solely rely on should be refused, because the men have neither a mouthful of food nor any chance of earning a shilling, nor any other way of getting provisions for their families until the ripening of the crops in autumn.

I have entered hundreds of Irish cabins in districts



where the relief is distributed. These cabins are more wretched than the cabins of the negroes were in the darkest days of slavery. The Irish peasant can neither dress as well, nor is he fed as well as the Southern slave was fed, and dressed, and lodged. Donkeys, and cows, and pigs, and hens live in the same wretched room with the family. Many of these cabins had not a single article of bed-clothing, except guano-sacks or potato-bags, and when the old folks had a blanket it was tattered and filthy.

I saw only one woman in all these cabins whose face did not look sad and care-racked, and she was dumb and idiotic.

The Irish have been described by novelists and travelers as a light-hearted and rollicking people—full of fun and quick in repartee—equally ready to dance or to fight. I did not find them so. I found them in the West of Ireland a sad and despondent people; care-worn, broken-hearted, and shrouded in gloom. Never once in the hundreds of cabins that I entered—never once, even—did I catch the thrill of a merry voice nor the light of a joyous eye. Old men and boys, old women and girls, young men and maidens—all of them, without a solitary exception—were grave or haggard, and every household looked as if the plague of the first-born had smitten them that hour. Rachael weeping for her children, would have passed unnoticed among these warm-hearted peasants.

Wendell Phillips, the great American philanthropist, in a lecture on Ireland delivered in Boston during the present year, said:

“History has proven that, to obtain the fullest development of a country, the soil must be divided amongst the people, and man’s keenest interest must be married

to the land. This had been illustrated very forcibly by the history of Prussia and France. The effect in Ireland of this principle of English law and large landed estates, was that eight thousand men owned the island, which, measured by the French standard, ought to have at least 1,200,000 owners. The Irish landless millions were in a state of chronic despair, and Ireland was anchored back in perhaps the seventeenth century. But just at this moment England was passing through a crisis of enormous significance. The science of the present day, the servant of civilization, was beating against the landed system of England. The iron rail from Dakota to Boston harbor, and the steamboat from Boston harbor to Liverpool, puts the Dakota wheat into Liverpool harbor to compete with Yorkshire wheat, and the expense of putting these two products side by side is inappreciable. Ten dollars is the average cost of a Dakota acre, and \$200 the price of the Yorkshire. It is on that basis that the landholder charges rent. How can the Yorkshire farmer compete with the Dakota farmer? There stands the landlord, and you say to him: 'Why don't you reduce your rent?' The reply in most cases will be, 'My father left a widow; she has a right of dower. She takes off ten or fifteen thousand dollars of my annual rental. Then I have four or five younger brothers or sisters; they are mortgagees. Then my father left me other mortgages, and when I have paid off the encumbrances on my estate I haven't more than \$20,000 left; and if I reduce my rent a twentieth I am a pauper.' He stands between the upper millstone of the encumbrances of his family and the nether millstone of the Dakota acres.

"There never was an instance of a more God-arranged providential vengeance than is now exhibited. England has held to the Irish race for two hundred years the



poison-cup of emigration. Ireland has been emptied of her population, and more than half the Irish race is here. Irish labor built the rail to Dakota, and it now holds the poison-cup to England's landed aristocracy, saying: 'Drink of the cup of your own mixing.' Never was anything juster or better grounded. But when Parnell says: 'Oblige those men to break up their lands and sell them at a fair value,' why is that not granted? The answer is, that if that is done, and the soil of Ireland smiles as does the soil of France, the home of a happy people, it will soon be said, 'If this is good for Ireland, why is it not good for Yorkshire?' and Bradlaugh and the Radicals come into power. England is afraid of such an example right at her doors, and of the change which threatens her own petted institution.

"You go out West, and every town and city cheats you in its census, because we reach and stretch to get what all are seeking for—people. But in England they don't want any more population than they can conveniently manage—that means, 'Enough to keep my prestige unbroken and my land tilled; nothing that will press forward in the line of change and elevation and development; enough for me that I stand here as my father did, and the rest stand there, or rather grope there, as they did centuries ago.' And so, when you say to an Englishman, 'Why don't you change this system in Ireland, and then change it in England too? It will be better for you.' 'Better for the people of England, but not for me.' Hence comes the persistent, determined resistance on this question. Now, the English governing class and aristocratic landed interest are opposing Ireland. England can accomplish no permanent results in its treatment of this question by force. This is an age of brains, and not of guns. There is an old French proverb that says: 'You can

do almost everything with a bayonet, but you cannot sit on it.' So when you read that the English Cabinet is about to send a half-dozen regiments to Ireland, it may mean a temporary defeat, a postponement, but it does not solve the question. The elements will remain there, and they will culminate again. Parnell is now merely using England's adversity as Ireland's opportunity, which is the natural course of a statesman.

"Some of you may criticise very severely the apparently cruel method by which the Irish are enforcing their rights. But it is not for us, in our prosperity and ease, to criticise the means by which a people plundered and trampled under foot for one or two hundred years seeks to obtain its rights. Such a people does not have any choice of its weapons. Another thing: I never criticise methods three thousand miles off. Principles are universal; and they submit to our analysis as clearly and as rightly as they do to a man on the spot. I would not criticise the Nihilist. 'Thank God! if he is a slave, he is a rebellious slave.' Nor would I criticise the methods of the Irishman. When we measure his suffering and the poverty of his resources, and the immeasurable value of that of which he is deprived and which he seeks to gain, it is hard to blame him, no matter what course he adopts to right himself."

The Rev. George Pepper, an Irish-American Presbyterian minister, writing of the state of Ireland, says:

"In the Union thousands and tens of thousands of our race found a magnificent shelter when driven from their native land by the rods and bayonets of their landlord oppressors. In reference to the cause of Irish nationality, allow me also to say that the fires of patriotism burn as deeply in the Irish heart in the States as when Hugh O'Neill headed his brave legions against



those of Elizabeth, as when young Emmet mounted the scaffold with fearless courage, as when the Manchester martyrs, of blessed memory, died on the scaffold which they transfigured. A million hearts in the States burn for the opportunity of revenging the wrongs of seven centuries, and of making Ireland one of the free republics of the earth. During the last winter I lectured one hundred times upon Ireland, and everywhere this was the pervading, all-embracing thought of Irish hearts—yes, and also of American hearts. Thank God! in that noblest of countries all are united. Wherever Freedom plants her standard, wherever the oppressed pants for liberty, there the American heart sympathizes. Protestant clergymen there take their stand side by side with Catholic priests. I hope the day is not far distant when similar union will take place in unhappy Ireland. When that transpires, then the last chapter of British tyranny on this unfortunate country is written. Charles Sumner, one of America's greatest and purest statesmen, whom we buried in tears and in glory, wrote me, amongst his latest utterances, that 'Justice to Ireland is a British necessity. In every effort for Irish independence there is but one side for my sympathy and support.'

"I have just returned from the Continent of Europe, and nowhere have I ever seen so much beggary, so much wretchedness, so much absolute degradation as even in this so-called prosperous Protestant North. There are hundreds of those Protestant farmers who never eat an egg, a chicken, meat of any kind. All must be sold to pay the landlord. Great God! how long must this last? Why, sir, there is enough material in this sentence to make a book of martyrs. Every man I met, all Protestants, is thirsting for the good time coming when the old gospel of 'land for the

landless,' 'Ireland for the Irish'—a gospel which the heavens and the earth are preaching—shall be universally embraced and practically enforced."

D. P. Locke, editor of *The Toledo Blade*, but who is better known to the public as "Petroleum V. Nasby," went to Ireland, as he states himself, English in heart and sentiment, and thoroughly opposed to the Irish people and cause. When there some time his American sense of justice and fair play revolted against what he witnessed there, and he wrote a series of scathing letters on Ireland, from which we take the following extracts:

"Irish landlordism is condensed villainy. It is the very top and summit of oppression, cruelty, brutality, and terror.

"It was conceived in lust and greed, born of fraud, and perpetuated by force.

"It does not recognize manhood, womanhood, or childhood. Its cold hand is upon every cradle in Ireland. Its victims are the five millions of people in Ireland who cannot get away, and the instruments used are bayonets and ball cartridges.

"It is a ghoul that would invade graveyards, were there any profit to be gotten out of graveyards. It is the coldest-blooded, cruelest infamy that the world has ever seen, and that any race of people were ever fated to groan under.

"Irish landlordism is legal brigandage—it is an organized hell.

"Wesley said that African slavery was the sum of all villainies. Irish landlordism comprises all the villainies that the devil ever invented, with African slavery thrown in. Irish landlordism makes African slavery a virtue by comparison. For when a negro slave got too old to work he was given some place in which to live



and sufficient food to keep him in some sort of life, and clothes enough to shield him from the elements.

“The Irish tenant, when he becomes old and cannot work, is thrown out upon the roadside, with his wife and children, to die and rot. He has created land with his own hands which he is not allowed to occupy. He has grown crops which he is not allowed to eat; he has labored as no other man in the world labors, without being permitted to enjoy the fruits of his labor. The virtue of his wife and daughter are in the keeping of the villain who by virtue of bayonets controls his land. In short, to sum it all up in one word, the Irishman is a serf, a slave.”

Nasby states that he went from Dublin to Cork the most prejudiced man in the world against the Irish. There he disputed with Charles Stewart Parnell, endeavoring to convince him that he was a demagogue. Thus it was when James Redpath found him, and told him how he would prove to him that he was wrong in the sentiments he entertained towards the Irish. Mr. Redpath took him to the South of Ireland, and there, at the foot of the Galtee Mountains, Nasby visited cabins, one of which he thus describes:

“The idea that human beings, made in God’s image, having the power to think, to reason, and to act, could live, even exist, in such a hovel as that was so incredible that we insisted upon going over and seeing how it was done. Wading through mud and slush coming over our shoe-tops, we bent our heads and entered. The room, if so it could by a stretch of imagination be called, was so low that we could not stand erect. The cold, bare earth that constituted the floor was damp and slippery, as the rain came trickling down through the broken thatch and formed little pools on the ground. Near a suggestion of a fire were huddled a woman and

four children, the eldest not more than eight years of age. As we entered they all arose. We were horrified to see that they were, as usual, without stockings or shoes, and their clothing was so torn and ragged that it afforded but little warmth. The mother and her little girls were blue with cold. Their features were pinched with hunger. Their whole appearance indicated the want and suffering they had been patiently enduring for years. Over in one corner of the room was what they called a bed. It consisted of four posts driven into the ground. On stringers were laid a few rough boards. On these boards were dried leaves and heather, covered by a few old potato-sacks. There was where this family of six persons slept. There was no window in the house, the only light and ventilation being furnished by the door and the cracks in the thatched roof.

"It was too horrible, and we went out again into the rain. There we could at least get a breath of fresh air. We asked our guide how this family managed to keep the breath of life in them. He said they lived as their neighbors did, on potatoes and 'stirabout.'

"What is 'stirabout?'"

"It is a sort of mush made of Indian meal and skim-milk. They have that occasionally for a little luxury, or when the potatoes are so scarce that they think they must husband them.'

"You don't mean to say that these people actually live on that fare, that they have nothing else? They at least have meat with their potatoes?"

"God bless you, sir,' and the honest man's eyes filled with tears, 'they never know the taste of meat. There has not been a bit of meat in my house since last Christmas, when we were fortunate enough to get a bit of pig's head. But up here they don't even have that.'



“Surely this must have been an exceptional case. It was impossible that even in that country there could be more than one or two instances of such utter and abject woe and misery. But Mr. Duggan told us to the contrary. He said that the house we had just left was only a fair sample of what was to be seen all over the Galtee Mountains. To be convinced, we trudged painfully through the rain for seven long hours. We toiled through fields that in America would not be accepted as a gift. Here, if the exorbitant rent charged for them could not be paid, the holders were evicted. We went through roads so wretchedly bad that teams could not travel over them. Yet taxes had to be paid by those who had holdings on either side. We saw fields that had been reclaimed from the original state, had been made productive, and had been the cause of the eviction of the holder because he could not pay the rent which the improvements brought upon him. He had been thrown off the land, and it was rapidly going to waste again. Large patches of heather, which is worse than the American farmers’ bane, the Canada thistle, were growing over it, choking all other forms of vegetation. It would only take another season to make the land so worthless that three years of hard work would be required to put it back to the condition it was in when the holder had been compelled to leave it, after having devoted the best years of his life to reclaiming and making it productive. After seven hours of such sights as these, which cannot be described, we were wet, weary, and mad. We had seen enough for one day, and were ready to go back. All during the long drive to Mitchellstown not a word was said. The subject was too terrible for talk.

“It is impossible to make an American comprehend the width, depth, and breadth of Irish misery until he

has seen it with his own eyes. No other man's eyes are good for anything in this matter, for the reason that nothing parallel exists this side of the water. And besides this, the writers for the stage and of general literature have most wofully misrepresented the Irish man and woman, and very much to his and her disadvantage. The Irishman is the saddest man on the face of the globe. You may travel a week and never see a smile or hear a laugh. Utter and abject misery, starvation, and helplessness are not conducive of merriment. The Irishman has not only no short-tailed coat, but he considers himself fortunate if he has any coat at all. He has what by courtesy may be called trousers, but the vest is a myth. He has no comfortable woolen stockings, nor is he possessed of the regulation stage-shoes. He does not sing, dance, or laugh, for he has no place to sing, laugh, and dance in. He is a moving pyramid of rags. A man who cuts bog all day from daylight to dark, whose diet consists of a few potatoes twice a day, is not much in the humor for dancing all night, even were there a place for him to dance in. And as for jollity, a man with a land agent watching him like a hawk to see how much he is improving his land, with the charitable intent of raising the rent, if by any possibility he can screw it out of him, is not in the mood to laugh, sing, dance, or 'hurroo.' One might as well think of laughing at a funeral. Ireland is one perpetual funeral. The ghastly procession is constantly passing. There is unquestionably a vast fund of humor in the Irishman, which would be delightful, could it have proper vent. You hear faint tones of it as it is, but it is in the minor key, and very bad. It always has a flavor of rack-rent in it, a taste of starvation, a suggestion of eviction and death by cold and hunger on the roadside. It isn't



cheerful. I had much rather have the Irishman silent than to hear this remnant of jocularly which is always streaked with blood. The Irish girl is always comely, and, properly clothed and fed, would be beautiful. Still she is comely. Irish landlordism has not been sufficient to destroy her beauty, though it has done its best. But she has no gown of woolen stuff—a cotton slip, without underclothing of any kind, makes up her costume. The comfortable stockings and stout shoes, and the red kerchief about her neck, are so many libels upon Irish landlordism. Were my lord's agent to see such clothing upon a girl he would immediately raise the rent upon her father and confiscate those clothes. And he would keep on raising the rent till he was certain that shoes and stockings would be forever impossible. Neither does she dance Pat down at rustic balls, for a most excellent reason—there are no balls—and besides, when she has cut and dried a donkey-load of peat, and walked beside that donkey, barefooted, in the cold mud, twelve miles and back again, and sold that peat for sixpence, she is not very much in the humor for dancing down any one. On the contrary, she is mighty glad to get into her wretched bed of dry leaves and pull over her the potato-sack which constitutes her sole covering, and soothed to sleep by the gruntings of the pigs in the wretched cabin, forget landlords and rent, and go off into the land of happiness, which, to her, is America. She finds in sleep surcease of sorrow, and besides, it refreshes her to the degree of walking barefooted through the mud twenty-four miles on the morrow, to sell another load of peat for sixpence, that she may pay more money to my lord, whose town-house in London, and whose mistresses in Paris, require a great deal of money. Champagne and the delicacies of the season are always expensive, and

my lord's appetite, and the appetite of his wife and mistresses, and his children, legitimate and illegitimate, are delicate. Clearly, Katy is in no humor for dancing. She has her share to contribute to all these objects. And so she eats her meal of potatoes or stirabout (she never has both at once), and goes into sleep and dreams.

“As to the priest, there never was a wilder delusion than exists in the mind of the American people concerning him. I was at the houses, or rather lodgings, of a great many of them, but one example will suffice. Half-way between Kenmare and Killarney, in a wild, desolate country, lives one of these parish priests who are supposed to inhabit luxurious houses, and to live gorgeously, and to be perpetually singing the ‘Cruiskeen Lawn,’ with a pipe in one hand and a glass of potteen in the other. He is a magnificent man. In face and figure he is the exact picture of the lamented Salmon P. Chase, one of the greatest of Americans, and I venture the assertion that had he adopted any other profession, and come to America, where genius and intellect mean something, and where great ability finds great rewards, he would have been one of the most eminent of men. A man of great learning, of wonderful intuitions, of cool, clear judgment, of great nerve and unbounded heart, he would, were he to come to America and drop his priestly robes, be president of a great railroad corporation, or a senator, or anything else he chose to be. But what is he in Ireland? His apartments comprise a bedroom, just large enough to hold a very poor bed, and a study, in a better-class farm-house, for which he pays rent the same as everybody else does. His floor is uncarpeted, and the entire furniture of his rooms, leaving out his library, would not invoice \$10. His parish is one of the wildest and bleakest in Ireland, and is twenty-five miles long and



eighteen wide. He has to conduct services at all the chapels in this stretch of country. He has to watch over the morals of all the people; but this is not all. No matter at what hour of night, no matter what the condition of the weather, the summons to the bedside of a dying man to administer the last sacraments of the Church must be obeyed. It may be that to do this requires a ride on horseback of twenty miles in a blinding storm, but it must be done. Every child must be christened, every death-bed must be soothed, every sorrow mitigated by the only comfort this suffering people have—the faith in their Church. What do you suppose this magnificent man gets for all this? The largest income he ever received in his life was £100, which, reduced to American money, amounts to exactly \$481. And out of this he has to pay his rent, his food, his clothing, the keeping of his horse, and all that remains goes in charity to the suffering sick—every penny of it. When the Father dies his nephews and nieces will not find very good picking from what is left, assure you.”

#### IRELAND'S CLAIMS UPON AMERICA.

Nine hundred years before Columbus pointed his caravels westward the Irish sailor St. Brendan had reported the discovery of a great land across the Atlantic. The Norsemen knew of it and called it *Irland it Mikla*, the Greater Ireland. The Italian geographers knew of it, and Toscanelli, on the map which was prepared expressly for the first voyage of Columbus, marked it “*Terra di San Borondon*,” St. Brendan’s Land; and it is recorded that the first of Columbus’s sailors who set foot upon the new world was named Patrick Maguire. More Irishmen followed. In 1649, 45,000 came, driven

out of Ireland by the Cromwellian persecutions. In 1689 an Irish colony came to Maryland, among them the Carroll family, from whom descended the great Archbishop Carroll and the statesman, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. In 1689 they colonized North Carolina, and in seven years after one of their number, Mr. James Moore, led the people in revolt against the oppressions of the proprietary government, established their independence, and was honored by the people in being elected Governor, the first people's Governor of North Carolina.\*

In 1699 a large Irish emigration came to Pennsylvania, which gave to America many of the leaders in the movement for American independence. In 1710 they came to Virginia and established there the McDonnells, Breckenridges, McDuffies, Magraders, and McKennas of that State.

In 1729 at Philadelphia the Irish arrivals outnumbered ten to one all others from Europe combined. In that year they came also to Cape Cod; with them Charles Clinton, grandfather of De Witt Clinton, who, while governor of New York, built the Erie Canal, which was completed in 1825.

In 1737 they colonized South Carolina, and gave to this country Rutledge, Calhoun, and later, Andrew Jackson, that "Old Hickory" Andrew Jackson whom you know some folks are voting for yet for President. One of the early South Carolina historians said that: "Of all other countries none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland."

In 1746 they went in great numbers with Boone and settled Kentucky, and the most popular soldier in that land in the early days was Major Hugh McGrady.

From the earliest days they had been settling in all the other States. Victims, all of them, in a strictly

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\* From E. F. Dunne's Lecture on Ireland.



personal sense, of English injustice, you may imagine they were foremost and loudest in the call for American independence. It is admitted that the Irish John Rutledge "was the first man whose eloquence roused South Carolina to the level of resistance." When the Stamp Act was passed, Dr. Franklin, communicating from London with Charles Thompson, one of the Irish settlers of Pennsylvania, afterwards Secretary of the Continental Congress, wrote: "The sun of liberty is set. The Americans must light now the lamps of industry and economy." But Thompson, like a genuine Celt, sent back the ringing answer: "Be assured that we shall light torches of quite a different sort." John Hancock, whose magnificent autograph marshals the signatures to the Declaration like a standard-bearer at the head of a column, was the son of Honora O'Flaherty, and his people were lords in Galway for centuries before their advent in America.

Ireland was well represented in the Continental Congress, and among the signers of the Declaration of Independence, as well as the Constitution of the United States.

One-sixth of the signers of the Declaration, and one-sixth of the signers of the Constitution that we know of, were Irishmen.

I have led you one by one through all these facts, that you may be the better prepared for the more astonishing declaration I am about to make.

Of the Continental army which achieved the independence of the United States, one-third of the active officers and one-half of the rank and file were of Irish birth or immediate Irish descent.

The first Secretary of War of the United States was General Henry Knox, an Irishman.

One of the first brigadier-generals of the Continental

army was General Sullivan, a son of an Irish school-master of Limerick. Another was Richard Montgomery, of New York, an Irishman. The celebrated "Mad Anthony" Wayne, so famous as the Murat of the American army, was an Irishman. The man who, answering the anxious inquiry as to whether it was possible to capture a certain fort, said: "I'll take it to-night or Molly Stark will be a widow in the morning," was Major-General John Stark, an Irishman from Londonderry. Hand, Moylan, Dillon, and fifty more were all Irish.

Ireland was represented in the navy, too. The first naval capture made in the name of the United States was by O'Brien, from Cork. Fenimore Cooper, in his history of the navy, calls it "the Lexington of the seas; the *first* blow struck on the water after the war of the revolution had actually commenced." The first commodore of the American navy was John Barry, from Wexford, where he lived almost to manhood before he came to America. One of Barry's *protégés* in the navy was an Irishman, who afterwards became Admiral Stewart, whose grandson, Charles Stewart Parnell, is not unknown to Irishmen.

Washington not only understood the composition of his army, but fully appreciated the loyalty of his Irish troops. When that terrible night came when everything depended on the fidelity of the sentries, he issued the celebrated order, "Put none but Irish or Americans on guard to-night." And he put the Irish first, where they are generally found when there is any fighting to be done. Some so-called historians have been base enough to drop the word "Irish" in quoting this order, but the original is still preserved in Washington, and stands there as one of the grandest compliments ever paid to the Irish race.



Nor was it in America alone that the Irish race answered the call for aid. The Irish Brigade in the service of France sought and obtained permission to fight the English in America, and on Southern battlefields shed their blood in behalf of American liberty as freely as did their brethren in the North. Ireland had her own Parliament at Dublin then, and though sitting almost within the range of English guns, its House of Commons not only refused to vote the 45,000 men demanded to fight against America, but, with characteristic Irish audacity, passed Mr. Daly's resolution calling upon the King to discontinue the war.

In the English Parliament, bearding the lion in his den, the Irish orators, Barry, Burke, and Sheridan, plead for American freedom in words of such magnificent eloquence that they are handed down from generation to generation in the school-books of this land as the grandest utterances ever delivered in behalf of American liberty.

Of course we boast of all this. Why should we not? Is it not something for Irishmen to be proud of, that American patriotism was roused in great part by Irish eloquence, American liberty proclaimed in great part by Irish representatives, and American independence achieved in great part by Irish arms?

So much importance did America at one time attach to the Irish people, that the first Continental Congress sent an address to them—not to Irishmen in America, no appeal to them was necessary—but to the Irish people in Ireland, explaining to them that America had no hostility to Ireland itself, but only to England.

Franklin, while on his diplomatic mission to Europe, visited Ireland to obtain the sympathy of the Irish people, and reported from London, saying: "I found them disposed to be friends of America, in which I en-

deavored to confirm them, with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scale, and by joining our interests with theirs a more equitable treatment from this nation (England) might be obtained for them, as well as for us."

We could go on for pages citing the services rendered by Irishmen to America. Ireland accepted the pledge of America, and declared itself for American independence. England was obliged to recognize the American Parliament, but she glutted her vengeance on Ireland. She quickly destroyed the Irish Parliament, and did her best to destroy the Irish people.

We are taught thus, even by tradition, to look to the West for help, and, through the blood of Erin's sons shed for liberty here, we have a right to demand it. And, oh! my brothers, in this struggle, let us be careful where we seek for aid. After the mercy of God, the justice of our cause, and the valor of our race, let us put our trust in this gallant land of freedom, closing our ears to the whisperings of that dark, malignant power which is corrupting the suffering people of every land in Europe, aye! even our own.

Let us put our trust in this great American nation, whose land we were the first to discover; whose soil we were among the first to possess; whose liberty we were among the first to proclaim; whose independence we were among the first to achieve; whose Constitution we were among the first to form, and whose Union our Corcorans and Meaghers and Shields and Sheridans, with half a million Irish soldiers at their backs, were among the foremost to preserve.

Let us remember that when the sun of the Roman Empire went down in barbarian darkness it was our land that held aloft the beacon-light of knowledge, civilization, refinement, eloquence, poetry, and art, all



crowned with the supernatural glory of the Christian faith, and that as sons of that glorious land it is our duty to watch with jealous care that the shining splendor of that ancient record receive now no blot or blemish.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### COERCION AND OPPRESSION.

*Persecutions and Confiscations—Coercion since the Union—The Wretched Condition of the Country—How Ireland is Governed—Evictions in Ireland—The Right of Self-government.*

IT is often vaguely said that Ireland since the ruinous Union, January 1, 1801, has been almost constantly under a *régime* of coercion more or less severe; but probably few persons are aware of the exact facts in this connection, and it may, therefore, be well to recapitulate them here just now, when one other Coercion Act—and that, perhaps, the very worst and most severe of all—has been added to the long roll of similar statutes passed by the British Parliament. The recital will be, from more than one point of view, highly instructive and suggestive.

Sir Robert Peel stated, in the course of the debates in 1829 on the question of Catholic Emancipation, that since 1800 up to that time there had scarcely been one year in which Ireland was governed by the ordinary law. The statement was literally correct. Indeed, the Tory leader might have gone further and asserted without any reservation that there had been no year whatever within the period specified in which the ordinary law alone had prevailed in this country; for if a

Coercion Act were not passed every year of that period, some of the acts that did obtain the sanction of the Parliament were in operation for two or more years. Exclusive of enactments for prohibiting the importation of arms and gunpowder, the following is a list of the coercive measures adopted in the first quarter of the century for putting down crime and maintaining peace and order in Ireland:

- 1796-1802—Insurrection Act.
- 1797-1802—Habeas Corpus suspended
- 1803-1805—Martial Law.
- 1803-1806—Habeas Corpus suspended.
- 1807-1810—Insurrection Act.
- 1814-1818—Insurrection Act.
- 1822-1823—Insurrection Act.
- 1822-1823—Habeas Corpus suspended.
- 1823-1825—Insurrection Act.

It is hardly necessary to stay to explain that the provisions of such measures as the Insurrection Act were savage in the extreme. They were just as severe as might have been adopted in a country newly conquered, and towards a population ready at any moment to rise in revolt. It was supposed at last in 1829, as it was so often supposed afterwards, that remedial measures would in a short time obviate the necessity for further coercion—that, in other words, if some concessions were then made to the Irish popular demands, the Irish people would thereafter settle down contentedly as members of “the great British Empire,” and that, therefore, it would be no longer necessary to hold them down by force. Accordingly the Emancipation Act was passed. But emancipation did not put an end to coercion. After that event, as well as before it, the English government contrived or pretended to find overwhelming cause for continuing the coercion *régime*.



Nay, then more than ever did the English statesmen of the time profess to think it necessary for the safety of the empire that the Irish people should be kept bound hand and foot, and their opinion, moreover, seems to have been shared by all the successors whom they have had during the last half century. The following is a complete list of the Coercion Acts passed for Ireland from 1830 to 1882.

- 1830—Importation of Arms Act.
- 1831—Whiteboy Act.
- 1831—Arms Act.
- 1832—Importation of Arms and Gunpowder.
- 1833—Lord Grey's Coercion Act.
- 1833—Change of Venue.
- 1834—Suppression of Disturbances Amendment and Continuance
- 1834—Importation of Arms and Gunpowder.
- 1835—Public Peace.
- 1836—Importation of Arms and Gunpowder.
- 1838—Importation of Arms and Gunpowder.
- 1839—Unlawful Oaths.
- 1840—Importation of Arms and Gunpowder.
- 1841—Houghing of Cattle, etc
- 1841—Importation of Arms and Gunpowder.
- 1843—A Consolidation Act
- 1844—Unlawful Oaths Continuance.
- 1845—Additional Constables near Public Works.
- 1845—Unlawful Oaths Amendment and Continuance
- 1846—Constabulary Force Enlargement, etc.
- 1847—Crime and Outrage.
- 1848—Treason Amendment.
- 1848—Removal of Aliens.
- 1848—Habeas Corpus Suspension.
- 1848—Unlawful Oaths Amendment and Continuance.
- 1849—Habeas Corpus Suspension.
- 1850—Crime and Outrage Continuance.
- 1851—Unlawful Oaths Continuance.
- 1852—Crime and Outrage Continuance.
- 1853—Crime and Outrage Continuance.
- 1854—Crime and Outrage Continuance.
- 1855—Crime and Outrage Continuance.
- 1856—Peace Preservation.

- 1856—Unlawful Oaths Amendment and Continuance.
- 1858—Peace Preservation Continuance Act.
- 1860—Peace Preservation Amendment Act.
- 1862—Peace Preservation Continuance Act.
- 1862—Unlawful Oaths Continuance Act.
- 1865—Peace Preservation Continuance.
- 1866—Habeas Corpus Suspension.
- 1867—Habeas Corpus Suspension.
- 1867—Habeas Corpus Suspension.
- 1867—Habeas Corpus Suspension.
- 1868—Habeas Corpus Suspension.
- 1870—Peace Preservation.
- 1871—Protection of Life and Property, and Peace Preservation Continuance.
- 1873—Peace Preservation and Protection of Life and Property Continuance.
- 1875— { Peace Preservation.
- { Unlawful Oaths Continuance.
- 1881— { Life and Property Protection Act.
- { Peace Preservation Act.
- 1882—Prevention of Crime Act.

From the foregoing, then, it will be observed that in the last fifty-two years there have been exactly fifty Coercion Acts! It is true that there were fifteen years out of the fifty-two in which the London Parliament was not troubled with an Irish Coercion Bill; but, on the other hand, there were several years in each of which it was troubled with two or more such measures, and all but a very few of the fifty-two acts were enacted for more than one year. Thus the act of 1875 did not expire till the summer of 1880. The result, on the whole, is that there have not been five years in the last fifty-two in which some, and, generally speaking, the greater part of Ireland has not been governed by repressive laws.

The Coercion Bill lately passed in the House of Commons is regarded by many as the most severe ever brought forward, but it is so only in the sense that it comprises in itself all the worst provisions of all its predecessors. It contains, we think, scarcely one



single provision which cannot already be found in the statute-book. For example, the following summary, given by Mr. Leadam in a pamphlet published in London a short time since, of the provisions of the act of 1833, shows that more than one of the clauses of the new measure have been suggested by, if not actually copied from, the code of Lord Grey and Mr. Stanley:

The bill which proposed to deal with these disorders consisted of many stringent provisions. It proposed to empower the Lord-Lieutenant to prohibit or suppress meetings, and enacted that all persons attending a meeting so prohibited should be guilty of misdemeanor. The Lord-Lieutenant might "proclaim" a district in a disturbed state. In proclaimed districts the tenants of houses were bound, under penalties of misdemeanor, to affix to their houses lists of all male occupants, distinguishing their ages, which should be countersigned by the constable. Special license was requisite from the Lord-Lieutenant for any meeting, even for petitioning Parliament. The Lord-Lieutenant was to be empowered to constitute courts-martial for the trial of offenses, their sentences to be restricted to transportation. Persons found out of their houses under suspicious circumstances in a proclaimed district after sunset were to be guilty of a misdemeanor. The unauthorized possession of arms was similarly penal; as also the assisting by signals in the warning of unlawful assemblies. The Habeas Corpus was in effect suspended in proclaimed districts under the 29th and 30th section of the statute; but it was provided that all persons apprehended should be brought to trial within three months or discharged from confinement. The act was to remain in force until August 1st, 1834. This act, which Lord Brougham, who assisted in its preparation, afterwards described as "one of the

most stringent Coercion Bills that ever existed in this country towards Ireland," was not the sole measure of its kind. There was passed a Venue Bill, permitting trials "upon indictments to be removed into an adjoining county or to Dublin." This measure, which was in effect a reënactment of several previous statutes, was to expire with the Coercion Bill in a year's time. It was, however, subsequently continued until 1840.

Other provisions of the new bill are plainly copied from the act of 1870 and 1871, of which an excellent popular account was given in a speech delivered on the 24th June, 1873, at a meeting of the Home Government Association, by Mr. John O. Blunden, B. L., and afterwards reprinted in a pamphlet. The following is an extract from Mr. Blunden's speech, in which he sums up some of the more outrageous clauses of the enactment with which he dealt:

"It is a fundamental principle of the British Constitution that a man shall be allowed to carry arms. Under the acts to which I have to-day called your attention, I would be liable to imprisonment were I to attempt to carry arms for my self-defense, no matter what dangerous locality I might have to go into. I would equally be liable to imprisonment were I to keep arms in my house for its protection. If ever there was a principle dear to every Englishman, it is that there shall be a free press. Here the Lord-Lieutenant has absolute, unconditional power to suppress any newspaper he pleases, and no matter how uncalled-for or tyrannical any such suppression may be, the proprietor of the suppressed paper cannot take any proceedings to recover his property. His paper, from which, in all probability, he derived his livelihood, is gone forever. I do not believe that there lives an Englishman in whom there exists the faintest spark of manhood, who would



not die rather than give up the grand old principle—the fundamental one of all liberty—that no man shall be imprisoned or sentenced without a fair trial. By the provisions of the 33 Vic. c. 9, a man may be arrested on suspicion of being a suspicious character, and under the West Meath Coercion Act the Lord-Lieutenant has power to send any one he likes to jail without trial, and keep him there as long as he pleases. It is a well known maxim of English law that a man's house is his castle. By Irish coercion law, a policeman can break into a house at any hour of the day or night, under the excuse (real or pretended) of searching for arms. In England the people's liberties are protected by the Habeas Corpus Act. In Ireland that act has been suspended at least eleven times (and I think oftener) since the Union; and, whether it is suspended or not, it is utterly useless and powerless by Coercion Acts. No more perfect network of coercive legislation could be invented by any government, for the purpose of crushing out of a country anything approaching even the very semblance of liberty."

The act of 1871 also contained, as the new bill contains, a clause making it an offense punishable by imprisonment to be found out of one's house after a certain hour at night in a proclaimed district, and Mr. Blunden's comments on this provision are so appropriate to the present occasion that we gladly reproduce them. Having quoted the words of the clause, he spoke as follows:

"Now I crave your attention specially to the words, 'If upon such hearing the justices shall believe that such person *was not out of his own house upon some lawful occasion.*' Do you comprehend the full import of these words? Why are they not, as one would naturally expect, 'believe that such person *was out of*

his house upon some *unlawful* occasion'? The answer is manifest. In order, contrary to every principle of law and justice, to throw the onus of proof, not on the accuser, but on the accused. Was there ever such a monstrous law? Who is to be the judge in the first instance of suspicious circumstances? A policeman or '*other person*.' What is the charge? Suspicion of being suspicious. What is the offense? The 'person' disobeyed the law in not making himself a prisoner in his house or miserable cabin. And what about the unfortunates who have no home? To the poor-house with them, or, better still, to jail. Who are to be the witnesses for the prosecution? They are not required; the law throws upon the prisoner the onus of proof, or rather of disproof. And what, finally, is the result? That no man dare leave his cottage within the stated hours without rendering himself liable to arrest in any case, to imprisonment unless he is prepared with proof that he was out upon a 'lawful occasion'—proof to satisfy a court with which the whisper of a policeman is likely to have a thousand times more weight than the oaths of one hundred peasants. The farm-laborer going to his work is liable to arrest. The farmer going to a fair in early morn is liable to arrest. He is liable to arrest on his return, should he be detained there till late. The people's liberty is in the hands of the police. No jury to weigh evidence—no appeal. It has been often said that history repeats itself, but we would have to go back to the time of William the Conqueror and his curfew laws to find a parallel for this piece of legislation."

It may be well to add that this very comprehensive act—that, namely, which was passed eleven years ago under the auspices of the same man who is now Prime Minister—contained also a provision against strangers



sojourning or wandering in any district specially proclaimed, and gave to the magistrates, as it is now proposed to give them, power to deal in a summary way with specially created offenses.

Nothing very new, it thus appears, will be found in the latest Coercion Bill; its authors, we repeat, have simply ransacked the records of all similar legislative achievements, extracted therefrom all that was particularly drastic in character, and then put the clauses thus obtained—the quintessence of fifty measures of coercion—into one measure, which they have called by the euphemistic name of “The Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Bill.” Nor are the excuses for passing such a code different now from what they have always been in the past. No quarrel, we are told, have the English people, or the English government, with the Irish nation; but, it is added, a band of lawless men in Ireland are threatening the stability of the state, and to crush them the whole Irish people must for a time—it is always only “for a time”—be put under such restraint as that by which the worst of Eastern despots strive to break the spirits of their subjects! Precisely similar pleas have been advanced every time since 1800 that a similar enterprise has been undertaken by an English government against the liberties of Ireland. Coercion, we are also told at the present day by Mr. Chamberlain and others, is at best a hateful incident; to exercise it is to Chamberlain, and such politicians as he is, a painful operation. But here again Chamberlain, Forster, and the rest of those Englishmen who always advocate liberty everywhere but in Ireland, are only plagiarists. Listen to the touching language in which, as Mr. Leadam reminds us in the pamphlet already quoted, Lord Clarendon, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, wrote on the 26th January,

1849, asking for a renewal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act:

“While availing myself of the extraordinary power confided to me by the act, it has been my earnest endeavor to limit its operation as far as possible, and to confine the deprivation of personal liberty to the cases of those individuals who were actually engaged in treasonable designs, or who, by encouraging the disaffected, endangered the peace and tranquillity of the country. No instance occurred of any arrest taking place except on sworn informations; no person was retained in custody longer than the public safety appeared to require; and although the number of individuals whom it was my painful duty to place in temporary confinement was considerable, having amounted in all at different times to about 120, yet considering the extent to which treasonable organization has been carried, not only in the metropolis, but in several counties of Ireland, the number can hardly be said to exceed what might have been anticipated.”

Neither Forster himself nor Chamberlain could speak more pathetically. But notwithstanding all the pain which it caused Lord Clarendon and Forster to deprive Irishmen of their liberty without conviction or trial, both of them, like all other Lord-Lieutenants and Chief Secretaries, went through nevertheless with that work of despotism, and we have no doubt that when their successors of to-day come to use the greater engine of tyranny which they have fashioned they will as little allow their repugnance to unconstitutional methods of government to interfere with what they will term the due performance of their duty.

It remains to ask whether a system of rule which has required for its maintenance fifty-two Coercion Acts in



fifty-two years—the existence of which, in fact, has always been impliedly said by its supporters to depend upon the operation of measures destructive of all public liberties, and which is now once more practically pronounced by its admirers to be unsafe without more coercion to prop it up—is one that ought to be maintained in this age of the world? Would Chamberlain approve of such a system if upheld by Austria in Italy, or by Turkey in Bulgaria, or by Russia in Poland? We need not answer the question. Were any nationality on the Continent coerced without cessation for eighty-two years, in the expectation of its being eventually crushed beneath the yoke of its oppressor, Chamberlain and such as he would protest loudly, in the name of humanity, civilization, and the rights of nations, against so long-continued and so flagrant a scandal. If England cannot govern Ireland without coercion, we submit that she is bound on that ground alone to give up the work and let Irishmen govern themselves.

#### PERSECUTIONS AND CONFISCATIONS.

Despite the persecutions and spoliations of their predecessors, it was not until the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth that we find any general attempt made, as a matter of state policy, by the English executive to establish in Ireland, English ways, English customs, and English tenures, in the place of those existing from time immemorial throughout this island. Before the introduction of the feudal English system of tenure, the lands of Ireland belonged to the clans of Ireland. The chief of the clan, subject to certain privileges appurtenant to his chieftaincy, held only as trustee, and if by his misfeasance he became personally dispos-

sessed, the rights of his people were in nowise affected. When, however, the councillors of Elizabeth determined to subjugate the entire island, and to substitute British for Brehon law throughout its whole extent, princes and people alike suffered when defeated. Victory for the English resulted in the dispossession and spoliation of the clansmen as well as of the chiefs who led them to battle; English adventurers, by the Queen's patent, obtained lordship and dominion over the conquered territory; and clan-ownership gave place to private property in land.

Enormous rents were then exacted from the tillers of the soil by their new masters, and the consequent risings and disturbances thereupon were suppressed with a high hand. To illustrate his description of the state of things which prevailed in Elizabeth's reign, Mr. Froude transcribes from his own report the following letter written in the year 1576, by Malby, the President of Connaught:

"At Christmas," he wrote, "I marched into their territory (Shan Burke's), and finding courteous dealing with them had like to have cut my throat, I thought good to take another course, and so with determination *to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young*, I entered their mountains. I burnt all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found, where were slain at that time above sixty of their best men, and among them the best leaders they had. This was Shan Burke's country. Then I burnt Ulick Burke's country. In like manner I assaulted a castle, where the garrison surrendered. I put them to the misericórdia of my soldiers. They were all slain. Thence I went on, sparing none which came in my way, which cruelty did so amaze their followers, that they could not tell where to bestow themselves.



Shan Burke made means to me to pardon him, and forbear killing of his people. I would not hearken, but went on my way. The gentlemen of Clanrickard came to me. I found it was but dallying to win time, so I left Ulick as little corn and as few houses standing as I left his brother, and what people was found had as little favor as the other had. *It was all done in rain, and frost, and storm*, journeys in such weather bringing them the sooner to submission. They are humble enough now, and will yield to any terms we like to offer them."

A few years later the extirpation of the Munster Geraldines was undertaken, and 570,000 acres belonging to the Earl of Desmond were vested in the Queen.

"Proclamation was accordingly made throughout England, inviting 'younger brothers of good families' to undertake the plantation of Desmond—each planter to obtain a certain scope of land, on condition of settling thereupon so many families—'none of the native Irish to be admitted.' Under these conditions, Sir Christopher Hatton took up 10,000 acres in Waterford; Sir Walter Raleigh, 12,000 acres, partly in Waterford and partly in Cork; Sir William Harbart, or Herbert, 13,000 acres in Kerry, Sir Edward Denny, 6,000 in the same county; Sir Warren St. Leger and Sir Thomas Norris, 6,000 acres each in Cork; Sir William Courtney, 10,000 acres in Limerick; Sir Edward Fitton, 11,500 acres in Tipperary and Waterford, and Edmund Spenser, 3,000 acres in Cork, on the beautiful Blackwater. The other notable 'undertakers' were the Hides, Butchers, Wirths, Berkleys, Trenchards, Thorntons, Bouchers, Billingsleys, etc. Some of these grants, especially Raleigh's, fell in the next reign to Richard Boyle, the so-called '*Great Earl of Cork*'—probably the most pious hypocrite to be found in the long roll

of the 'Munster Undertakers.' ''—*Godkin's Land War*

Hollinshed thus describes the progress of the English army through the country:

"As they went, they drove the whole country before them into the Ventrye, and by that means they preyed and took all the cattle in the country, to the number of 8,000 kine, besides horses, garrons, sheep, and goats; and all such people as they met, they did without mercy put to the sword; by these means, the whole country having no cattle nor kine left, they were driven to such extremities that for want of victuals they were either to die and perish for famine or to die under the sword."—*Hollinshed, vi. 427.*

"By reason of the continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could have no breath nor rest to releve themselves, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt or pursued; and by reason the harvest was taken from them, their cattells in great numbers preyed from them, and the whole cuntry spoiled and preyed: the poore people, who lived onlie upon their labors, and fed by their milch cowes, were so distressed that they would follow after the goods which were taken from them, and offer themselves, their wives and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer the famine wherewith they were now pinched."—*Hollinshed, vi. 33.* Also *Leland, book iv. chap. 2.*

Again, take the following from Sir George Carew: "The President having received certaine information, that the Mounster fugitives were harbored in those parts, having before burned all the houses and corne, and taken great preyes in Owny Onubrian and Kilquig, a strong and fast countrey, not farre from Limerick, diverted his forces into East Clanwilliam and Muskerry-quirke, where Pierce Lacy had lately been succoured; and harassing the country, killed all mankind that



were found therein, for a terrour to those as should give releefe to runagate traitors. Thence wee came into Arleaghe woods, where wee did the like, not leaving behind us man or beast, corne or cattle, except such as had been conveyed into castles.”—*Pacata Hibernia*, 189.

“They wasted and forraged the country, so as in a small time it was not able to give the rebells any reliefe; having spoiled and brought into their garrisons the most part of their corne, being newly reaped.”—*Pacata Hibernia*, 584.

The English Protestant historian Moryson says: “No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of the towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people, the Irish, dead, with their mouths all colored green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above ground.”

After the close of the reign of Elizabeth and the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell (O'Neill and O'Donnell), the work of extirpation and plantation was vigorously carried on by James I.; and in the early part of his reign Sir John Davis, one of the Irish Attorney-Generals of that monarch, was able to report that—

“Before Michaelmas he would be ready to present to his Majesty a perfect survey of six whole counties which he now hath in actual possession in the province of Ulster, of greater extent of land than any prince in Europe hath in his own hands to dispose of.”

A sort of commission was appointed for parceling out the land. It sat at Limavady, and as a sample of its proceedings it may be mentioned that a sub-chief, O'Gahan, who held under O'Neill, had his lands confiscated simply because of the flight of that Earl. “Although sundry royal and vice-regal proclamations

had assured the tenants that they would not be disturbed in their possessions on account of the offenses of their chiefs, it was proclaimed that neither O'Gahan nor those who lived under him had any estate whatever in the lands."—*Godkin's Land War*.

A quotation from a letter written by the Lord-Deputy, about the year 1607, will show the spirit in which the inhabitants of Ireland were regarded by their English rulers:

"I have often said and written, it is *famine that must consume the Irish*, as our *swords* and other endeavours worked not that speedy effect which is expected; *hunger* would be a better, because a speedier, weapon to employ against them than the sword . . . I burned all along the Lough (Neagh) within four miles of Dungannon, and killed 100 people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides *many burned to death*. We killed man, woman, and child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we could find."

The province of Ulster having by this time been pretty well cleared of its native inhabitants, "on July 21st, 1609, a commission was issued by the crown to make inquiry concerning the forfeited lands in Ulster after the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. The commissioners included the Lord-Deputy Chichester, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, Sir John Davis, Attorney-General; Sir William Parsons, Surveyor-General, and several other public functionaries. This work done, King James I., acting on the advice of his Prime Minister, the Earl of Salisbury, took measures for the plantation. . . . The city of London was thought to be the best quarter to look to for funds to carry on the plantation. Accordingly, Lord Salisbury had a conference with the Lord-Mayor, Humphrey Weld, Sir John Jolles, and Sir W. Cockaine, who were well ac-



quainted with Irish affairs. The result was the publication of 'Motives and Reasons to Induce the City of London to Undertake the Plantation in the North of Ireland.' The corporation were willing to undertake the work of plantation if the account given of its advantages should prove to be correct. . . . So they sent over 'four wise, grave, and discreet citizens, to view the situation proposed for the new colony.' . . . On their return they presented a report to the Court of Common Council, which was openly read. The report was favorable. . . . With respect to the disposal of such of the natives as remained, it was arranged that some were to be planted on two of the small allotments and upon the glebes; others upon the land of Sir Art O'Neill's sons and Sir Henry Oge O'Neill's sons, 'and of such other Irish as shall be thought fit to have any *freeholds*; some others upon the portions of such servants as are not able to inhabit these lands with English or Scotch tenants, especially of *such as best know how to rule and order the Irish*. But the swordsmen (that is, the armed retainers or soldiers of the chiefs) are to be transplanted into such other parts of the kingdom as, by reasons of the wastes therein, are fittest to receive them—namely, into Connaught and some parts of Munster, where they are to be dispersed, and not planted together in one place; and such swordsmen who have not followers or cattle of their own, to be disposed of in his Majesty's service.'—*Godkin's Land War*.

The character of the plantation made under Elizabeth differed materially from that of James's reign. Gigantic grants were made in Munster by Elizabeth to her favorites, whereas we find that the allotments made by James to each individual were of comparatively moderate extent.

Thus we find the Prime Minister, writing to Chichester, about the year 1607, complaining—

“That was an oversight in the plantation of Munster, where 12,000 acres were commonly allotted to bankrupts and country gentlemen, that never knew the disposition of the Irish; so as God forbid that those who have spent their blood in the service should not of all others be preferred.”

The character of the grants made by Elizabeth may be judged from the size of those mentioned, and moreover we read that 24,000 acres were given to Jane Beecher and Hugh Worth, 11,000 to Arthur Hyde, 11,000 to Sir G. Lytton in Tipperary, 11,000 to Sir G. Boucher, and so on.

All through the reign of James the work of conquest and confiscation went steadily on. Rebellion was promoted, and then, when the chiefs were routed, we find the record running somewhat in this fashion:

“O’Dougherty’s country being confiscated, the Lord-Deputy, Chichester, was rewarded with the greatest portion of his lands. But what was to be done with the people? In the first instance they were driven from the rich lowlands along to the borders of Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly, and compelled to take refuge in the mountain fastnesses which stretched to a vast extent from Moville westward along the Atlantic coast. But could those ‘idle kerne and swordsmen,’ thus punished with loss of lands and home for the crimes of their chief, be safely trusted to remain anywhere in the neighborhood of the new English settlers? Sir John Davis and Sir Toby Caulfield thought of a plan by which they could get rid of the danger. Gustavus Adolphus was then fighting the battles of Protestantism against the house of Austria. . . . To what better use, then, could the ‘loose Irish kerne and swordsmen’



of Donegal be turned than to send them to fight in the army of the King of Sweden? Accordingly 6,000 of the able-bodied peasantry of Inishowen were shipped off for this service.”—*Godkin's Land War*.

A fighting adventurer named St. Lawrence, himself a Catholic, and the ancestor of the present Earl of Howth, obtained large grants of confiscated lands as a consideration for his giving perjured testimony as to the existence of a conspiracy on the part of O'Neill. Sir Fulke Conway, a Welsh officer, obtained similar grants, and at his death, in 1626, his brother, who was a favorite of Charles I., succeeded to the estate, to which his royal patron added the lands of Derryvolgie, thus making him lord of nearly 70,000 statute acres of the broad lands of Down and Antrim.

When crown grants of land were made to the planters or adventurers, it was expressly stipulated that their tenants were to be English or Scotch, and Protestants. A Presbyterian minister, whose father was one of the planters, thus describes the men who came: “From Scotland came many, and from England not a few; yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who from debt, or mocking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither hoping to be without fear of man's justice, in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God. . . . Most of the people were all void of godliness. . . . On all hands atheism increased, and disregard of God: iniquity abounds with contention, fighting, murder, and adultery.”—*MS. History, by Rev. A. Stuart, quoted in Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church, vol. i. p. 96*.

As for the miserable remnant of the native population,—

“The tyranny of such men as Sir Frederick Hamilton, of Manor-Hamilton, and Sir Charles Coote, drove

the unfortunate peasantry to madness. The cruelties inflicted on the Christians of Spain by Aben Humeya and his Morisco captains pale before the atrocities perpetrated by Hamilton on the inhabitants of Leitrim and Longford. His bawn or castle was the rendezvous of a ferocious banditti, who spread death and desolation around them. By day and night he sent from within its walls a savage soldiery, who robbed and murdered with impunity. When they returned to their leader, the most acceptable gifts they could offer were the heads of the wretched people, which they brutally severed from the bodies: women and tender girls were not exempt from the horrors which this fanatic inflicted in the holy name of God. Upon a hill near his castle he erected a gallows, from which every day a fresh victim was suspended.”—*Meehan's Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 53.

In the same work, p. 18, Sir Charles Coote is thus spoken of: “Coote's thirst for blood was insatiable. He threatened not to leave a Catholic in Ireland.” In Wicklow he put many innocent persons to the sword without distinction of age or sex. On one occasion, when he met a soldier carrying an infant on the point of his pike, he was charged with saying that “he liked such frolics.” Lord Castlehaven gives a fearful account of the conduct of the troops under Coote's command, “who killed men, women, and children, promiscuously.”—*Miss Cusack's History of Ireland*, p. 482. Leland speaks of “his ruthless and indiscriminate carnage.” Warner says “he was a stranger to mercy.”—*Ibid*, p. 482.

By the end of the reign of James I., Ulster began to be pretty thickly settled by Scotch colonists, and the foundations of important towns, like Derry, Lurgan, and Belfast, with special privileges, had been laid. A



remnant of native Irish, groaning under the exactions of the invaders, of course only waited an opportunity to throw off the foreign yoke; and the exactions of the "undertakers" at last produced the rising of 1641. On the outbreak of this rebellion, before it had extended beyond the borders of Ulster, the English Parliament passed the Act 17th Charles I., whereby 2,500,000 acres of land were declared forfeited in Ireland, and which enacted that these acres should be offered for sale at fixed rates in London and the surrounding districts. One of the notable clauses in the act provides that the lands are to be taken from the four provinces in equal proportions, that is, one-fourth from each, though at the time when it received the royal assent there was no rebel outside Ulster, and there not one convicted. Again, there cannot be a doubt but that Parsons and Borlase, who were Lords-Justices at the opening of the rebellion, goaded the Catholics of the Pale into insurrection, and refused all terms of accommodation, in view of the splendid forfeitures which awaited suppression by the sword.

Throughout the reign of Charles I. the Irish proprietors were harassed by Strafford, who imagined the device of a Defective Titles Commission, and plotted the escheatal of the entire province of Connaught to the crown by legal chicane. The Irish House of Commons was induced to vote large supplies to Charles, on a promise that these schemes should not be persisted in, but the promise was shamefully broken, and Strafford had juries which would not "find" estates for the King, amerced in thousands of pounds, tortured, and imprisoned. See O'Connell's "Memoir of Ireland," chapter third.

When the Commonwealth was proclaimed in England, the Irish, fondly imagining that, by espousing

the cause of King Charles I. against the Parliament, they were striking for their property and religion, a rally was everywhere made to the royalist side over all the island, and for some years the royal, or Catholic, or popular cause, was in the ascendant. But Cromwell, fresh from his victories in England, appears on the scene, and once more the work of savage subjugation and wholesale confiscation commences. His lieutenants were not more merciful than himself.

“Sir William Cole, ancestor of the Earl of Enniskillen, proudly boasted of his achievement in having 7,000 of the rebels famished to death within a circuit of a few miles of his garrison: the descendants of the remnant of the natives on his estate do not forget how the family obtained its wealth and honors. Lord Cork prepared 1,100 indictments against men of property in his province, which he sent to the Speaker of the Long Parliament, with an urgent request that they might be returned to him, with authority to proceed against the parties named as outlaws. In Leinster, 4,000 similar indictments were found in the course of two days by the free use of the rack with witnesses. Sir John Reid, an officer of the King's bed-chamber, and Mr. Barnwall of Kilbrue, a gentleman of threescore-and-six, were among those who underwent the torture.”—*Godkin's Land War*.

Similar proceedings, which it is needless to describe, went on over the entire country.

“The Long Parliament having confiscated 2,500,000 acres, offered it as security to ‘adventurers’ who would advance money to meet the cost of the war. In February, 1642, the House of Commons received a petition ‘of divers well affected’ to it, offering to raise and maintain forces at their own charge ‘against the rebels of Ireland, and afterwards to receive their recompense



out of rebels' estates.' Under the act 'for the speedy reducing of the rebels' the adventurers were to carry over a brigade of 5,000 foot and 500 horse, and to have the right of appointing their own officers. And they were to have estates given to them at the following rates: 1,000 acres for £200 in Ulster, for £300 in Connaught, for £450 in Munster, and £600 in Leinster. The rates per acre were 4s., 6s., 8s., and 12s. in those provinces respectively.

"At the end of 1653, the Parliament made a division of the spoil among the conquerors and the adventurers, and on September 26th an act was passed for the new planting of Ireland by English. The government reserved for itself the towns, the Church lands, and the tithes, the Established Church, hierarchy and all, having been utterly abolished. The four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork were also reserved. The amount due to the adventurers was £360,000. This they divided into three lots, of which £110,000 was to be satisfied in Munster, £205,000 in Leinster, and £45,000 in Ulster, and the moiety of ten counties was charged with their payment—Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary in Munster; Meath, West Meath, King's and Queen's Counties in Leinster; and Antrim, Down, and Armagh in Ulster. But, as all was required by the Adventurers' Act to be done by lot, a lottery was appointed to be held in Grocers' Hall, London, for July 20th, 1653, to begin at 8 o'clock in the morning, when lots should be first drawn in which province each adventurer was to be satisfied, not exceeding the specified amounts in any province; lots were to be drawn, secondly, to ascertain in which of the ten counties each adventurer was to receive his land—the lots not to exceed in West Meath £70,000, in Tipperary £60,000, in Meath £55,000, in King's and Queen's

Counties £40,000 each, in Limerick £30,000, in Waterford £20,000, in Antrim, Down, and Armagh £15,000 each." Later on "the English Parliament resolved to clear out the population of all the principal cities and seaport towns, though nearly all founded and inhabited by Danes or English, and men of English descent. In order to raise funds for the war, the following towns were offered to English merchants for sale at the prices annexed: Limerick, with 12,000 acres contiguous, for £30,000, and a rent of £625, payable to the state; Waterford, with 1,500 acres contiguous, at the same rate; Galway, with 10,000 acres, for £7,500, and a rent of £520; Wexford, with 6,000 acres, for £5,000, and a rent of £156 4s.

"On July 23d, 1655, the inhabitants of Galway were commanded to quit the town forever by the 1st November following, the owners of houses getting compensation at eight years' purchase.

"On October 30th, this order was executed. All the inhabitants, except the sick and bed-ridden, were at once banished, to provide accommodation for English Protestants, whose integrity to the state should entitle them to be trusted in a place of such importance; and Sir Charles Coote, on November 7th, received the thanks of the government for clearing the town, with a request that he would remove the sick and bed-ridden as soon as the season might permit, and take care that the houses while empty were not spoiled by the soldiery. The town was thus made ready for the English."—*Godkin's Land War*.

All the Irish population, including many of the Anglo-Irish planted by Elizabeth, were driven across the Shannon into Connaught. "Hell or Connaught" was their alternative, and so sweeping were the clearances effected, that in Tipperary and other places the



soldiery who came to settle upon the lands allotted to them, when they could not agree as to the boundaries of their estates, were compelled to obtain a special permission from the authorities to bring back for a short time from Connaught some of the dispossessed owners to point out their lands. That this to-day might be shown to be something more than a mere "historic" grievance, is perhaps evident from the manner in which the people are found crowded on the wastes and mountains of the West.

With the exception of some minor incidents of a similar character, which followed the Irish victories of William, the Cromwellian settlement just described was the last considerable unsettlement in the ownership of landed property in Ireland. It was the successful consummation of work begun by Elizabeth—the wresting of the soil of Ireland from the Irish people.

Cromwell's administration effected a revolution unparalleled in history. Its proceedings have been well summarized by D'Arcy McGee: "The Long Parliament, still dragging out its days under the shadow of Cromwell's great name, declared in its session of 1652 the rebellion in Ireland 'subdued and ended,' and proceeded to legislate for that kingdom as a conquered country. On August 12th they passed their Act of Settlement, the authorship of which was attributed to Lord Orrery, in this respect the worthy son of the first Earl of Cork. Under this act there were four chief descriptions of persons whose status was thus settled: 1. All ecclesiastics and royalist proprietors were exempted from pardon of life or estate. 2. All royalist commissioned officers were condemned to banishment, and the forfeit of two-thirds of their property, one-third being retained for the support of their wives and children. 3. Those who had not been in arms, but

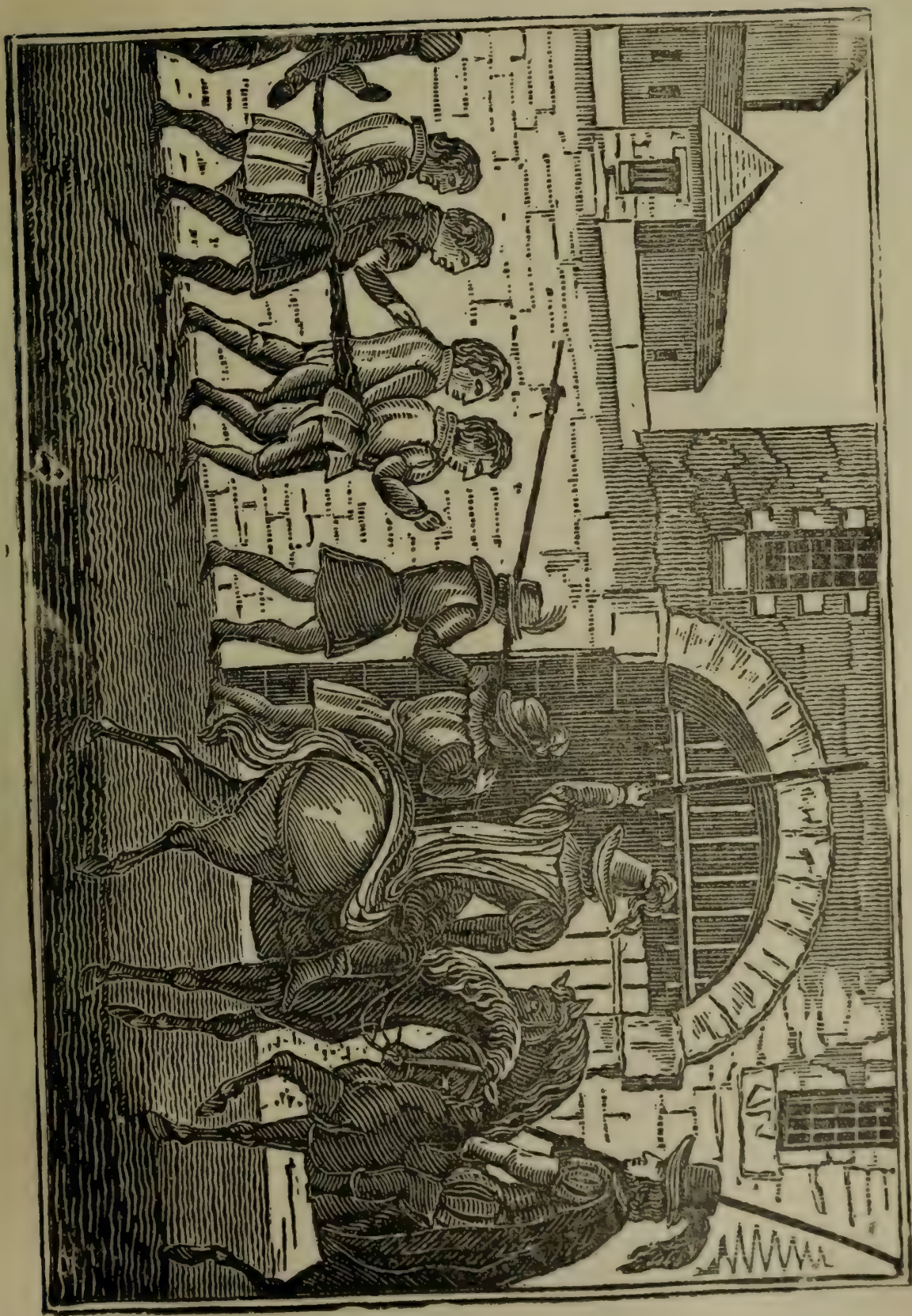
could be shown, by a Parliamentary commission, to have manifested 'a constant good affection' to the war, were to forfeit one-third of their estates, and receive 'an equivalent' for the remaining two-thirds west of the Shannon. 4. All husbandmen and others of the inferior sort, 'not possessed of lands or goods exceeding the value of £10,' were to have a free pardon, on condition also of transporting themselves across the Shannon.

"This last condition of the Cromwellian settlement distinguished it, in our annals, from every other proscription of the native population formerly attempted. The great river of Ireland, rising in the mountains of Leitrim, nearly severs the five western counties from the rest of the kingdom. The province thus set apart, though one of the largest in superficial extent, had also the largest proportion of waste and water, mountain and moorland. The new inhabitants were there to congregate from all the other provinces before the first day of May, 1654, under penalty of outlawry and all its consequences; and when there, they were not to appear within two miles of the Shannon, or four miles of the sea. A rigorous passport system, to evade which was death without form of trial, completed this settlement, the design of which was to shut up the remaining Catholic inhabitants from all intercourse with mankind, and all communion with the other inhabitants of their own country.

"A new survey of the whole kingdom was also ordered, under the direction of Sir William Petty, the fortunate economist who founded the house of Lansdowne. By him the surface of the kingdom was estimated at 10,500,000 plantation acres, 3,000,000 of which were deducted for water and waste. Of the remainder, above 5,000,000 were in Catholic hands in 1641; 300,000



TRANSPORTING CATHOLICS TO BARBADOES.







were Church and college lands; and 2,000,000 were in possession of the Protestant settlers of the reigns of James and Elizabeth. Under the Protectorate, 5,000,000 acres were confiscated. This enormous spoil, two-thirds of the whole island, went to the soldiers and adventurers who had served against the Irish, or had contributed to the military chest since 1641—except 700,000 acres given in ‘exchange’ to the banished in Clare and Connaught, and 1,200,000 confirmed to ‘innocent Papists.’

“The government of Ireland was vested in the Deputy, the Commander-in-chief, and four commissioners, Ludlow, Corbett, Jones, and Weaver. There was, moreover, a high court of justice, which perambulated the kingdom, and exercised an absolute authority over life and property, greater than even Strafford’s Court of Star Chamber had pretended to. Over this court presided Lord Lowther, assisted by Mr. Justice Donnellan, by Cooke, solicitor to the Parliament on the trial of King Charles, and the regicide Reynolds. By this court, Sir Phelim O’Neill, Viscount Mayo, and Colonels O’Toole and Bagnall were condemned and executed; children of both sexes were captured by thousands, and sold as slaves to the tobacco-planters of Virginia and the West Indies. Sir William Petty states that 6,000 boys and girls were sent to those islands. The number, of all ages, thus transported was estimated at 100,000 souls. As to the ‘swordsmen’ who had been trained to fighting, Petty, in his ‘Political Anatomy,’ records that ‘the chiefest and most eminentest of the nobility and many of the gentry had taken conditions from the King of Spain, and had transported 40,000 of the most active-spirited men, most acquainted with the dangers and discipline of war.’ The chief commissioners in Dublin had dis-

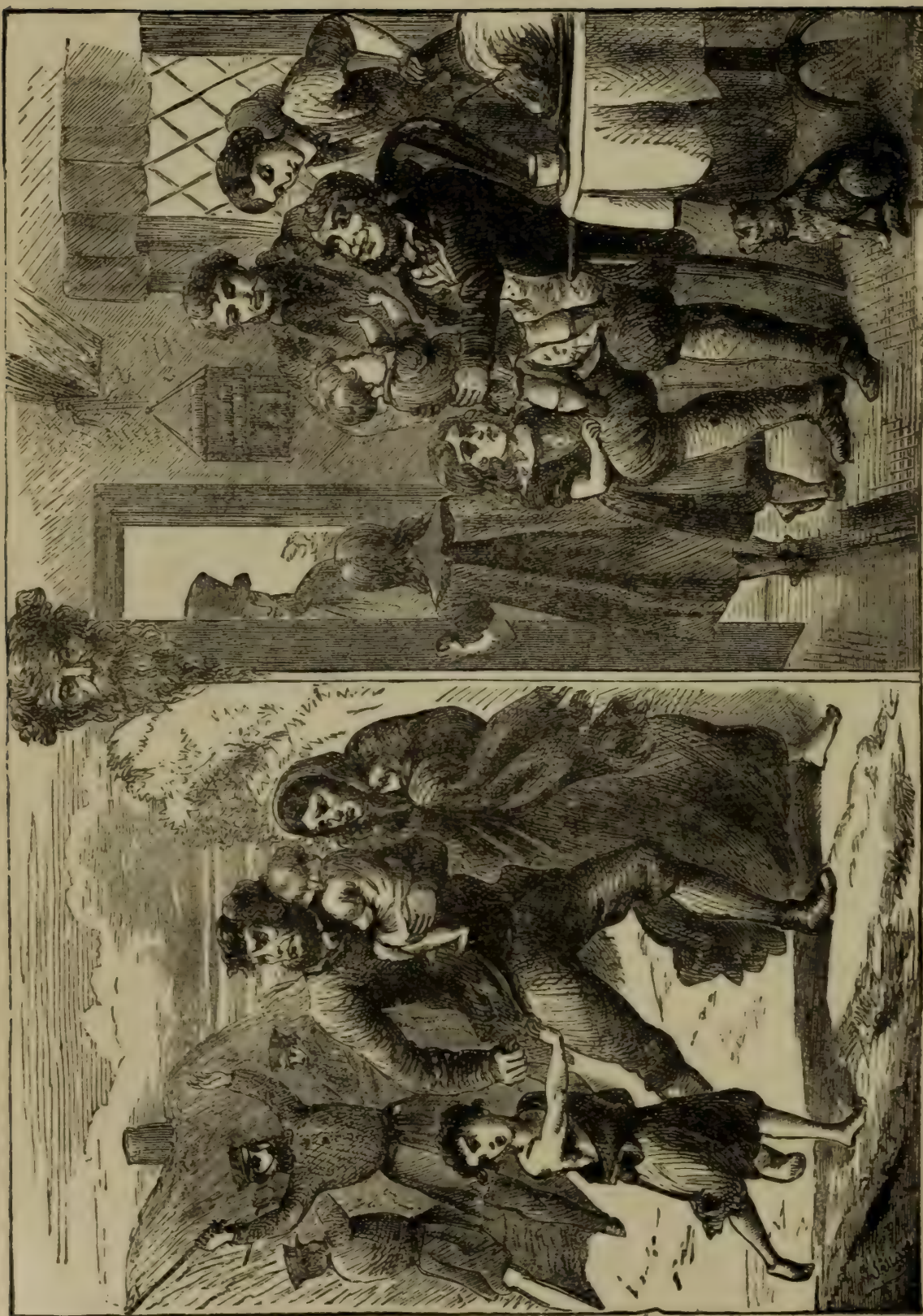
patched assistant commissioners to the provinces. The distribution which they made of the soil was nearly as complete as that of Canaan among the Israelites; and this was the model which the Puritans had always before their minds. Where a miserable residue of the population was required to till the land for its new owners, they were tolerated as the Gibeonites had been by Joshua. Irish gentlemen who had obtained pardons were obliged to wear a distinctive mark on their dress on pain of death. Persons of inferior rank were distinguished by a black spot on the right cheek. Wanting this, their punishment was the branding-iron or the gallows.

“No vestige of the Catholic religion was allowed to exist. Catholic lawyers and schoolmasters were silenced. All ecclesiastics were slain like the priests of Baal. Three bishops and 300 of the inferior clergy thus perished. The bed-ridden Bishop of Kilmore was the only native clergyman permitted to survive. If, in mountain recesses or caves, a few peasants were detected at mass, they were smoked out and shot.”

Thus England got rid of a race concerning which Prendergast found this contemporary testimony in a MS. in Trinity College library, Dublin, dated 1615. “There lives not a people more hardy, active, and painful; . . . neither is there any will endure the miseries of warre, as famine, watching, heat, cold, wet, travel, and the like, so naturally and with such facility and courage that they do. The Prince of Orange’s Excellency uses often publicquely to deliver that the Irish are souldiers the first day of their birth. The famous Henry IV., late King of France, said there would prove no nation so resolute martial men as they, would they be ruly and not too headstrong. And Sir John Norris was wont to ascribe this particular to that nation above









others, that he never beheld so few of any country as of Irish that were idiots and cowards, which is very notable.”

## EVICTIONS IN IRELAND.

On May 14th, 1881, a Parliamentary paper was issued, giving the number of evictions in Ireland which have come to the knowledge of the constabulary in each of the years from 1849 to 1880 inclusive. In 1849 the number of families evicted was 16,686, and of persons 90,440; and of these there were readmitted as care-takers 3,302, and persons 18,375. Next year the numbers were still higher—19,949 families evicted, consisting of 104,163 persons, the readmissions being 5,404 families, and 30,292 persons. From that time there was a decrease up to 1860, in which year the figures are—families evicted, 636; persons, 2,985; readmissions—families, 65, and persons, 274. From 1861 to 1864 there was an increase in the latter year, the numbers being—families evicted, 1,824, and persons, 9,201; readmissions—families, 276, and persons, 1,312. Next year they decreased about one-half, and there is likewise a diminution in the two subsequent years. In 1868 there was again a slight increase. 1869 shows the smallest number of evictions during any year embraced in the return, the figures being—families, 374, and persons, 1,741; readmissions—families, 63, and persons, 313. In 1870 there was a considerable augmentation, and in the following year a decrease to the number of 482 families evicted, with noticeably more readmissions. Up to 1874 there was a gradual rise in which year the numbers were—families evicted, 726, and persons, 3,571; readmissions—families, 200, and persons, 997. Next year's evictions numbered 667, but with a remarkably small proportion

of readmissions, as compared with the previous year, the readmissions being but 71 families, consisting of 387 persons.

From this year the number of readmissions continues to the end of the return. In 1876 the evictions were 553 in number, and the readmissions, 85. In 1877, evictions, 463; readmissions, 57. 1878, evictions, 980; readmissions, 146. 1879, evictions, 1,238; readmissions, 140. 1880, evictions, 2,110; persons, 10,457; readmissions, 217; persons, 1,021. The number of evictions last year, it may be noted, was very nearly the same as in 1854, being 2,156 in the former and 2,110, or 46 fewer, in the latter period. But in 1880 there were but 217 readmissions, consisting of 1,021, against 331 readmissions, consisting of 1,805 persons. There is, however, some confusion as to some years giving the number of readmissions of tenants only, and others including the number of care-takers as well. Last year there were more evictions in Ulster than in any year since 1852, the numbers having been 497 in 1881. and 1,140 in 1852, which were exceeded in 1849, when the numbers were 1,893 and 1,961 respectively. In Leinster there were slightly fewer evictions than in Ulster last year, but more every other year, in some cases being doubled. In Connaught there were fewer evictions last year than in any of the other three provinces, the number having been 387, owing to the agitation. The proportion of readmissions, however, is smaller. In the other years of the return it varies little from Leinster, being but slightly in excess. In Munster the return shows a fearful state of things: in 1881 evictions in the province were 742, consisting of 4,075, and the readmissions only 78 families, of 418 persons. During the last three years 1,393 families have been evicted, and 7,590 persons made homeless, while only



162 families, consisting of 798 persons, were readmitted. In every other year the number of evictions is greater than that of the other provinces, while the proportion of readmissions is smaller. For the present year of 1882 the evictions, so far as heard from, threaten to nearly double those of the past year.

## THE RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. •

The inconsistency and hypocrisy of England has been manifested throughout her whole history. While aiding the revolutionists in Naples, Sardinia, and Italy to take up arms against their legitimate governments and the Pope, she was at the same time crushing out public opinion in Ireland by coercion laws, starvation, and forced emigration.

So eager were the London journals to press the Romans, the Venetians, and Sicilians into revolt that they were blind to the work which they were at the very time doing in Ireland. In 1859 and 1860, while Fenianism was taking root in Ireland, the English people and press were liberal in substantial and cheering words to the revolutionists in Italy.

*The London Times* said: "That government should be for the good of the governed, and that whenever rulers wilfully and persistently postpone the good of their subjects, either to the interests of foreign states, or to abstract theories of religion or politics, the people have a right to throw off the yoke, are principles which have been too often admitted and acted upon to be any longer questioned."

But who should judge all this? Here is the reply supplied by the great English journal: "The destiny of a nation ought to be determined, not by the opinions of other nations, but by the opinion of the nation

itself. To decide whether they are well governed or not, or rather, whether the degree of extortion, corruption, and cruelty to which they are subject is sufficient to justify armed resistance, is for those who live under that government,—not for those who, being exempt from its oppression, feel a sentimental or theological interest in its continuance.”

*The Daily News* was equally explicit: “Europe has over and over again affirmed that one principle on which the Italian question depends, and to which the inhabitants of Central Italy appeal—the right of a people to choose its own rulers.”

On the same point *The Times* says: “England has not scrupled to avow her opinion that the people of the Roman States, like every other people, have a right to choose the form of their own government, and the persons in whose hands that government shall be placed.”

*The London Sun* declared: “As free Englishmen, we assert the right of the Romans, and of all nations, to have governors of their own choice.”

The English Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord John Russell, speaking at Aberdeen, enforced the same doctrine. A passage in the Queen’s speech affirmed it. Lord Ellenborough hoped the Pope’s subjects would appeal to arms as the only way in which they could assert their right: “I will hope that, stimulated by the insults to Italy which are conveyed in the demands France is about to make in the Congress, they will rise to vindicate their right to choose their own government, and clutch the arms by which alone it can be secured.”

Out of these declarations arose in Ireland a movement which the popular journals designated “Taking England at her word.” *The Dublin Nation* proposed that a national petition in the following form should be presented to the Queen:



“That petitioners have seen with deep concern the recognition of the right of every people to change or choose their rulers and form of government, which is contained in the speech delivered by your Majesty at the opening of the present session of Parliament, and also contained in the speech delivered on a recent occasion at Aberdeen by your Majesty’s Foreign Secretary, as well as in the speeches of many other statesmen and persons of high position in England, and in the writings of the most influential English newspapers.

“That by the general approval with which those speeches and writings have been received in England, and more especially by the course of policy pursued by your Majesty’s government in reference to the late political events in Central Italy, the Sovereign, the Ministry, the Press, and People of England have, in the most distinct and public manner, declared their approval of the principle that every people who believe themselves to be ill governed have a right to change the system of government which is displeasing to them, and to substitute for it one of their own choice; which choice may be declared by a majority of the votes which shall be given on submitting the question to a universal suffrage.

“That, as is well known to your Majesty, from petitions emanating from meetings at which millions of your Majesty’s subjects attended, as well as from other events at various times, which petitioners deem it unnecessary to specify, a very strong desire exists among the Irish people to obtain, in place of the present system of government in Ireland, a restoration of their native Parliament, and their legislative independence. That petitioners are confident the overwhelming majority of the Irish people ardently desire this restoration of their

national constitution, of which they believe they were unjustly deprived; yet, as your Majesty's advisers may have led you to believe that this desire for a domestic legislature is entertained by only a minority of the population, petitioners behold in the proceeding so highly approved of by your Majesty's ministers—viz., a popular vote by ballot and universal suffrage—a means by which the real wishes of a majority of your Majesty's Irish subjects may be unmistakably ascertained.

“Your petitioners, therefore, pray that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to direct and authorize a public vote by ballot and universal suffrage in Ireland, to make known the wishes of the people, whether for a native government and legislative independence, or for the existing system of government by the Imperial Parliament. Petitioners trust that their request will be considered stronger, not weaker, in your Majesty's estimation, for being made respectfully, peacefully, and without violence, instead of being marked by such proceedings as have occurred during the recent political changes in Italy, which have been so largely approved by your Majesty's ministers.

“And petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.”

This petition received the signatures of over half a million of adult Irishmen. It was duly presented. It was never answered. Still the English people went on declaring that a “vote of the population” was the way to test the legitimacy or oppressiveness of a government: Still the English newspapers went on adjuring subject peoples to strike if they would be free. Every Fenian organizer had these quotations on his tongue. The fate of the national petition was pointed to; the contemptuous silence of the sovereign was called disdain for a people who would not clutch the arms whereby



alone their right to choose their own government could be secured.

One article there was in *The London Times*—a magnificent outburst of scathing taunt and passionate invective—which played a remarkable part in the Fenian operations. It was the gospel of organizers. A glance at it will show that it was just to their hand:

“It is quite time that all the struggling nationalities should clearly understand that freemen have no sympathy with men who do nothing but howl and shriek in their fetters.

“Liberty is a serious game, to be played out, as the Greek told the Persian, with knives and hatchets, and not with drawled epigrams and soft petitions.

“We may prate among us of moral courage and moral force, but we have also physical courage and physical force kept for ready use. Is this so with the Italians of Central Italy? That they wish to be free is nothing. A horse, or a sheep, or a canary-bird has probably some vague instinct toward a state of freedom; but what we ask, and what within the last few days we have asked with some doubt, is. Are these Italians prepared to fight for the freedom they have? If so, well; they will certainly secure it; if not, let Austria flog them with scorpions instead of whips, and we in England shall only stop our ears against their screams.

“The highest spectacle which the world can offer to a freeman is to see his brother-man contending bravely—nay, fighting desperately—for his liberty. The lowest sentiment of contempt which a freeman can feel is that excited by a wretched serf who has been polished and educated to a full sense of the degradation of his position, yet is without the manhood to do more than utter piteous lamentations.”

## CHAPTER X.

## THE LAND WAR IN IRELAND.

*The Famine Scourge—Heartless Conduct of the Landlords—The Relief Committees—America's Generous Aid and Sympathy—Terrible Suffering—Statements of Priests and Other Persons.*

IRELAND, with a soil fruitful as Eden, with a climate mild as woman's smile, with a people virtuous, industrious, and brave, is yet the Niobe of nations, weeping and begging at the doors of the world. She has been singularly blessed by God and cursed by man. The breath of healing is in her air, the beauty of Paradise in her picturesque valleys and mountains. Heaven's smile seems to bless her fertility, but human wickedness has done much to darken the bright picture traced by the hand of the great Almighty. Her green and fertile fields, her grassy slopes, her flowing rivers and luxuriant plains are but the glittering robe that hides the wounds and sores of an afflicted nation—a broken-hearted people.

Why, we ask, should a nation so rich and fair be thus haunted by the grim spectre of poverty and want?

The answer is simple: it is this, the iron rule of a foreign power crushes out her energy, and ghoulish-like, feeds upon her very vitals. In vain does the Irishman toil in his own land for a living: he is only the slave



toiling for his master, the bondman of a rack renting landlord.

They plow and plant, they sow and reap, they weave and spin all day;  
The English fleet is at their wharves to bear it all away.  
Their fathers' land the alien owns, the landlords own their labor;  
Their mortgaged lives have been foreclosed to glut their English neighbor.

God in his mercy has betimes raised up prophets and guides for the Irish people. Many of them have passed away, but their good deeds remain to stimulate the people to renew the conflict for the right to live on their own soil, for the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, and to own the fruits of their own industry.

Daniel O'Connell tore from the grasp of English tyranny the boon of Catholic Emancipation, and forced the power of Great Britain to remove its cursed heel from the religious liberties of the Irish race. And in times like these, of equal religious freedom, when on the wings of prayer the nation's soul mounts in unfettered worship to the Deity above, when the smoke of incense rises free and triumphant from every Catholic shrine, in these times, the sons and daughters of Erin, from every part of the globe, may join with throbbing hearts in one universal chorus of affectionate thanksgiving to the "Immortal Dan of Ireland." The Liberator now lies in his honored grave, but the wings of his mighty spirit hover over us. The war between Celt and Saxon rages hot and fierce, and the soul of O'Connell roams o'er the battle-field, and that soul will never rest till the last vestige of English rule is swept from the fair fields of Erin, and the flag of the Golden Harp waves again in triumph from the walls of College Green. Once more the people are marshaled in dauntless array. The proud banner of agitation

again floats on the breeze. The mantle of O'Connell has fallen on the shoulders of his disciple, who has caught up the same spirit, breathes the same patriotic fire, is nerved with the same indomitable will, who walks in the same sure track, wields the same unfailling weapon,—Charles Stewart Parnell, the life and center of the Land League of Ireland.

As a rule, the landlords of Ireland have been a licentious, improvident class of absentees, whose only interest in the country was the amount of rent they could drag out of their unfortunate tenantry in order to live in luxurious style in England and the Continent. These vampires drew from the country annually over seventy million dollars, thus draining it to the very dregs, while they gave back nothing in return but enlarged power to their agents to tighten the screws on their unfortunate tenantry. Numbers of these spendthrift landlords came to grief, and their estates came to the hammer in the Encumbered Estates Court, which was established in 1848 and came into full operation in 1849.

A panic seized the landlords. Their estates were thrown into the court and sold, in many cases, at half their real value. This, though, did not benefit the tenant much. Had the government then advanced the purchase money in full to the tenants, tenant proprietorship would have followed, and the land question would have been settled for good. As it was, it only made the condition of the tenant a hundred times worse, for English capitalists bought up most of the estates, and commenced improving them by evicting the tenants and turning the lands into pasture for oxen and sheep.

Ireland, prostrated by famine, overrun by new “undertakers,” sank into a state of syncope, only showing that she was alive by occasionally shooting a landlord or



agent. The Fenian movement again awoke her, and the old struggle between might and right, the weak and the strong, commenced. England found that she should do something, and as a sop to Irish discontent, and hoping that it would confirm the loyalty of the Irish hierarchy and priesthood towards English rule in Ireland, she disestablished the Protestant Church in Ireland by a bill passed July 12th, 1869, which bill received the royal assent on the 26th of the same month.

This did not satisfy the masses of the people. It did not relieve them of their rack-renting landlords, or their rack-rent either. Their grievances were more political than religious, and all felt that the uncertainty of tenure by which the tenant held his land and the arbitrary power in the hands of the landlords to raise the rent at will, were at the root of the evil. Some well-disposed Irish gentlemen, recognizing this fact, and believing that redress lay only in an Irish Parliament, met in Dublin in May, 1870, and established the Home Rule Association. It is not necessary to follow the history of this organization. The people were tired of agitation, particularly agitation that promised no immediate results, and therefore never warmed to the new programme.

It was different with the Land agitation though. Here was a matter that came home to the doors of nine-tenths of the Irish peasantry, and that promised them immediate and practical results. It is no wonder, therefore, that it met with a ready response from them and that they threw themselves heart and soul into the movement. So great became the pressure that in 1870 a Land Act was passed, which measure, though much praised at the time, has proved to be short-sighted and abortive. The act did not restrain the power of the landlords. The Land Act of 1870 worked little benefit

to the Irish occupier. Evictions actually increased! In the three years before its passing, the ejectments on notice to quit were 4,253; in the three subsequent years they reached 5,641, showing an increase of 1,388; in the next three years they were 8,439! These figures represent only the capricious evictions, and do not include ejectment for non-payment of rent or non title. While it recognized the grievous wrong done to the victim of a capricious eviction, the act left full power to perpetrate what it thus admitted to be unjust. It still left the tenant at the mercy of the cupidity, the malice, or the whim of his landlord. Instead of giving the Irish peasant security of tenure, it gave the county court judge, at his discretion, the power of imposing on the evicting landlord a limited pecuniary fine. In other words, it gave the homeless, and perhaps penniless tenant, "the right to a law-suit."

Before we enter into a detailed account of the operations of the Land League organization and the horrors of the famine of 1880, we will take a retrospective view of how the land was held in common by the people in Ireland previous to Christianity and up to the time that the English invaders introduced the feudal system. The Brehon code of laws held that land was the common property of all, and that the humblest clansman had as good a right to live on its fruits as the most powerful chieftain. The grand fundamental principle of the Brehon law was that as the air we breathe, and without which we could not live, was free to all, so also the land which is necessary for our existence, should be free or common to all. Society in ancient Ireland was not based on the family principle as understood by us. The family meant the tribe or clan, oftentimes numbering thousands of persons all bearing the same name, as O'Neill or O'Brien, but the chief was called by



way of distinction, The O'Neill or The O'Brien. An Irish family in this sense meant all who belonged to the tribe or clan. Each clan or sept had its own particular territory, carefully defined, beyond the limits of which they could not encroach without encountering the hostility of the neighboring clan or sept.

The territory belonging to the sept was called after the tribe, as O'Donnell's country, etc. The land was considered the common property of the tribe, and different portions of it were assigned to different members thereof, under direction of the chief, but according to well-defined laws and usages. None but those belonging to the tribe were entitled to tribe land, and they were entitled in proportion to their antiquity in the sept, and therefore the proofs of relationship and descent were carefully preserved in Irish families, as carefully as we now preserve our legal records and documents.

The chieftaincy was not hereditary, for any member of the family or sept was eligible, and it oftentimes happened that the heir by descent was set aside for some more worthy member of the tribe. The head of the organization was styled lord of the country which the tribe inhabited. He apportioned the lands among the members of the tribe, and received a tribute from them as a voluntary offering to support his dignity, but beyond this he had no special interest in the lands.

The members of the Irish septs had a loyal regard for the person, the honor, and the dignity of their chief. That he might sustain that dignity in a becoming manner, they assigned to him certain lands for the maintenance and support in princely style of himself and his family. So jealous were they of his maintaining a proper show of authority, that it was a part of the written law that he should never appear in public

without a retinue, and the penalty for disregarding this law was deprivation of his rank. He was obliged to maintain a bard to chant the glories of the tribe, a chronicler to record its actions, a brehon, or chancellor, to expound the law, various officers to preserve the pedigrees of the clan, and a certain number of mounted men—knights in waiting, in fact, whatever they may be called in name,—to defend the rights of the sept. To maintain all this state and meet all this expense, a large part of the lands of the tribe were necessarily assigned to him, but as to those lands it is easy to see that he held them really as a tenant from the tribe. The members of the tribe also paid to the chief a certain annual tribute, proportioned to their holdings, not of land alone, but of other property, cattle, etc., all of which was protected by the chief and his warrior band; so that this tribute was not paid as rent of land, but contributed as a tax, to provide means of protection. The lord was, as to his lands, a tenant at will of the tribe, because he held those lands by virtue of being chief, and he held his position as chief at the will of the tribe, and many a time in Irish history did a tribe depose its chief and put another in his place, mostly, however, some member of the family of the chief, and sometimes even of the sept. This system of tribal occupation of the land was in force in Ireland for over a thousand years. It has been exhaustively handled in a lately published work in several volumes under the title of “The Brehon Laws,” being so called after the Brehons, or law-givers, whose duty it was to preserve, compile, and administer the laws of the country. The feudal laws which prevailed at the time throughout the rest of Europe, and which were subsequently introduced by the Anglo-Norman conquerors into Ireland, reduced the peasant to the rank of serf, making



him solely dependent upon the lord from whom he occupied the land at pleasure, giving him in return rent either in the shape of military services or payment of some kind. The one begot a state of serfdom which degraded the people to the rank of slaves, built a powerful aristocracy, and left the unfortunate peasant at the merciless rule of some despotic landlord, as is the case in Ireland to-day. The other made each man feel that he was as good as another, and that he occupied the land, not by the toleration of some exacting lord, but by absolute right, and thus felt as independent in his claims as the chieftain himself.

These Brehon Laws were wise regulations for the times and circumstances under which they were enacted, but certainly would not be applicable to the government of the land or the control of society as at present organized. They explain much to us, though, that may seem inexplicable in the Irish character.

They explain why Irishmen in Ireland lived for generation after generation in one certain place, each one dwelling in his own territory, because to leave his territory was to separate himself from his tribe, with small chance of acquiring anything like equal social standing in any other tribe.

They also explain their powerful attachment, not to land in general, but to the lands of their particular territory. They will make unheard-of sacrifices to retain the land which has been in their families for unnumbered generations, but once uproot them from that, and set them adrift in the world, and they have no more affection for mere land than is possessed by men in general, and this answers the question, so often asked, "Why is it that Irishmen, so furious to possess the soil in their own country, when they come to America care so little to go on the land?"

They explain, too, why the history of Ireland shows so much internal conflict, so different from that of other nations. It was, in fact, an aggregation of small separate nations, each one outgrowing its boundaries, always crowding upon and often trespassing upon those adjoining.

They explain also a certain difficulty there has always been experienced in getting Irishmen to act together harmoniously as a whole. They were never organized as a nation in anything like the way in which modern nations are organized. The individual members of a tribe practically never recognized any authority but that of their chief. They tilled their lands or went forth to battle just as their chief directed, and whenever the chief said, "Let's go home," home they went.

We have so far digressed in order to give our readers some conception of the Brehon laws and their application in Ireland. Though salutary and wise in many respects, they paved the way for the conquest of Ireland. Neighboring chiefs, like the Indian tribes, were continually at variance, and their jealousies and local associations kept them from combining in a great national struggle either against the Danes or the English. Besides, what interest had a tribe in Fermanagh or Tipperary in the fact that the Danes held Dublin or Waterford? They were more anxious to preserve themselves from the encroachment of a neighboring tribe than from an invader who was so far away. Though tribes and chiefs made desperate efforts to repel both Saxon and Dane from their own territory, Irish history compels us to make the admission that it was hard to combine them to make a united effort to repel the common enemy. The Brehon laws recognized the fact that the soil of a country is not a human institution; it is a Divine creation, rendered absolutely necessary



for our support, and when dealing with this matter, governments are only trustees, guardians of a sacred trust, pledged by virtue of their office to administer the public estate for the public good—an estate which has been solemnly willed, bequeathed, and dedicated in perpetuity by God himself, to be the common property of the entire people. Governments, then, are not owners, but the administrators of the public lands, nor can they confiscate nor deprive a people of their inheritance. The people and the land are one, and those whom God has united let no man put asunder. When, then, we see the whole territory of Ireland locked up in the possession of a few individuals, and the great majority of the community swept out into the roads to die of starvation, the very act cries to heaven for vengeance.

In addition to the fundamental principles which recognize the right of the people to the soil of the country, there are other reasons why England should abolish those odious laws which crush the life-blood out of the people, and invest the Irish landlords with the power of life and death over their tenants. By the operation and tyrannical enactments of English laws all means of sustenance save one by which men can earn their livelihood have been closed against the people of Ireland, that one sole means which British rapacity has left being the privilege of agricultural labor. Surely, then, if agricultural labor is the only hope to which the Irish can cling to save their families from pitiless starvation, the laws affecting that labor should be so liberal and generous in their nature that the laborer by his toil may amply provide for all reasonable wants. But the case is not so. No laws are more barbarous and cruel. But why should the millions of Ireland depend solely on agricultural labor?

Are there no other means? Undoubtedly, but English tyranny forbids them. Until very recently, the penal laws were in full sway. By that code, nine-tenths of the population of Ireland were excluded from all honorable professions by which many others earn a noble independence. The great bulk of the Irish population is Catholic, and no Catholic could be a physician, a lawyer, a teacher, or a member of any distinguished calling. If a man wished to practice surgery or medicine, or be a member of any other profession, the law prohibited him simply on account of his religion. In like manner, the trade of Ireland was crushed out, thus throwing the people solely on the land for subsistence. As an instance of how Irish industries were crippled by English legislation, we would simply refer to the linen and woolen trade of Ireland. Both were extensively exported in the fifteenth century. The woolen traders in England grew jealous, and were determined if possible to suppress the manufacture of wool in Ireland. Accordingly, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the exportation of wool from Ireland was absolutely prohibited. This was a severe blow upon Irish industry. It threw thousands out of employment, and impoverished the nation. That one industry alone was a great source of wealth. Irish wool found a ready market in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and other foreign countries, so much so that Dean Swift states that foreign silver became the current money of the country, and that a man could not receive a hundred pounds without finding in it the coin of all the Northern powers,—the result of the woolen trade. The enterprise was stopped, and the consequences were indeed sad. Irish industry felt that it had no place under English rule. The prohibition was, in fact, an official notice from the English crown to the people of Ireland,



that they must not engage in manufacture, and that if they did, all the profits must go across the Channel. But the home demand was still large, the enterprise was still kept afloat by the Irish market. When the English discovered this they procured fresh legislation, and the manufacture was suppressed entirely.

We will now come down to the causes that produced the famine in Ireland and that gave rise to the Land League organization.

For a few years after the passing of the Land Act in 1870, owing to the prosperous state of British trade, and favorable seasons, the produce of the Irish farmers was abundant and fetched a high price. The landlords, taking advantage of this temporary prosperity, raised the rents, in some cases actually doubling them. The competition for land became very great, and it ran up to a fictitious value.

Suddenly the increasing trade of England declined, and America commenced pouring into her markets enormous supplies of breadstuff, preserved meat, and even live cattle. This of course brought down prices and made it almost impossible for the farmer to pay the exorbitant rent which he contracted for under more favorable auspices. Add to this the fact that the season of 1877 was wet and inclement, so much so, that the crops rotted in the ground and the potatoes became a total failure. This the farmers might get over, but unfortunately the summers of '78 and '79 were even worse, and both the farmers and peasantry were driven to bankruptcy and starvation.

In the meantime the landlords, Shylock-like, were exacting their pound of flesh in the shape of the last penny of the rack-rents which they had imposed on the farmer in prosperous times.

Added to the failure of the potato, upon which he

relied chiefly for food, the cottier of Connaught, whose year's rent for the patch upon which his potatoes are grown is annually brought over from England in the shape of harvest earnings there, found this resource also cut off by the scarcity of employment, caused by the bad state of English trade. Thus the number of Irish laborers carried by the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland for harvesting in England fell from twenty-seven thousand to twenty thousand in 1879, involving (according to the Irish official statistician, Dr. Hancock) a loss of £100,000 to the laborers, while those who did go found little employment on their arrival.

Owing to these circumstances, a terrible famine ensued, which even threatened to equal in intensity and atrocity the terrible famine of 1847 and '48, and would have done so, had not the sympathy of the world, particularly America, responded to the appeal of a people starving in the midst of plenty, dying from hunger while ruthless landlords were depriving them of their last meal and even dragging the very beds from under them. In 1880 the famine had extended, but both money and relief, ships from America brought succor and life to suffering thousands. There were several relief committees formed, namely, "The Mansion House Relief Committee," over which the then Lord Mayor of Dublin, Hon. E. D. Gray, M. P., presided. "The Duchess of Marlborough Committee" was a kind of aristocratic committee by which royalty could earn a cheap notoriety for benevolence and charity by condescendingly patronizing it; still it did good and effective service. Then there came "The Bennett Relief Committee," which was appointed to distribute the one hundred thousand dollars contributed by James Gordon Bennett, Esq., of *The New York Herald*. This



committee hob-a-nobbed with the Marlborough Committee, and in fact became auxiliary to it.

The Land League Relief Committee was the one which did most good for the poor, and the one through which the Irish in America poured forth their aid to their kinsmen at home. As an instance of the widespread and terrible nature of the famine, we quote the following extracts from reports, speeches, and letters published at the time. The doctors who were sent out by the commissioners to report on the state of the country gave a fearful picture of fever, misery, and want, of which this is a specimen:

“Entering one house, fairly circumstanced, we were received by the mother, pale, worn, feeble, scarcely able to move about, after a severe attack of fever. Two or three children, convalescents, were sitting in the kitchen, and in an inner room lay, far advanced in malignant typhus, her father-in-law, husband, and two grown-up daughters. Until a few days ago she had to attend to all. Even now, though an old woman had been got as nurse, the sick son had been obliged to take the sicker father into his bed, in order to restrain him whilst delirious. This house is worse than a fever-ward—it is a fever-furnace. The family, throughout this terrible time of illness, have been dependent for very life upon the support of the Local Relief Committee. Other cases have their own peculiarly painful features. In one, at Carne, the young husband is a victim; in another the wife lies sick, with scarce a rag of bed-clothes. At Ballintadder, in a musty, dark room, two children were tossing in fever upon some straw on the floor, and another ailing upon the poor bed. In an adjoining cabin, five children had been ailing together; two were up when we entered, and three lying in fever, ‘heads and points’ on an old bedstead, covered with a

couple of potato-sacks. In the midst of their affliction the father gives a refuge to an infirm and aged sister. It may be mentioned, as adding to the sombre character of the scene, that these people are under notice of ejectment."

A committee, including the P. P. of Kilcoo, County Down, writing to the Mansion House Committee under date February 12th, 1880, says.

"It is painful and humiliating to have to acknowledge that even in this, the premier county of Ulster, there exists distress deep-felt and widespread. Nothing but sheer necessity can force the people to acknowledge want and ask relief. They will struggle on amidst difficulties, and continue to conceal their misery until their blanched cheeks betray them and tell the observer that the gnawing pain is wearing away their vitals. Such has been the case in '46 and '47, when the gaunt spectre, Famine, stalked over the land, and decimated a famished people, and such, unhappily, is the case here now in this County of Down. At all events, such is the case in this parish of Upper Kilcoo, with a population of over 3,000, spread over thirteen townlands, situate in a mountainous district, where, owing to the inclemency of the season, the poor people did not obtain a particle of peat from the bogs—their source of fuel—and their crops were almost completely lost. Their means, which were at best but slender, have been gradually diminishing for the past few years, and are now exhausted, as is also their credit. Hence we find that the fuel of the majority is the furze and heath which they gather from the hill-sides; and the food of many—alas! too many—an insufficient quantity of Indian meal porridge, without a single drop of milk to make it palatable. It is truly a pitiable plight in which hundreds of the poor people here now find themselves—partially without food,



wholly without fuel or means to procure it; without seed for the land, without clothing, and without credit."

The famous Colonel "Chinese" Gordon, late Secretary to the Viceroy of India, and Governor of the Soudan, writing from Glengariff, County Cork, in November, 1880 (published in *The Times*, 3d December), said: "I must say, from all accounts and from my own observation, that the state of our fellow-countrymen in the parts I have named is worse than that of any people in the world, let alone Europe. I believe that these people are made as we are, that they are patient beyond belief, loyal, but at the same time broken-spirited and desperate, living on the verge of starvation in places in which we would not keep our cattle. The Bulgarians, Anatolians, Chinese, and Indians are better off than many of them are. . . . I am not well off, but I would offer Lord Bantry or his agent (J. W. Payne, J. P.) £1,000 if either of them would live one week in one of these poor devils' places, and feed as these people do."

Father McKenna, P. P. of Pettigo, County Donegal, reporting on the state of his parish, said: "In truth, the distress is now assuming here an alarming appearance. On yesterday, our day of meeting at Mulleek to afford relief, the crowd was so great, looking for anything at all we could give, that it occupied the Relief Committee up to two hours after night to get through our list of applicants, and we had to give up the task nearly in hopeless despair of knowing what to do to get the shivering creatures away. It was sad to see hundreds crowded together around the door of where the Committee met, waiting from twelve o'clock noon to eight at night, under drenching rain, for whatever little we could give. From 1s. to 2s. 6d. was our rule, and in

the end had to curtail even these small sums, sooner than hear the cries of the disappointed. Really the people are on the point of dying. If something be not done very soon to give employment, alms will not at all meet the crisis much longer. On last Monday in Pettigo several poor women and strong men came to the priest's house, and some of them fainted with hunger and exhaustion. The appearance of the poor is appalling."

Rev. Thomas Cummins, C. C. of Scotstown, County Monaghan, writes: "The landlords here are giving no work except to the process-server; the poor have no credit, and the father and mother are in hopeless want of work, and their children in want of bread. I know of thirty-three homes—if, indeed, a tenement without a window could be called a home—in which there is neither food nor fire. I may say there are fifteen of these in extreme want. Instance the following: Yesterday evening I was called on to visit a patient. When I reached the hovel it was not dark, yet the family, seven in all, were in bed; and why? because they had eaten the scanty fare they collected during the day, they had no fire to warm them, and their remedy was to lie in a cold room, on cold beds, with cold, empty stomachs; and I fear my patient is a cold corpse now amongst them; and if I was constituted judge and jury over the cause of her death, my verdict would be 'want of food.'"

Father Harte, P. P., Kilgarvin, County Mayo, writes: "It is with feelings of pain and regret I beg to call your attention, and the attention of the members of the Mansion House Committee, to the deplorable condition of about 200 families in this parish. They are in great distress—the most of them in absolute want. They have nothing now to live on, I might say, but Indian meal, and not enough of that same; some of them with-



out a drop of milk, without fuel, and all without credit, having their clothes pawned and their children half-naked. We were hoping day after day that the government would come to our aid, but, unfortunately, it was hoping against hope."

The parish priest and Protestant incumbent of Enniscrone, County Sligo, in a joint letter, say: "In one townland alone there are at present ten families suffering from fever, which, in the opinion of the medical officer of the district, is induced by cold, want of clothing, and scarcity of proper nourishment. We, in common with every well-wisher of Ireland, would prefer anything to gratuitous relief, and therefore we have earnestly appealed to the landlords of this parish to assist their tenants by means of remunerative employment in improving their own estates. We have had some favorable promises to the above effect from all; yet, with one or two honorable exceptions, these promises have never been realized; they have picked up what rents they could, and then, oblivious of their own promises, have lent a deaf ear to the pitiful entreaties of their starving tenantry."

The rector of Clondwhid, County Cork, writes: "This is a wild and mountainous parish of 27,000 acres. There are no resident landlords. Father Ring, R. C. C., has just been sitting with me. No one knows the distress of the people better than he does. Any relief you send us will be administered by Father Ring (Father Walsh is upwards of ninety years old), myself, and Mr. Pearson. Father Ring told me to-day that he has visited poor, who were obliged to remain in bed from hunger."

The parish priest and rector of Tegmon, County Wexford, wrote: "We have found 59 families, or 236 persons, more or less suffering, and we are convinced that many of the farming class are in great want, but are too

proud to disclose their poverty. The distress is nearly universal; the destitution in many families of small farmers is complete, as well as the laboring class, and nothing but the most energetic exertions of the charitable will be able to save them from death by starvation. The total quantity of harvest produce of all kinds would, in our opinion, not suffice for the home consumption; and being compelled by landlords to sell, to pay their rents, what they should have kept for food for their families, are now reduced to deplorable suffering; without employment, without food—save what the benevolent give them—without fuel, without bed-clothing, their condition is truly wretched. In this locality landlords will not assist their tenants by providing seeds, etc., for the approaching sowing season; and to sow any they may have left would be madness.”

We could fill a volume with extracts from letters from all parts of Ireland, showing how deep and widespread the famine was and how indifferent the landlords were to the destitution and suffering of their tenantry.

James Redpath, the well-known correspondent, in giving a sketch of the state of Ireland at the time, for he had traveled over the country to report on the state of the farmers, says:

“From every county come *official* announcements that the destitution is increasing.

“A geographical allocation of the distress gives to the—

County Leitrim (in round numbers).....	47,000
Roscommon “ “ .....	46,000
Sligo “ “ .....	56,000
Galway “ “ .....	124,000
Mayo “ “ .....	143,000

“These round numbers are thirty-seven hundred and



fifty under the exact figures. What need of verbal evidence to sustain figures so appalling?

“From each of these counties on the western coast, and from every parish of them, the reports of the committees give out the same dirge-like notes: ‘No food,’ ‘no clothing,’ ‘bed clothing pawned,’ ‘children half-naked,’ ‘women clad in unwomanly rags,’ ‘no fuel,’ ‘destitution appalling,’ ‘privation beyond description,’ ‘many are suffering from hunger,’ ‘seed potatoes and oats are being consumed by the people,’ ‘their famine-stricken appearance would make the stoniest heart feel for them,’ ‘some families are actually starving, and even should works be started the people are too weak now to work.’ These saddening phrases are not a bunch of rhetorical expressions: each one of them is a literal quotation from the business-like reports of the local committees of the Mansion House!

“In the province of Connaught, the destitution is so general and profound that I could not tell you what I myself saw there, within the limits of a lecture. I shall select one of the least distressful counties—the County Sligo—and call again eye-witnesses of its misery.

“And my first witness shall be a distinguished bishop, at that time unfriendly to Mr. Parnell—Bishop McCormack.

“The Bishop wrote to me that in each of the twenty-two parishes of his diocese there prevails ‘real and undoubted distress’; and that, from the returns made to him by his priests, he finds that the number on the parochial relief lists is from seventy to seventy-five per cent. of the whole population of the diocese. His Lordship adds that this state of destitution must last till August.

“Good words are like good coins—they lose their value if they are uttered too freely. I have used the

word distress so often that I fear it may pall on you. Let us test it in the fire of the sorrow of Sligo.

“Dr. Canon Finn, of Ballymote, wrote to me that the priests in his parish tell him that the little children often come to school without having had a mouthful of breakfast to eat, and that vomiting and stomach-sickness is common among them.

“Why?

“‘I know whole families,’ writes the Canon, ‘that have to supplement what our committee gives by eating rotten potatoes which they dig out day by day.’

“Father John O’Keene, of Dromore West, wrote to me that ‘there are four hundred families in his parish dependent on the relief committees, and one hundred almost entirely in want of clothing, and the children in a state of semi-nudity.’

“Four hundred families! Let us look at the mother of just one of these four hundred families.

“Listen to Father O’Keene:

“‘On Sunday last, as I was about going to church, a poor young woman, prematurely aged by poverty, came up and spoke to me. Being in a hurry, I said; “I have no time to speak to you, Mrs. Calpin. Are you not on the relief list?” “No, Father,” she said, “and we are starving.” Her appearance caused me to stop. She had no shoes, and her wretched clothing made her the picture of misery. I asked her why her husband had not come to speak to me. She said: “He has no coat, nor has he one for the last two years, and this being Sunday, he was ashamed to go out without one!” ’ ’ ’

We will not follow this painful subject any longer, but return to the organization and workings of the Land League.



## CHAPTER XI.

## THE IRISH LAND LEAGUE.

*Its Inception and Workings—Coercion by the Government—Boycotting—Arrests of Parnell, Dillon, and Other Suspects—The Ladies' Land League—Combination and Organization—The Prospect in Ireland.*

THE seed of the Land League was sown by the harsh exactions of landlords during 1877-78-79, which were finally made unendurable by the failure of the potato crop, when tenants were brought face to face with famine in a large part of Ireland.

It is but justice to Michael Davitt to say that he was the organizer of the Land movement. The Parnell Land League and other organizations existed in New York before his arrival in America, so that he had good material to operate on. In a lecture delivered at Boston, in December, 1878, Mr. Davitt outlined the programme of the new agitation, a primary feature of which was the control of the whole Irish delegation in Parliament, this to be secured by the same public and legitimate agencies which are employed by political parties in England and America. The representatives of his country in the imperial legislature, having thus acquired the weight derived from unanimity, were to press the national demand for an immediate improvement of the land system by such a change as would

prevent the peasantry of Ireland from being made its victims in the future. Such a change, he said, should form the prelude to the introduction of a system of small proprietorships similar to what now obtain in some Continental states. He based the demand for the transformation of a tenant into a landowner on principles which had already been laid down by Mr. Bright, that it is the duty of the British government to resume, after giving compensation to the landlords, the land of which Irishmen had wrongfully been deprived, in order to re-convey it to the descendants of the rightful owners.

The following is the official record of the first Irish Convention:

The Rev. Father Behan, C. C., proposed and Mr. Wm. Dillon, B. L., seconded: "That an association be hereby formed, to be named, 'The Irish National Land League.' "

The other resolutions which embraced the programme were—

"That the objects of the League are, first, to bring about a reduction of rack-rents: second, to facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupant."

"The objects of the League can be best attained by promoting organization among the tenant farmers, by defending those who may be threatened with eviction for refusing to pay unjust rents, by facilitating the working of the Bright clauses of the Land Act during the winter, and by obtaining such reform in the laws relating to land as will enable every tenant to become the owner of his holding by paying a fair rent for a number of years."

This important clause, which embraces the principles of the League and tenant proprietorship, was offered





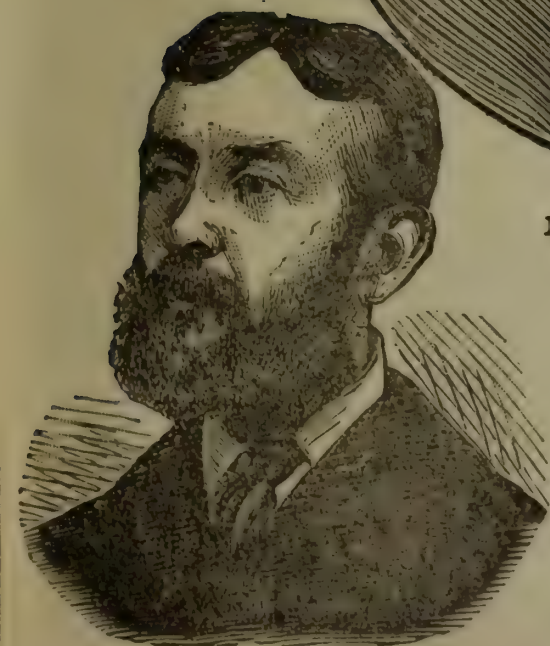
J. G. BIGGAR.



JOHN DILLON.



MICHAEL DAVITT.



THOMAS SEXTON.



T. D. SULLIVAN.





by Mr. Parnell, and seconded by the Rev. Eugene Sheehy, the worthy successor of the martyred patriot priest, Father Nicholas Sheehy, who was executed in Clonmel, March 15th, 1766, in the 38th year of his age.

The resolution "that Charles S. Parnell, M. P., be elected President of this League" was unanimously carried. Michael Davitt, A. J. Kettle, and Thomas Brennan were appointed secretaries.

J. G. Biggar, M. P., W. H. O'Sullivan, M. P., and Patrick Egan were appointed treasurers.

On motion, it was resolved "that the President of the League, Parnell, be requested to proceed to America, for the purpose of obtaining assistance from our exiled countrymen and other sympathizers for the object for which this appeal is issued."

"*Resolved*, That none of the funds of this League shall be used for the purchase of any landlord's interest in the land or for furthering the interests of any Parliamentary candidate."

The meeting was attended by delegates from various parts of Ireland, including several members of Parliament and a number of priests.

From this it will be seen that the programme of the Land League was simple and comprehensive. It did not embrace any wild generalities or experimental theories. It confined itself to the following simple rules, namely: A reduction of excessive rents; the protection of tenants evicted for not paying excessive rents; and the establishment of tenant proprietorship.

The Land League, from its inception, became formidable to the English government, because its object was a legitimate and peaceful one, and because all classes in Ireland, embracing priests and people, readily united on its platform, and it soon found among its warmest supporters and most zealous defenders such men as Archbishop Croke of Cashel and Bishop Nulty of Meath.

The objects for which this association was organized were eminently moral, humane, and constitutional, and the methods to which it was proposed to have recourse were peaceful and legal. There was no reason, therefore, why the Catholic clergy should not take as active a part in promoting the Land League as they had taken on behalf of the Home Rule party, which was now virtually merged in the new agitation. As a matter of fact, the Catholic Church contributed a large number of the names which figure in the official record of its first meeting, and from the outset of the movement clergymen of all creeds spoke on the same platform in advocacy of its aims and approbation of its orderly and honest methods. The thoroughly unsectarian and national character of the League was strikingly attested by the fact that constituencies known to be overwhelmingly Catholic sent Protestant representatives to Parliament. It is true that the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. McCabe, assailed the new organization, but the late Archbishop McHale, Archbishop Croke, and Bishop Nulty expressed a warm approval of it in published letters, and within a year after its foundation a large majority of the Catholic clergy openly promoted it or privately intimated sympathy with its principles and purposes. This fact should have great weight with impartial observers; for it is preposterous to suppose, in view of the traditional attitude of the Roman Church and the reiterated injunctions of Leo XIII., that a large part of the Catholic hierarchy would have sanctioned an association which had anything in common with the schemes and processes of the Fenians and other secret societies whose illicit machinations have been a reproach to Ireland.

The League was soon in operation throughout the whole country; branches were organized in every



city, town, and village, and a powerful and centralized organization extended its ramifications on all sides. The landlords were soon paralyzed. Before they raised the rents and evicted tenants at will. Though their victims had the sympathy of their neighbors, who were not only powerless, but also afraid to help them, there was no organization to make common cause with them. They had no redress except in the wild justice of revenge, which sent such men as Lords Leitrim and Mountmorris to bloody graves. Now there was a united and defiant organization to stand by them. They were provided with homes and food, and no man dare take the farms of those evicted at the peril of his life, for an edict had gone forth—"Rent no farm from which a tenant who belongs to the League has been evicted." In addition to this, the tenants on estates which were rack-rented formed themselves into unions not to pay any rent until the landlord reduced it to what was fair and just. Here was a new dilemma for the landlords. They could not evict one tenant without evicting all, and if they did this the lands would be let lie idle on their hands. Though many of the landlords maintained a dogged independence, several, on the principle that "a half-loaf was better than no bread," came to terms and reduced the rent to Griffith's valuation.

In its legitimate attempt to exert pressure on the land-owning class, the League found itself at first baffled to some extent by the action of tenants who were not members of the association, precisely as the American patriots during the Revolution found themselves baffled by the loyalists. To such men the Land Leaguers said just what the Whigs of the revolted colonies said to the Tories, viz.: So long as you are neutral we shall treat you as friends and neighbors; but

if you see fit to side with landlordism against your own class, you must expect to be subjected to social ostracism. We need not say that the ostracizing process, which received from one of its victims the name of "boycotting," proved a powerful agent of restraint upon unpatriotic men, and did much to disincline the landlords to resort to eviction, which, as Mr. Gladstone told Parliament, was, in famine years like 1846 and 1879, equivalent to a sentence of starvation. In 1846 no less than 300,000 human beings were thrust out from their poor huts to perish in the ditch; in 1879, under the concerted and resolute action of the Land League, the number of evictions was but 1,348. It is true that in 1880 the landlords, aided by an armed constabulary and great bodies of troops, were able to increase the number of evictions to 10,437, but even these deplorable figures seem insignificant when compared with the total of 90,440 persons who were evicted in 1847, the second year of the previous famine.

That the Land League was justified in averting by all peaceful and constitutional means eviction for rack-rents in a time of famine, seems clear enough now that the extortionate character of Irish rentals has been conclusively demonstrated by the action of the Land Courts created by the British government. The average reduction effected by these tribunals is not less than twenty-two per cent.

One of the most effective weapons in the hands of the people against those who opposed the actions of the Land Leaguers was that social ostracism called "boycotting." It simply amounted to this, that when a man became offensive to his neighbors they entered into a combination not to sell to him or buy from him, not to work for him or associate with him or his family. The first man to whom this system of ostracizing was



applied, as if he were a leper, was a Captain Boycott, County Mayo, who was agent for Lord Erne. This Boycott was a coarse, vulgar tyrant, and treated the poor peasants as if they were so many dogs, compelling them to submit to galling insults and tyrannical exactions. He evicted unfortunate tenants with as little remorse as if he were exterminating wolves. The League devoted special attention to him. It commanded the tenants to refuse to pay him rack-rents, Secondly, it instructed the men working for him not to harvest his crops at the starvation wages he was in the habit of paying them, and to exact from him the same as others paid them. When they made this demand he only swore at them, and denounced their assurance and impudence, and vowed that he would not give one penny more. There was a strike. No one would work for him. No one would sell him anything, or trade with him in any way. He was resolved to fight it out. The peasantry scowled at him, and no longer doffed their hats to him. They were becoming men, independent human beings, under the teachings of the Land League. Boycott's crops were rotting in the ground. What should he do? He and his family tried to save them, but it was an idle task. A body of Orangemen volunteered to come all the way from the North to save his crops. They came, guarded by horse, foot, and artillery. The people were furions, and would have fallen upon them had not the League kept them in check. They only ate up the balance of Boycott's crops, and left him poorer and more helpless and wretched than ever. The Captain vowed to evict all Lord Erne's tenants, and secured an escort of one hundred policemen, but he could not secure a single process-server, for it would be certain death to him. The brave Captain at length succumbed to adverse circumstances, and

left the country in despair. He came to America, but returned again and secured the toleration of his neighbors by acting fairly and justly towards them.

While this kind of passive siege was going on, James Redpath, who was writing up the state of the country for *The New York Tribune*, visited the parish and gave a history of Boycott's adventures with his tenants. Father O'Malley was the champion of the poor tenants against their oppressors. Redpath was dining with him, and while over the frugal meal looked pensive.

"What's the matter?" asked the priest.

"I'm bothered about a word," was the reply, "to convey an idea of this Boycotting business to the people of America."

"'Ostracism' will not do," said Father O'Malley, and then, after a moment's reflection, he exclaimed: "I have it, Redpath. Call it 'boycotting.'"

"Boycotting" it was called and still continues to be called, for the word has fairly become a part of the English language.

The approach of famine with all its horrors threw additional responsibilities on the shoulders of the Land League after its organization. The potato crop had failed. In 1876 its value was over sixty millions of dollars. In 1877 it fell to twenty-five million dollars, while in 1879 it shrank down to fifteen millions, which might be called a general failure. The evictions were fearfully on the increase, while the necessities of life were on the decrease. In 1876 the evictions officially reported in Ireland were 1,269; in 1877 they increased to 1,323; in 1878 they rose to 1,749. There was a considerable falling off in '79 and '80, owing to the united and determined stand the people took by the advice and under the guidance of the Land League.

The advice to the tenants not to pay rack-rents, and



to provide against starvation for themselves and their children before they would pay any rent, was but just and proper. The landlords did not think so, though. What did they care whether the people starved or not, if they got their rents? and notices to quit and the crow-bar brigade were the order of the day. The League had the fearful lesson of the famine years of '46, '47, and '48 before them, when close on a million of human beings were flung out of their homes and died of starvation. In October, 1879, Davitt said to the tenants: "If to save your families from death, you must keep back the rent, keep it back; you are bound before God to save them. You must not imagine that you will be turned out on the roadside to die, as your fathers were in '46. There is a spirit abroad in Ireland to-day that will not stand that a second time in a century." These words met with a warm response from the honest hearts of Irish peasants, and brought terror to the mansions of the landlords. They were the writing on the wall, the death-knell of land-owning. The government recognized the fact that they had a powerful and dangerous organization to contend against, and instead of bending their energies to meet the demands of the people, they blindly tried to crush out the infant Hercules. They arrested Michael Davitt and two of his associates in November, and flung them into prison.

In December Parnell, accompanied by Dillon, sailed for America, where they arrived January 2nd, 1880. They traveled over the country, meeting with a brilliant reception everywhere. They spoke in most of the large cities of the Union. On February 2nd, Mr. Parnell was received by Congress while in session, and delivered an address before that august body, setting forth the aims and mission of the

Land League and the miserable condition of Ireland. The same compliment was paid him by the State Legislatures in all the States he visited, and city freedoms were showered upon him everywhere. Some £70,000 was forwarded to the Land League in Dublin through Parnell's exertions, of which over £50,000 was distributed in charity by the League, when, after a three months' tour through the States and Canada, his mission was cut short by the dissolution of Parliament. Parnell returned to Ireland in February, leaving Dillon after him, to prosecute the work he had so successfully undertaken.

Mr. Dillon, aided by Mrs. Parnell, Miss Fanny Parnell, and several ladies and prominent gentlemen, established the League in New York. A convention was called at Buffalo, at which a regular programme was adopted for the guidance of the League in America. The officers chosen at this National Convention were: President, Patrick A. Collins, of Boston; Vice-President, Rev. Patrick Cronin, Buffalo; Secretary, Thomas Flatley, Boston; and Treasurer, Rev. Lawrence Walsh, of Waterbury, Connecticut.

After this convention, clubs and meetings were organized throughout America, and large sums of money were sent to Ireland to relieve the distress there, as well as for the use of the Land League. Michael Davitt, who had been released, also visited America in aid of the cause.

The objects of the League received the all but universal approbation of the clergy of the Catholic Church in the United States, and the public meetings held under the auspices of the League to raise money for those in danger of starving were addressed by the most eminent of the hierarchy, while others appealed in pastoral letters directly to their clergy and people, ex-



plaining clearly and eloquently the causes of the famine.

Said Bishop Hennessy of Dubuque: "If the government had sincere compassion on a suffering people and an honest desire to save them from the fate which was impending, would it in such an emergency, under pretext of law or any other pretext, become a party to landlord rapacity? Would it send its constabulary and military to distrain and eject, to tear down cabins and throw shivering children, their mothers and grandmothers, out on the highways in the depth of winter? Would it seize and carry off by force the crops and other chattels to which, through sheer necessity, without a thought of dishonesty, the poor farmer clung that he might have wherewith to keep the life in his little ones? Would it wrench the crust out of the hand of hunger, that pampered tyranny might have the last penny of the rent? Conduct such as this betrays no pity. The aim of the British government is not to remove distress in Ireland, but rather to produce, aggravate, and take advantage of it. To exterminate those whom it could not pervert was its manifest and avowed policy on the failure of the Reformation. It is still the same, though not so openly. It is easy to see how it is going to work now. Famine will take some; its invariable attendant, pestilence, or sickness of some kind, will carry off still more; and emigration will follow. The three will scour the land and scourge it and multiply sheep-walks. Did not the government foresee this? Others did who are not quite so keen-sighted. If not intended, why not prevented? One per cent. of what it cost to rob and murder Afghans and Zulus in unjust wars, as worthless as they were wicked in the judgment even of Englishmen, soldiers and civilians, would have greatly improved Ireland and preserved her people. But to do this was not in the programme. The friends of Ireland, the trusted leaders of her people,

will strive against emigration by argument, and promises, and personal influence. I fear they will not succeed to the extent of their wishes. Multitudes, especially of the young, the vigorous, the ambitious, will not be induced, cannot be persuaded, to remain in a country where famine is periodical and misery perpetual, and this not by the accidents of fortune, but by the design of their rulers."

Lord Beaconsfield decided upon a dissolution of Parliament in the spring of 1880, believing that the country would sustain him in his Irish policy. The result was the defeat of the Tory party and the restoration to power of the Liberals under Premier Gladstone. The Irish party, instead of being weakened by the election, was considerably strengthened. Parnell was elected by three constituencies, and his friend John Dillon was elected for Tipperary. Ireland returned a large number of advanced Home Rulers and Land Leaguers and returned them directly under the influence of Parnell. Some of the most powerful, wealthy, and high-placed of Irish landlords were defeated in their own counties by young candidates previously unknown to the public life, who came forward simply on the recommendation of Parnell. Gladstone and his Liberal colleagues knew well how much they owed to the efforts of Irishmen. He said to an Irish member just before the dissolution that all would depend upon the action of Ireland and of Irishmen in English constituencies. He frankly said that if the Irish members did not go with him, if Ireland did not return representatives willing to go with him, he could not possibly have a majority sufficient to enable him to carry out a really liberal policy. There was even an idea among some influential colleagues of Gladstone's that in the event of their coming into power an effort ought to be made to get one or two of the Home Rule members to join the new



Liberal administration. At all events it is certain that the Liberals owed their success in great part to Ireland and to Irishmen, that Gladstone and his colleagues were aware of this fact, and that they came into office therefore morally and politically pledged to make every possible effort to satisfy the demands and remove the grievances of Ireland.

The new Parliament assembled at the close of April, 1880. Before the meeting of the Parliament, however, the Irish members had held a convention of their own in Dublin. Parnell, who had been visiting America, had just returned to Europe, and was present at the convention. The party in close alliance with him had become so much strengthened by the results of the elections as to be manifestly the most powerful section of the Irish representatives. The majority of Irish members at the convention were already resolved that Shaw should not continue to be leader of the Parliamentary party. If he was not to remain leader, it seemed clear to some of them that only one man in the party could possibly succeed him. Parnell himself thought otherwise, and suggested another name, but his colleagues pressed and, indeed, insisted that if any change was to be made, he must himself take the leadership. The reason for this is obvious. He had come to be unquestionably the leader of the Irish people. By his influence and the magic of his name, the Irish constituencies had elected a large number of new and untried men to Parliament to serve on the lines he had laid down. Despite considerable opposition on the part of Parnell, he was elected as the leader of the Irish Parliamentary party.

The year 1880 was an exciting one in Ireland. Famine raged throughout the country, while the Land League, generously aided from various sources, tried to stay the terrible scourge. The people became desperate. They

formed into kind of trades-union societies, and defied alike landlord and government authority. Meetings were held throughout the country, which were addressed by Parnell or some of his associates, as well as by the local clergy. The government, as usual, tried to put down the agitation by coercion. They resolved to prosecute the leaders, Gladstone ignoring the fact that to these same men he owed his position as Premier. Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, and several other members of Parliament were included in this prosecution. The state trials came on in Ireland at the close of the year. The jury disagreed and the traversers were acquitted. It is stated that there was only one juror for conviction.

Parliament met in 1881 a month before its usual time. It opened on the 6th of January. It was well known that Gladstone was about to bring in a Land Bill for Ireland and also a Coercion Bill. The Land League had been ridding Ireland of conspiracy by winning over the people to open agitation, and as a matter of course outrage had been showing signs of diminution. But a new Coercion Bill, it was felt, would be certain to put back the hand of the clock, to restore the reign of conspiracy. The strongest representations were made to Gladstone on the subject. Great pressure was brought to bear upon him. It was in vain. He yielded to the advice of Forster, and resolved to put coercion before remedy. The Irish members were resolved, if they could not prevent its passing or modify its character, at least to keep it from being passed as long as they could. This would have been their duty in the case of any Coercion Bill, at least as they construed the duty of an Irishman and an Irish member of Parliament to his country. But this particular Coercion Bill was objectionable almost beyond every other which had been introduced. It gave the government, that is to say, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the absolute, unlimited



power of arresting anybody he pleased without making, or intending to make, any charge against him, and to lock him up in prison for an indefinite time without giving him any explanation as to the reason which the government had for his arrest. It was enough that a man should be "reasonably suspected" by any magistrate or policeman, or anybody, in order to warrant the Chief Secretary in having him sent to prison. The phrase, "reasonably suspected," became famous. It was not, by the way, Forster's own invention. It is to be found in Lyttelton's "History of Henry II.," published more than a hundred years ago. Speaking of the Earl of Chester, Lyttelton says: "It does not appear that he had done any act to make him reasonably suspected of treason, and if an unwarranted suspicion could justify such a proceeding, a tyrant would always be justified, for he may always suspect when he desires to oppress."

Then followed the great scenes of obstruction which threw the House of Parliament into such a fever of excitement, and which were only brought to a close by the *coup d'état* of the 2d of February, when the Speaker intervened and declared that the debate must go no further. Next day the announcement of the arrest of Michael Davitt, an announcement which was received with wild and even savage cheers of exultation by English Liberal members, led to another stormy scene, and finally to the expulsion for that sitting of thirty-six Irish members.

The Coercion Bill introduced by Forster was productive of nothing but mischief. This fact is now acknowledged by every one who helped him to introduce it. It has justified to the full all the predictions which the Irish members uttered whilst it was still on its passage through the House. In every town and village throughout Ireland the local leaders of the

Land League, priests and others, were thrown into prison, and the result was that Ribbonmen and conspirators got the country for awhile into their hands again.

Meanwhile the Land Bill was introduced, and in its first shape found to be a measure with very little promise in it. By the efforts of the Irish members, with the assistance of a very few stanch English allies, the bill was gradually strengthened in its passing through the House. But Parnell predicted that it would prove utterly inadequate for the purpose Gladstone had in view, that it would lead to an immense amount of litigation, and that the Land Courts formed for the purpose of fixing a fair rent would soon find themselves clogged and choked with a mass of business, and all this came true. When the session came to an end and autumn was drawing on, Gladstone suddenly made up his mind to close with the Land League and overthrow it by main force. Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, and O'Kelly were arrested and flung into prison. The Land League was proclaimed illegal and suppressed. Some demonstrations in Dublin were crushed by the police with reckless and savage violence, and order reigned in Warsaw. The measures taken proved an absolute failure. The country did not become tranquil after the arrest of the members of Parliament, but on the contrary it became much more disturbed than before. Outrages did not become fewer, but multiplied with fearful rapidity. Before the winter had wholly passed away everybody knew, in Parliament and out of it, that the Coercion Bill was admitted to be a failure by the government themselves, and that the Land Bill had been to a great extent a failure also, and that Gladstone was only waiting for the earliest opportunity of endeavoring to get the assistance of Parnell himself for the purpose of maintaining order in Ireland.



In a series of clever articles written on Coercion in Ireland, Home Rule, and kindred subjects, by the Hon. Justin McCarthy, M. P., he gives the following statement of Ireland and her prospects:

“Irish obstruction was deliberately adopted for the purpose of compelling the English majority to see that the grievances of Ireland must be dealt with once for all. In the House of Commons the majority is so overwhelmingly against Ireland that, so far as mere numbers and divisions go, Ireland might as well have no representation whatever in Parliament. Then the House of Commons itself is domineered over by landlords and by capitalists. The peers are not only masters in their own House of Lords, but they go very near to being masters in our House of Commons. A great number of the representatives of the people on both sides of the House of Commons are the elder and younger sons, the brothers, the nephews, and the cousins of peers. The army and navy send many members to the House of Commons. On the Tory side the great majority of the members are landlords. On the Liberal side those who are not landlords are for the most part capitalists.

“In such a House what chance would Irish claims have of being heard if Irish members left them to find their way to the ears and the understandings of members by the ordinary channels? We might have our debate on Home Rule and our debate on the land question every session. The majority of the House would never listen to the debate, nor take the smallest interest in finding out anything about it. It would be regarded as a pure formality. We should make our speeches to each other—preaching to the converted—and when the speeches were done the division-bell would ring, and the majority would come rushing and tumbling in from the dining-rooms and the smoking-

rooms and the terrace and the library, and would vote against us, and out-vote us.

“ We had had enough of this sort of thing, and had lost all faith in it. We have now forced the claims of Ireland so directly on the attention of the House of Commons that it would be absolutely impossible to leave them out of sight. We have shown that if we cannot directly compel the government and the Parliament to deal fairly with the claims of Ireland, we can at least prevent them from accomplishing any other business. Gladstone and his colleagues are this year trying to remodel the Parliamentary forms of procedure in order to be able to prevent us from interfering with the smooth progress of the ordinary business of Parliament. They have not yet succeeded in accomplishing the change, and, indeed, it is quite evident that nothing more can be done in the matter this session. But no change that human ingenuity can devise could prevent a resolute minority of men from effecting what is called an obstruction of business in an assembly like the House of Commons, so long as any right of speech is allowed there to the minority at all. It would be wearisome and unnecessary to go into a lengthened explanation of this to American readers, but they may take it on my authority that this is so, and that there is only one way of dealing with Irish obstruction in Parliament, and that is to show an inclination to listen to the demands made on behalf of Ireland, and to set about redressing Irish grievances. ”

“ Now, I fully believe that obstruction has already achieved this object. Its historical justification will be found in its results. I believe the land question will be settled on the basis laid down by the Land League. The Land League, despite all the tremendous outcry made against it, only set forth as its journey's end and very sea-mark of its utmost sail,



the transfer of the soil of Ireland from its landlord possessors into the hands of peasant owners and cultivators by the fair process of state intervention and purchase. Russia, the poorest country in Europe for her size and responsibilities, and at a time when she was still shattered and drained by the cost of the Crimean war, paid one hundred millions of pounds sterling to secure their land to her emancipated serfs. We ask no such sacrifice, nor anything remotely approaching to it, from England, a country incomparably richer than Russia. We ask rather the help of her state security, her credit, her guarantee, for a time, than any sacrifice; at all events, than any considerable sacrifice of her money. I fully believe that this will be accomplished in the end, that the state will, and before long, go so far as to agree to buy out any landlord who is at present willing to sell, and that thus the programme of the Land League will come into gradual development and accomplishment.

“Home rule, I take it, is not far off. Everywhere in English society we find growing up the conviction that a Parliament in Westminster cannot manage the affairs of the people of Ireland, and, indeed, that the present centralized system of doing business in Westminster, of managing there all the local affairs of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, is of necessity a failure. Go where you will now in London and in England, you find the mind of English people awake to the importance of this question of home rule, and willing to admit that there is much to be said for it. The June number of *The Nineteenth Century*, just published, contains an article in support of home rule by the Marquis of Blandford, eldest son of the Duke of Marlborough, lately Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—that Duke of Marlborough to whom Lord Beaconsfield addressed the manifesto which, as I showed in a former letter,

had so much to do with the overthrow of the Tory government. You will, perhaps, have heard of the article and seen it before you receive this letter, and I shall only say that it is remarkable in itself as well as in the source from which it comes, and that it is as earnest a plea for some form of home rule as if it were written by an Irish member of Parliament.

“Two members of the present government at least—Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke—are in favor of home rule. Sir Charles Dilke is more strongly an advocate of home rule than Chamberlain, who is for trying to the last the policy of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas, and thus endeavoring to reconcile Ireland to its close connection with the central Parliament. Should this plan fail to succeed, he would then be in favor of recognizing the claim of Ireland to self-government. Sir Charles Dilke, however, goes a step further, and frankly acknowledges that he is on principle an advocate of home rule for Ireland. The House of Commons is beginning to find out every day that it cannot get through the mass of work which the present system forces on it. We hear it continually asked, why Irish members cannot be content with a system of Parliamentary government which is found satisfactory by Scotch members. The answer is very easy. Scotland has, in fact, her system of home rule already. She governs herself, although she does it in Westminster Palace, and not in the old Parliament House in Edinburgh. The Lord-Advocate of Scotland has a part in the administration of Scotland something like that of the Irish Chief Secretary in the government of Ireland. But when the Lord-Advocate, of Scotland is about to bring in any measure concerning that country, he convenes the Scottish members into a council of their own. He submits the measure to them, consults them on every principle and



every clause of it. All their opinions are taken and given, and thus, by this little parliament within a Parliament, the measure is shaped into full accord with Scottish ideas. When it comes before the House of Commons it is explained and discussed mainly or altogether by Scottish members. No English or Irish member thinks of interfering. That is the manner in which Scotland is governed, and let me say, in justice to the Scotch members, that it would be impossible to get them to assent to such a system as that which Ireland is forced to endure. How is Ireland dealt with? Every measure that concerns her is arranged by the government at the instance of the Lord-Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary, without the slightest reference to the opinions of the men who represent the great bulk of the Irish people.

“This system was carried to absolute perfection in Forster’s time. Forster acted with as sublime a disregard of the opinions of Irish members as a Turkish pasha might show for the feelings of the inhabitants of some far-distant province which he was governing at his ease from Constantinople. I do not merely point to the fact that Forster never consulted any of the members who act with Parnell. How any man in his senses could have supposed that he could govern Ireland without taking some account of the existence of these men and the constituencies they represent, it passes my wit to conjecture. But I am not dwelling on that fact alone. Forster never condescended to consult with regard to his measures of coercion even those Irish members who remained devoted to the government of Gladstone. He never consulted Shaw on the subject. He never asked for one word of advice or suggestion from O’Connor Power, one of the most eloquent of all the Irish members, and who, for a long time standing in the very front rank of their

opposition to English systems of administration, has gradually, out of regard for Gladstone and belief in him, passed away altogether from coöperation with Parnell and his colleagues. More than that, the Chief Secretary never condescended to consult Charles Russell, who is not a Home-Ruler, although he represents an Irish borough, and is a most loyal follower of Gladstone, is an Irishman by birth and bringing-up, who thoroughly understands Ireland, and who is moreover the foremost man at the English bar. Now, I say that when so stolid and contemptuous a disregard is shown for the national representation of a people, and when such conduct could be tolerated in Parliament, it is perfectly clear that Ireland ought not to be left dependent on Parliamentary government in Westminster.

“Take again the policy which led to the arrest of Parnell and Sexton, and the re-arrest of Dillon last autumn. Up to this day no Irish member knows, perhaps no Irish member ever will know, what was the reason which dictated that extraordinary step. Some persons conjecture that Forster must have fancied that he had got hold of information which, in some more or less direct way, connected these Irish members of Parliament with some Fenian or other conspiracy. Of course, I am perfectly satisfied myself that no such connection ever did exist, and that therefore there could be no evidence of its existence. But it is possible that Forster may have fancied he had evidence on which reasonable suspicion could be founded. If that were not so, then I am utterly at a loss even to guess at the reasons which influenced Gladstone and Forster in that extraordinary and unlucky *coup d'état*. . Dillon, it will be remembered, had been arrested early in the year, not long after Davitt's arrest. He was only kept in prison for a few



months, and was released toward the end of the session, on the ground that his health, always very feeble, was becoming too weak to allow of his continued incarceration. After the session, a very few days before I left England for the East, Dillon dined with me in London. He was then convinced, as I was, that the Coercion Act would not be used for the purpose of making any further arrests. He said to me that he was sure government only wanted to have a quiet autumn and winter, and a fair chance for the working of the Land Act in the law courts. Parnell, he remarked to me, was quite willing that the act should have every chance, and had arranged that a certain number of test cases were to be prepared by which the Irish tenant-farmer might easily get to know whether the act would really become a benefit to him or not. Dillon assumed that the government would be only too glad to have the Land Act tested in this way, and to have the country kept in tranquillity, and that therefore they would make no more arrests. So convinced was he of this that he told me he had strongly advised a very prominent member of the Land League then living in Paris to return to his home in Dublin. 'He will be perfectly safe over there,' Dillon said; 'we shan't hear of any more arrests under the Coercion Act.'

"I left England in the full confidence that Ireland would have a quiet winter, and that the government had made up their minds to let the policy of coercion drop. Suddenly the attention of the world was aroused by the arrest of Parnell, the re-arrest of Dillon, the incarceration of Sexton and O'Kelly. No Irish member, even among those who have always remained devoted, I might say servilely devoted, to the government, knows to this hour the cause of that extraordinary and unfortunate stroke of policy. Nothing that has happened since has materially altered the condition of things

that prevailed early last October, and yet a month ago the government were only too glad to open the prison doors again and to ask for the coöperation of Parnell in restoring tranquillity to Ireland.

“The evil of the centralized system is working its own cure. Ireland will have to be governed henceforth according to Irish ideas. That phrase is generally ascribed to Gladstone, but it was taken by him from the greatest of all the Whig party at a time when the Whig party was great, from that statesman ‘on whose burning tongue,’ as Moore sings, ‘truth, peace, and freedom hung.’ I mean, of course, Fox. Ireland will have to be governed by Irish ideas, and when it comes to this, the English people will very soon see that it is more convenient for England and for Ireland that the latter country should govern herself in a Parliament of her own.

“I do not wish to say anything harsh of Forster. I was during many years in political association with him as a supporter and a member of the English Radical party. Our opinions went side by side on many great public questions at the time. For example, of your civil war, and during the prolonged struggles for reform in 1866 and 1867. I had every hope that he would have made a successful administrator. I would have rejoiced in his success, were it for nothing else than because of the noble, generous, and appreciative spirit which his brother-in-law, Matthew Arnold, has always shown toward my country. But Forster’s peculiarities of temper and of intellect evidently rendered him entirely unfit for the task he had undertaken. Ireland soon grew disappointed with him, disappointed in proportion to the warmth of her previous expectations, and Forster appeared to grow angry with Ireland because of her disappointment, and because of the manner in which it found expression.



Something like an antipathy seemed to set in between the late Chief Secretary and the people he was sent to govern. He did not go about among them. He hardly ever quitted Dublin, only once or twice, I believe, going far into the country, and in Dublin he went about but little. He relied altogether on the information given him by the permanent staff in Dublin Castle, who were about as well able to interpret the real feelings of the people as an Austrian commander in a Venetian garrison of old to interpret the sentiments of the Venetians to some newly-arrived governor from Vienna.

“When Mr. Forster had once gone into coercion he seemed driven by a kind of desperation to go deeper and deeper. He could think of no cure for the evils caused by coercion except more coercion. But I certainly acquit him of any purpose that was not honest in his dealings with Ireland. I am sure he meant well in the beginning, and entered upon his task with a sincere desire to become a benefactor to the country. The better his purpose, the more evident it becomes that the task he had undertaken was hopeless. You cannot govern Ireland without taking account of the Irish representatives and the Irish people. That is the lesson of Forster’s administration, as it is the lesson of many administrations before, and may be of others yet to come. When the English people become thoroughly alive to this fact—and they are waking up to it already—they will soon see that there can be only one solution of the whole problem, and that is, that Ireland shall have just that measure of independent domestic government which is possessed by every State in the American Union.”

## CHAPTER XII.

## MICHAEL DAVITT'S VIEWS.

*Progress of the Land League Movement in America—The Buffalo and Washington Conventions—The Pledges Made to our Brothers at Home—The Phœnix Park Assassinations—Davitt in America—Death of Miss Fanny Parnell.*

THE imprisonment of Parnell, Dillon, and about six hundred other suspects in Ireland, and the suppression of the Land League did not kill the movement. The people were organized and had learned self-reliance. Miss Anna Parnell, who like her mother and sister in America had proved herself a real Gracchi, had stepped into the breach made vacant by the imprisonment of her brother. With a noble band of sisters she kept the holy fire alive, and has done wonders in comforting the afflicted, clothing the naked, and feeding the hungry. The Land League has been charged with fostering crime and outrages in Ireland. On the contrary, it has singularly tended to prevent crime, as is evident from the following statement:

Let us first compare Ireland with Scotland in one of the years (1879) when the former country was alleged to be governed by the Land League. In that year Scotland, with a population of 3,627,000, reported 2,090 convictions for criminal offenses, while in Ireland, which had 5,362,000 inhabitants, only 2,207 persons were convicted. But perhaps it will be more satisfactory to



contrast the state of things in Ireland in 1879-80 with the situation in the same country during the previous famine years of 1847-48. In 1847 the total number of criminal convictions in Ireland was 15,233; in 1879 the whole number, we will not say of convictions, but of crimes reported by the police, was but 977. In 1848 the aggregate number of convictions was 18,206; in 1880 the total of crimes reported was but slightly in excess of that registered in the preceding year. In 1847 the homicides were 171, and in the following year 203; in 1879 and 1880 they were respectively 5 and 4. Take an even more astonishing comparison. In 1879 there were in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, not less than 49 homicides, whereas in the whole kingdom of Ireland only 5 persons committed murder. Thus it was that the Land League governed Ireland. Its command was: Break no law, and in the instructions issued to every branch society, and to every individual member, Michael Davitt repeated, but with infinitely more effect, the words of O'Connell: "Whoever commits a crime is the enemy of his country."

In view of such a record, every point of which can be established by indisputable evidence, it may well appear astonishing that the Land League should have provoked the hostility of the British government, instead of challenging its frank approval and its vigorous support. It was suppressed because there was not room for both the Land League and landlordism in Ireland. Its operations were constitutional, and there was but one way to paralyze them, viz., by a suspension of the Constitution itself. This was done by the Coercion Act, which was aimed directly and avowedly at the Land League, and in whose shadow secret societies have flourished, whereas the Land League has temporarily been crushed. But a marvelous change has come over the temper of Parliament and public

opinion within a year. The organizers and directors of the Land League have been released; their demands have been incorporated in the programme of the government; while alike from Liberal and Conservative headquarters the fiat has gone forth that there is no longer any room for landlordism in Ireland.

Michael Davitt, speaking of the Irish landlord, says:

“He makes no improvements, builds no houses or fences, he does no draining, he does nothing except secure rent, or rather, that is all he did before the agitation began, for he can easily carry the rent he gets now. But, more than that, there being few leases in Ireland, the tenant has no hold upon the land and his rent may be raised at any time. Should the landlord need more money or be in difficulties, the rent is screwed up a peg. The rage for land in Ireland and the competition between the tenants was such that a farm could always be rented. More than that, the agents of the absentee landlords had absolute power over the tenants, and under the system which prevailed of giving them a percentage upon what they collected there was a premium to them upon extortion.

“The people were not allowed to save money. The object of the agent was to get all that remained after a bare living had been retained. And in many cases they went far beyond this. It is an absolute fact that the holdings in many parts of Ireland only gave the tenants potatoes for the year, and the rent had to be earned in England during the harvest or be sent by friends from America. If a tenant was evicted he never received anything at all for any improvements. He was simply put out. You must remember that all this was the state of things when the Land League began its work, because it has been altered of late. We have put an end to rack-renting, and we have stopped the taking of farms from which men had been evicted.”



In writing on the subject of Irish famines and emigration, he is equally pronounced:

“During this century there have been five famines: In 1817, 1823, 1833, 1848, and a partial one in 1879 and 1880. It has been estimated by English statisticians that 2,000,000 of people starved to death during these years. Think of what that means. Two millions of people have died because they could not get bread to put into their mouths. And yet, in spite of the fearful, horrible, and ghastly misery which stalked through the land like a spectre of woe, the landlords of Ireland evicted the tenants because they could not pay the rent. Talk of Shylock's pound of flesh! What was that fancy to such a reality? They turned the people out to starve upon the wayside, trying to eat the grass, in 1848. You cannot believe this, but it is as true as the sunlight. From 1844 to the present time the population of Ireland has decreased over three millions and a half by emigration and famine. Now, if the same causes had been at work in Ireland as have been in operation in England and Wales during the same time, the population of Ireland, instead of being, as it is, about 5,000,000, would have been 13,000,000.

“I am often met by the objection in America that if Ireland cannot support her present population she certainly could not support a larger one. This view of the situation, although based upon an apparently logical idea, is one which is only the result of ignorance of the real situation. There are 21,000,000 acres of land in Ireland. Of these, 12,000,000 are conceded to be as good land as there is anywhere in the world, 4,000,000 are suitable for pasturage, and the remaining 5,000,000 are bog, water, and waste. Of the 12,000,000: 5,100,000 are under cultivation, the remainder being given up to the great grazing farms which were formed chiefly during the famine years.

“The emigration of the people is a mistake, because Ireland has a right to her full population as long as she can support them. But the landlords have consistently encouraged emigration, for the simple reason that their object has been to get rid of the Irish race if possible, and either devote the land to grazing or get English and Scotch tenants. To return to the famines, there is but one bad season between 300,000 tenant-farmers and famine. The people have been pushed from the good land and forced to reclaim the bad in order that the landlords should make pasture-land. I have seen tenant-farmers in several parts of Ireland renting holdings the soil of which was so poor that they could only raise potatoes enough to last half the year. The rest of the time they lived upon the earnings during the harvest in England, the contributions from their friends in America, or by begging. Yet they were paying a pound per acre a year for the miserable land, the whole crop of which would only support them for half a year. Where did they get the money? In the same way they got what they lived upon for the remaining months, after the potatoes were exhausted. Now, I want you for one moment to think of this calmly and quietly. Think of what it means. Think of the unspeakable lust for gold that would permit of men practicing such extortion. Think of this, and tell me if it was not time for landlordism in Ireland to be abolished?”

But persons who do not understand the real condition of Ireland may ask why the people live so, or in such a place. The answer is:

“Simply because there was nowhere else to live. Below those mountains of Connemara, where these people live, extends one of the most fertile tracts of land on earth. For miles upon miles the rich soil is ready to yield up treasures of food. But this soil is



for cattle, the landlords say; the people shall not cultivate it. Under a better system the Irish peasant, once assured of his holding by law and guaranteed his improvements, would make this soil blossom like the rose, would support his wife and children comfortably, and would earn a surplus. But what can he do with such land as he can get? I have already explained to you that there is but the choice of the land, the work-house, and emigration placed before the peasant. With his passionate attachment to his native soil he clings to Ireland, preferring to live there miserably—how miserably we have not heart to tell—to a life of comfort elsewhere.”

As we have said, the homesteads of the Irish peasantry are miserable in the extreme:

“It will scarcely be denied by Americans that few influences operate so powerfully in shaping the moral and intellectual character of a people as those which spring from comfortable, clean, and orderly homes; or the truth of the converse be questioned as to the debasing tendencies of cheerless, squalid, and untidy dwellings. The Census Commissioners for Ireland in 1841 divided the dwellings of the people into four classes: The fourth class comprised all mud-cabins having only one room, the third class consisted of a better description built of mud, but varying from two to four rooms and windows; the first class included all houses of a better description.

“And all this human misery—this herding in mud-houses; this holocaust of human beings; this diminution of our population; this 1,500,000 Irish people doomed to live at the present hour in these homes of misery, poverty, squalor and cold,—because England resolves it shall be so in the interest of some 10,000 or 15,000 Irish landlords!”

The year 1882 opened gloomy enough for the cause

of Ireland. Both her leaders in jail, her prisons full, coercion and repression threatened on all sides. Despite all this, the people at home, cheered on by their kindred in America, nobly struggled on against adverse circumstances and the terrible power of England.

In February, 1882, T. P. O'Connor, M. P. for Galway, came to America and was received with the greatest enthusiasm everywhere. He spoke from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and golden stores flowed into the Land League. The Hon. T. M. Healy, M. P., and Father Eugene Sheehy, who had also come to America, were equally successful in their mission.

A convention met in Chicago, which pledged itself to Mr. O'Connor to raise for him two hundred and fifty thousand dollars before his return, a promise which was nearly if not altogether fulfilled.

On April 12th, the second Convention of the Land League of America met in Washington, D. C., at which much good work was done. From the resolutions passed at this meeting we make the following extracts:

“WHEREAS, The suffering Irish tenant-farmers look to their kindred in America for sympathy with them in their efforts to better their condition, and to explain the motives of their agitation and protect their good name before the world from the falsehood and aspersion of the English press, therefore, be it

‘ *Resolved*, That this convention of the Irish National Land League of the United States send to the struggling tenant-farmers of Ireland an expression of profound sympathy from the millions of their race in America, who are proud of their faithful and enduring adherence to the principles laid down by their brave leaders, now in prison, and an earnest assurance that we will stand by them with continued moral and financial support until they have succeeded in abolishing their antiquated and destructive land system.



*“Resolved,* That we heartily endorse the desire of the Irish people for a national existence; and as Ireland, first by force, and again by corruption, was robbed of her national birthright, we pledge ourselves to do all that is consistent with American citizenship to place her once more among the nations.

*“Resolved,* That we advise the farmers of Ireland to continue steadily and patiently in their passive resistance, which has already proved so effective a weapon. We exhort them to stand unflinchingly by the policy left them by their leaders now in prison, and to keep fresh in memory these words of Charles Stewart Parnell, addressed to them before his imprisonment: “Let no man leave his post. Continue your organization just as before, and have others ready to take the place of those who may be arrested. By this policy of passive endurance the Irish people command the respect of the world and prove themselves worthy of freedom.”

The following officers were elected at this convention to preside over the organization for the ensuing year: President, James Mooney, of Buffalo; Hon. P. A. Collins, First Vice-President; Rev. Father Cronin, Second Vice-President; John J. Hynes, Secretary; and the Rev. Lawrence Walsh, Treasurer.

During the spring of '82 Secretary Forster flooded Ireland with troops, and resorted to all kinds of intimidation, even to the shooting down of women and children. The people, on the other hand, met all this with a firm determination not to be cowed, and contented themselves by simply offering a passive resistance to the authorities. Evictions and crime increased and the government soon found that coercion and oppression only produced reprisals and outrages, and that the country was going from bad to worse.

The Ladies' Land League, presided over by Miss Anna Parnell, nobly stepped in to the relief of the

evicted, thus saving them from the horrors of starvation and the poor-house.

Gladstone was driven to desperation. His coercion policy had not only proved a failure, but had exposed him to the contempt and ridicule of the world. He and Forster, who was his Mephistopheles, quarreled, and on May 2nd, in the House of Lords, Earl Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, announced the resignation of W. E. Forster, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the intention of the government to release the three imprisoned members of Parliament, but added that the reconsideration of other cases did not extend to the case of Michael Davitt. The government had no new policy to offer, but coercion would not be renewed, and the question of the arrears of rent and the Bright clauses of the Land Act would be dealt with.

Wm. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons made an announcement similar to that of Earl Granville in the House of Lords. He said that a large number of other suspects would be released, and that the government, instead of renewing the Coercion Act, would introduce a measure remedying the administration of justice in Ireland, but made the special reservation that if peace and security should be jeopardized by the action of secret societies the government would consider it its duty to propose counteracting measures.

He also said instructions had already been sent to Ireland for the release of the three imprisoned members of Parliament, and that the lists of the suspects were being carefully considered with a view to the release of all except those who were arrested on suspicion of having been personally concerned in outrages. These releases would be on the government's sole responsibility. The release of Michael Davitt was totally distinct from the release of the suspects, and was a question it might be right for the government to consider. Gladstone said



that Forster had resigned because he was not willing to share this responsibility.

This was followed by the immediate release of Parnell, Dillon, and Davitt. The release of the prisoners and the declaration of Gladstone that coercion would not be renewed, brought joy and hope to the country. It was even said that Gladstone had consented to accept the Parnell-Healy amendments to the Land Bill, and would take them up as a government measure.

There was great rejoicing, which, however, was darkened in a few days by the assassination in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, who was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland in place of Wm. E. Forster, and Under-Secretary Thomas Henry Burke. This atrocious crime caused terror and consternation throughout the British empire. Irishmen at home and abroad denounced the crime in bitter language, and the leaders at home issued the following address:

*“ To the People of Ireland:*

“ On the eve of what seemed a bright future for our country, that evil destiny which has apparently pursued us for centuries has struck at our hopes another blow, which cannot be exaggerated in its disastrous consequences. In this hour of sorrowful gloom we venture to give expression to our profoundest sympathy with the people of Ireland in the calamity that has befallen our cause through this horrible deed, and with those who determined, at the last hour, that a policy of conciliation should supplant that of terrorism and national distrust. We earnestly hope that the attitude and action of the Irish people will show to the world that an assassination such as has startled us almost to the abandonment of hope of our country's future is deeply and religiously abhorrent to their

every feeling and instinct. We appeal to you to show by every manner of expression that, amid the universal feeling of horror which the assassination has excited, no people feel so deep a detestation of its atrocity, or so deep a sympathy with those whose hearts must be seared by it, as the nation upon whose prosperity and reviving hopes it may entail consequences more ruinous than those that have fallen to the lot of unhappy Ireland during the present generation. We feel that no act that has ever been perpetrated in our country during the exciting struggles of the past fifty years has so stained the name of hospitable Ireland as this cowardly and unprovoked assassination of a friendly stranger, and that until the murderers of Cavendish and Burke are brought to justice that stain will sully our country's name.

“CHARLES S. PARNELL,

“JOHN DILLON,

“MICHAEL DAVITT.”

Mr. Parnell said: “I am horrified more than I can express. This is one of the most atrocious crimes ever committed. Its effect must certainly be most damaging to the interests of the Irish people. I have always found Lord Frederick Cavendish a most amiable gentleman, painstaking and strictly conscientious in the fulfilment of his official duties. I did not share the disappointment expressed in Liberal Irish circles regarding his appointment, as I anticipated that the principal reforms during the present session, such as the amendment of the Land Act, would be under Mr. Gladstone's personal supervision, and I believed that administrative reforms would be somewhat postponed. I cannot conceive that any section of the people of Ireland could have plotted deliberately against the life of Lord Frederick, and I am surprised that the Dublin police, who had been able to protect Mr. Forster, should



apparently not have taken any steps to watch over his successor during the few hours of his official life in Ireland. There seems to be an unhappy destiny presiding over Ireland, which always comes at a moment when there seems some chance for the country, to destroy the hopes of her best friends. I hope the people of Ireland will take immediate and practical steps to express their sympathy with Mr. Gladstone in his most painful position."

Mr. Davitt said: "No language I can command can express the horror with which I regard the murders or my despair at their consequences. When I heard of them on Saturday night I could not credit the news. I grieve to think that when the government had just run a risk in introducing a new policy—when everything seemed bright and hopeful, when all expected the outrages to cease—this terrible event should dash our hopes. I wish to God I had never left Portland. The crime was without motive. It is not only the most fatal blow that has ever been struck at the Land League, but one of the most disastrous blows which has been sustained by the national cause during the last century. Its occurrence at this particular juncture seems like a terrible destiny. My only hope is that the assassins may be discovered and punished as they deserve. It is wonderful how the outrage could occur within a few hundred yards of the constabulary depot."

Mr. Dillon, in an interview, said he deeply deplored the sorrowful tidings. He fully concurred in the opinions on the outrage expressed by Messrs. Parnell and Davitt. Mr. Sexton said: "I am bewildered and horrified. I regarded Lord Frederick Cavendish as an amiable and painstaking gentleman. He was certainly considered a capable administrator. The first feeling on the appointment of Lord Frederick was undoubtedly one of disappointment, but it began to be gradually

understood that Mr. Gladstone sent him to Ireland to have the advantage of the service of one with whom he had long worked, thereby enabling him to apply his own will more freely to the Irish difficulties. There is no reason to believe that there was the slightest personal feeling against Lord Frederick in any political quarter of Ireland. I cannot help surmising that he must have been mistaken by the murderers for some one else. Mr. Burke had been connected with the Castle for many years. Public feeling from time to time identified him with many harsh measures, but well-informed persons have always held that he confined himself rigorously to his duties. He was rather averse than otherwise to concerning himself with political matters. He was very little known to the Dublin populace. He was present unrecognized at a great political meeting in Phoenix Park last summer. He belonged to a land-owning family. Many people have for a long time believed him to be the real governor of Ireland. The crime is the more inexplicable when one considers the good temper of the crowds at the rejoicing over the release of the suspects."

As the murder was in the evening and in a public place, and as the assassins have not been arrested, the impression still prevails that they were murdered by emergency and landlord agents, whose interest it was to keep the country agitated and to compel Gladstone to resort again to coercion and oppression. Be this as it may, they have so far succeeded, for Gladstone, unable to withstand the brutish clamor of the Irish and English landlords for more blood, more coercion, gave way and introduced his Repression Bill, which is one of the most tyrannical draconic measures of ancient or modern times.

The Irish members opposed it, but their arguments were silenced by gag law, and they were expelled the







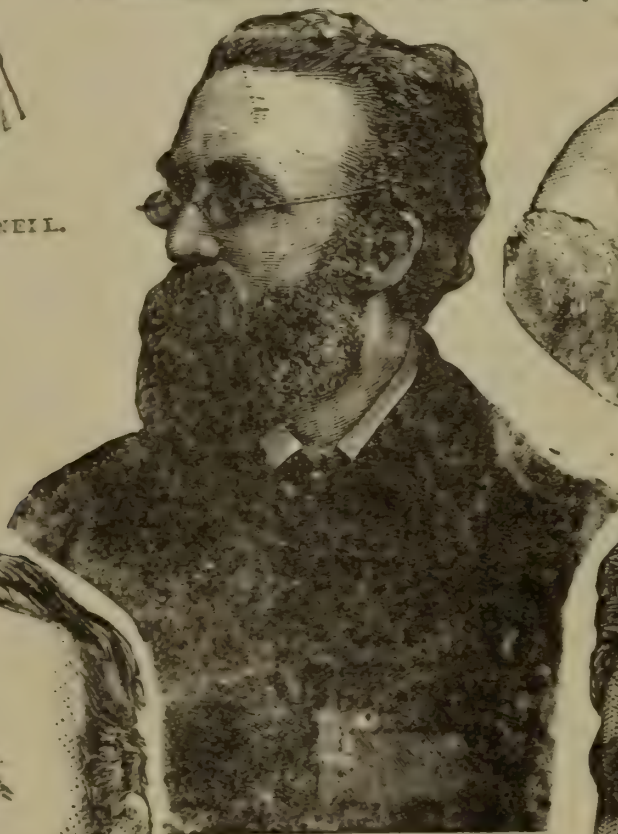
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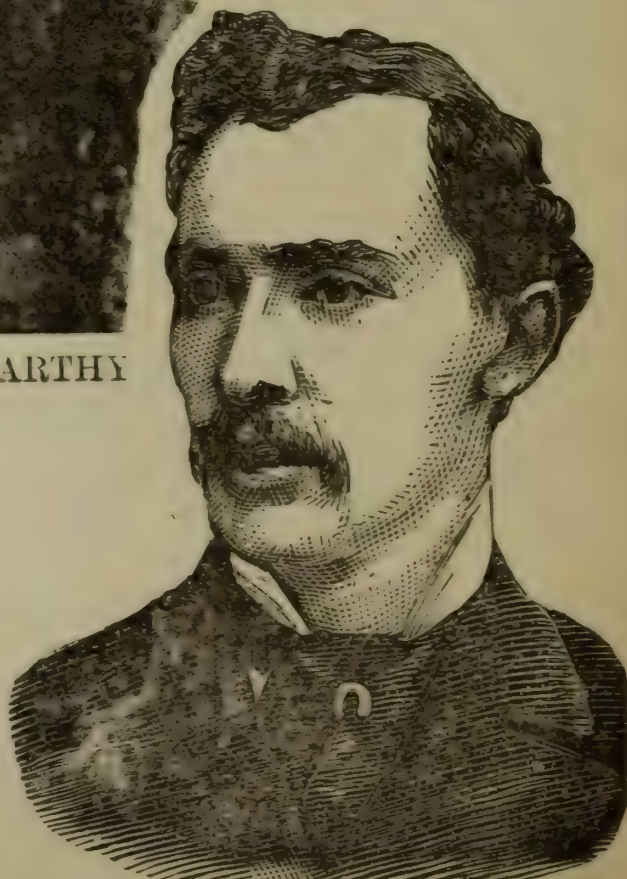
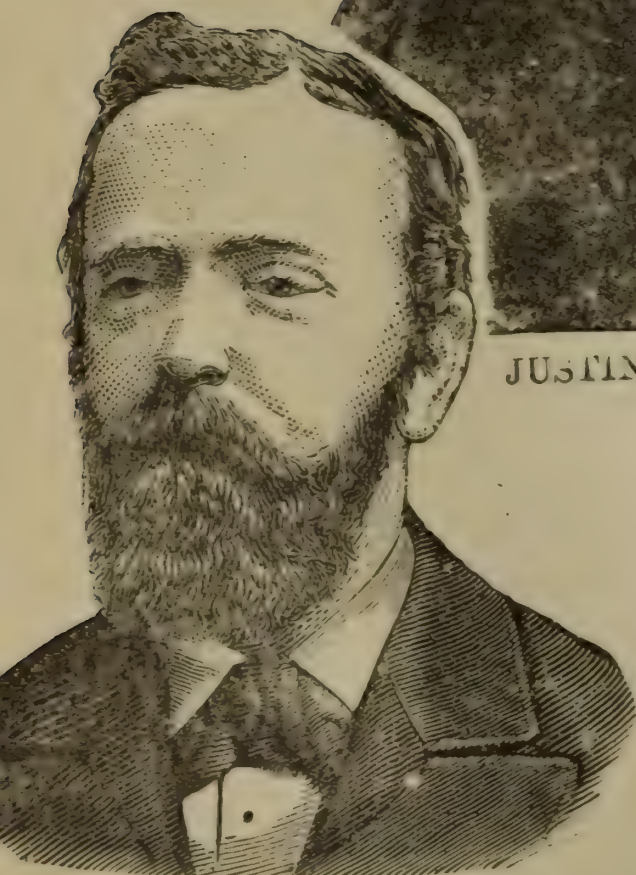
DELIA T. STEWART PARNELL.



MISS FANNY PARNELL.



JUSTIN Mc CARTHY



THOMAS BRENNAN



House. Thus passed into law a statute which is a disgrace to humanity and civilization, and which, like hundreds of similar acts, will only tend to exasperate and render more defiant the Irish people. Its effect will be to intensify the bitterness against England. The Irish at home and in America realize the fact that nothing can be wrung from the justice of England, everything must be got through her fears, and therefore look hopefully to the war cloud in the East, hoping that it might be the promised star to light them to their long-wished-for opportunity.

The visit of Michael Davitt to America in the early part of July was not as fruitful of good results as might have been anticipated. The new scheme of nationalizing the land of Ireland met with a cold reception, for the people felt that a change of front in face of the enemy was dangerous, and that it was wiser to follow the programme and policy laid down by the Dublin Convention and adopted by Parnell, than any new departure, no matter how commendable it may be.

Perhaps the most decided opponent of this new scheme was the gifted and ever-lamented Miss Fanny Parnell, whose sad and sudden death took place at Bordentown, N. J., July 20th, aged 28 years. This pure and gifted lady, who gave her young life for Ireland, and whose loss the Irish race deplore, not only at home or in America, but the whole world over. She was so gentle, gifted, so pure, so unselfishly patriotic that she was loved, admired, and respected by all who had the pleasure of knowing her. She was the foundress of the Ladies' Land League, and by her power and energy it soon extended over Ireland as well as America. When the Irish leaders were flung into prison she appealed to the ladies of Ireland to fill up the breach, like the brave women of Limerick in 1691. They responded to the call under the leadership of her noble sister,

Miss Anna Parnell, and when the government congratulated themselves that the Land League agitation was crushed out with its imprisoned leaders, a new organization, under the guidance of Fanny and Anna Parnell, confronted them. With this they were unable to cope, for they could not face the scorn of the world by imprisoning women who had violated no constitutional law. It did well enough to fling men into prison as "reasonable suspects," but with women it was a different thing.

Miss Fanny Parnell was a poet as well as an organizer and prose writer. She was no puny imitator or twaddling rhymester. She wrote from the heart, pouring out its love for Ireland in measured strains and scathing words. There is a wonderful wealth of love and patriotic ardor and heroic sentiment in her poetry. We select a few, just as you would take a bouquet at random from a rich *parterre* of flowers.

The following noble chant, addressed to her countrymen at home, is full of power and ardor:

#### HOLD THE HARVEST.

Now, are you men, or are you kine, ye tillers of the soil?  
 Would you be free, or evermore, the rich man's cattle, toil?  
 The shadow on the dial hangs, that points the fated hour,—  
 Now hold your own! or, branded slaves, forever cringe and cower.

The serpent's curse upon you lies,—ye writhe within the dust;  
 Ye fill your mouths with beggars' swill, ye grovel for a crust!  
 Your lords have set their blood-stained heels upon your shameful heads,  
 Yet they are kind,—they leave you still their ditches for your beds!

Oh, by the God who made us all,—the seignior and the serf,—  
 Rise up! and swear this day to hold your own green Irish turf;  
 Rise up! and plant your feet as men, where now you crawl as slaves,  
 And make your harvest fields your camps,—or make of them your graves.

The birds of prey are hovering near, the vultures wheel and swoop,—  
 They come, the coroneted ghouls, with drum-beat and with troop!



They come, to fatten on your flesh, your children's and your wives',—  
Ye die but once,—hold fast your lands, and if ye *can*, your lives!

Let go the trembling emigrant,—not such as he ye need;  
Let go the lucre-loving wretch that flies his land for greed;  
Let not one coward stay to clog your manhood's waking power;  
Let not one sordid churl pollute the Nation's natal hour!

Yes! let them go!—the caitiff rout, that shirk the struggle now,—  
The light that crowns your victory shall scorch each recreant brow,  
And in the annals of your race, black parallels in shame,  
Shall stand by traitor's and by spy's the base *deserter's* name.

Three hundred years your crops have sprung, by murdered corpses  
fed,—

Your famished sires, your butchered sires, for ghastly compost spread;  
Their bones have fertilized your fields, their blood has fallen like rain;  
They died that ye might eat and live,—God! have they died in vain?

The yellow corn starts blithely up,—each fibre from a grave;  
Alone, forgot, in grinding pangs, their lives your fathers gave,  
They died that you, their sons, might know, there is no helper nigh  
Except for him, who, save in fight, has sworn *he will not die*.

The hour has struck, Fate holds the dice, we stand with bated breath;  
Now who shall have our harvests fair?—'tis Life that plays with death;  
Now who shall have our Motherland?—'tis Right that plays with Might;  
The peasant's arm were weak indeed, in such unequal fight!

But God is on the peasant's side,—the God that loves the poor;  
His angels stand with flaming swords on every mount and moor;  
They guard the poor man's flocks and herds, they guard his ripening  
grain,

The robber sinks beneath their curse, beside his ill-got gain.

O pallid serfs, whose groans and prayers have wearied Heaven full long,  
Look up! there is a Law above, beyond all legal wrong;  
Rise up! the answer to your prayer shall come, tornado-borne,  
And ye shall hold your homesteads dear, and ye shall reap the corn.

But your own hands upraised to guard shall draw the answer down,  
And bold and stern the deeds must be, that oath and prayer shall  
crown;

God only fights for them who fight,—then hush the useless moan,  
And set your faces as a flint, and swear to Hold Your Own!

The following beautiful and deserved tribute from  
her pen to the Irish priests, who have stood so un-

flinchingly forward in behalf of their people, during the present protracted struggle, as they ever did in the past, will be appreciated by our readers:

#### THE IRISH PRIESTS.

When Freedom waved her wand at last  
O'er Erin's shore rejoicing,  
With Nature's thousand choral throats  
Their "jubilates" voicing,—

She cried—and every breeze was hushed,  
And every song suspended—  
"Come forth! O thou whose patriot deeds  
All others have transcended;

"Come forth, O brightest form amidst  
A glorious constellation,  
And on thy brow this wreath shall crown  
The savior of a nation!"

Then came the Warrior, dark and stern,  
His heart's blood slowly oozing :—  
"I died," he said "for Erin's sake,  
The grave to bondage choosing."

But still she waved her wand and cried,  
"Thy pain was quick and fleeting;  
Nor feels the heart the body's pangs,  
With war's fierce fever beating."

Then came the Statesman, calm, austere,  
With scroll and tablet freighted;  
"I toiled," he said, "long years to build  
A race regenerated.

"'Mid yelling foes I worked and watched,  
Still sure of high fruition."  
But Freedom cried, "My flowers would wilt  
Upon thy head, Ambition!"

The Felon came,—with wasted cheek,  
With limbs in fetters rotting,  
With hideous marks on mangled back,  
And tortured body clotting.

"Have I," he sighed, "on thee no claim,  
For whom my heart was broken?"



But Freedom whispered,—“Peace, dear child!  
One greater yet hath spoken.”

Then Woman came, with Spartan eyes,—  
“When Erin bled forsaken,  
My prayers went up in secret yet,  
That soon her sons might waken.

“And when the hour had struck, I gave  
My darlings best and sweetest.”  
Then Freedom smiled,—but still she cried,  
“Not thine the work completest.

“Behold the One of all who e’er  
This land from ruin shielded,  
Who raised my banner still aloft,  
When others fled or yielded,—

“Who made the dark Gethsemane  
Of Erin’s fate his palace,  
And first before all others pressed,  
To drain her bitter chalice;

“Who with the Warrior too has bled,  
And with the Statesman toiled,  
And with the Woman watched and prayed  
For home and land despoiled,—

“Let *him* stand forth, who ever bore  
His country’s sorest burden!”  
Then came the Priest, and on his brow  
Bright Freedom placed the guerdon.

The following poem, entitled “The Utterance of an Irish Heart,” is invested with a sad interest, as being the last that came from her gifted pen. It was written in condemnation of the “new departure,” or “nationalization of the land” scheme, and appeared in the columns of *The New York Sun* shortly before her death:

What! give our land to you, England!  
What! give our land to you?  
Our ravaged land, whose every rood  
Our patriots’ bones bestrew;  
Our blood-steeped land, our plundered land,  
With seed of martyrs sown,  
Our tortured land, our writhing land,

Which yet we call our own;  
Our fearless land, our noble land,  
That knows not how to yield,  
Our land that Freedom set apart,  
Her chosen battle-field.  
What! give her up to you, England,  
Slave-driver to the world!  
Whose flag for murder and for greed  
Is evermore unfurled;  
Our glorious land, our sacred land,  
The land of many prayers,  
The land of saints, that still by right  
Its title proudly wears!  
Aye, tear the old green banner down,  
And toss it to the flames!  
Wipe out the living, blood-writ page  
That bears our heroes' names;  
Let Emmet's lonely tombstone wait  
Its epitaph in vain,—  
And great O'Connell's broken heart  
Now break for us again!  
Then you shall have our land, England,  
And you shall have our necks,  
And with our unfraternal hate  
No more your love we'll vex;  
But you shall have our crops and gold,  
Our flesh and blood and souls,  
While every joy-bell on our shores  
The nation's death-knell tolls.  
Now, well for us we know at last  
The secret of our pain;  
We thought 'twas you, kind England, held  
The scourge, the sword, the chain;  
Now well indeed the clearer light  
Has dawned for us at last;  
'Tis not the light we've waited long,  
The sunburst of the past,—  
New suns we dreamed not of dispel  
The errors of our sires,  
And clasping brothers' hands shall quench  
Decrepit Freedom fires.  
So you shall have our land, England,  
And 'mid forgotten graves  
We'll squat and think how sweet a thing  
Is brotherhood for slaves!



## CHAPTER XIII.

1782 AND 1882.

*The Dublin Exhibition—The O'Connell Monument—Sketch of Dublin and Vicinity—1882 and its Memories—Dublin and its Public Buildings.*

## IRELAND OF 1782.

WITH what pride does an Irishman cast his thoughts back one hundred years. Then Ireland stood proudly before the world as a nation of freemen and soldiers, sworn to assert their liberty, even at the mouth of the cannon and the point of the bayonet.

One hundred years ago last December three gentlemen sat in the library of a great mansion on the north side of Dublin City in earnest council. They were the Earl of Charlemont, general of Irish Volunteers and colonel of the First Ulster Regiment; Henry Grattan, colonel of Dublin Volunteers, and Henry Flood, also Volunteer officer, and the last member who attended the sitting of an Irish House of Commons in Volunteers' uniform. The house they sat in was Charlemont House; the subject they discussed, Irish independence. The time was critical, the juncture momentous. Hard was the earth without and cold the air around, but the people—plebeian and patrician—were aflame, and the heart of Ireland throbbed with new life and hope. The frozen earth rang with the martial tread of one hundred thousand drilled and armed men, and echoed the rumble of two hundred cannon. Abroad the lion had

quailed under the eagle, the Union Jack had gone down before the Stars and Stripes, the surrendered sword of England was in the hand of victorious Washington. At home, even on her own seas, the merchant ships of "Merrie England" needed the convoy of stately men-of-war to save them from the combined fleets of America and France that swept and swooped over the waters. Yet England and her German king would fain learn nothing, would close both eyes to England's difficulty, to Ireland's opportunity. The Third William's promise to England's manufacturers had been kept to the letter. Irish manufactures had been discouraged to the utmost. The woolen trade was killed. The British Parliament had usurped the functions of the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, overridden them, heard appeals from them, ignored them, and were evidently determined to blot them out. It was easier said than done, conceived than accomplished. There were then only five thousand regular troops in the whole land. There were one hundred thousand volunteers.

Such was the situation when on the evening we have mentioned, in the Christmas time of 1781, Charlemont, the accomplished courtier and patriot, the brilliant but unstable Flood, and Henry Grattan, held their memorable conclave. Flood was rich, with £5,000 a year, but as Grattan himself put it, "Charlemont was poor as any peer," and "I as any commoner." The summons to the famous convention of Dungannon—originated by Mr. Dawson—had been sped from Charlemont's own regiment (the Ulster First) for the 15th of February, 1782. It was the framing of the resolutions to be adopted thereat that engaged the triumvirate. Grattan drew up the first, which ran thus: "That a claim of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland to make laws to bind this country is



unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance." Flood cast the second. A gentleman named Dobbs stood booted and spurred by the side of a fleet horse at the door. He had the resolutions in his saddle-bags, and mounting, was ready to be away to the north on his mission, when Grattan, flushed and bareheaded, hurried to the door, and hailing the courier, handed him another and the third resolution. It read: "That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves; that we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland." Needless to tell the tale of the convention: how on the 15th February, 1782, two hundred and forty-two delegates, representing one hundred and forty-three armed corps, assembled in the historic church of Dungannon; how they passed through the steep and ancient streets, lined with volunteers, arrayed

" In helm and blade,  
And plumes in the gay wind dancing;"

how the solemn session lasted from noon till night; how the resolutions were adopted with enthusiasm, but not without deliberation; and how the last, the one which united Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, as one man, proposed by Mr. Pollock, was seconded in the most successful speech of the sitting by a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Mr. Black, whose name should go down in history written with a pencil of light. At eight o'clock the session closed, and the delegates issued from the church into a wilderness of illuminations and an applauding multitude.

The 16th of April dawned at last. The Irish capital was filled with Volunteers. A bright sun shone upon

the gay and glittering masses of the national army—of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. They guarded the approaches to the Houses of Parliament standing out in low-browed loveliness, fresh and stately in the clear atmosphere, above the throng and the bustle, the clatter of scabbard, and the din of many voices. Inside, the galleries of the house, packed from early morn with fair women and brave men, imparted the liveliest color to the scene; and bright eyes shone and witty words were spoken; and silken scarfs of varied hue hung in gay dalliance on the balustrade or kissed many a snowy neck; while upon the floor below the principal actors in the great scene upon which the curtain was about to rise had gathered in thoughtful groups, and awaited with concern and anticipation the issue of a memorable day. The regular troops lined Dame Street for the passage of the Lord-Lieutenant. The hour—the moment—at last arrived, and Grattan rose. He was ill, but the light of victory illumined his pale face—the flush of triumph was on his cheek and on his brow.

“ Deep on his front engraven.  
Deliberation sat, and public care,  
And princely counsel in his face yet shone.”

The patriot moved an amendment to the address to the king, declaring “ that the king’s subjects in Ireland are a free people,” that “ the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof—that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland—a right which we claim as our birthright and which we cannot yield but with our lives.” Grattan sat down in a tempest of acclamation. Opposition was vain. The orator’s



voice within and the people's hoarse roar without settled the matter without discussion or division. Mr. Brownlow seconded the amendment to the address. It was carried *nemine contradicente*, and the day was won—and was Ireland's. The joy in town and country was spontaneous, universal, great. It seemed as if Ireland had begun a new existence. Lord Camden said of the situation: "It is all folly talking of simple repeal; the thing is done." It was done. But the shrewd Camden, afterwards addressing a meeting of Volunteers, advised them to "keep it up, for England will never forgive you." The thing was done. The lords had to follow the commons. "I carried the lords upon my back," wrote Grattan, "and a heavier load I never bore. I could never have got them to move but for the bayonets of the Volunteers." The King gave his royal assent to the Act of Repeal on the 21st of June, 1782. Then ensued a term of unprecedented prosperity in Ireland. Population doubled, wealth quadrupled, manufactures flourished, Irish learning, wit, gallantry, and eloquence formed a dazzling constellation. Grattan and Curran, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Napper Tandy, Wolfe Tone, Father O'Leary, are only a few of the lights in a firmament of 2,000 stars. "Let us drink," cried Grattan, "the 16th of April, 1782."

## IRELAND OF 1882.

The New Year's sun of Ireland's 1882 rose on no Volunteers, no Parliament, no industries that build up a nation. His rays fall upon a prison, not upon a palace. The money-changer occupied the Parliament House; the patriot, the prison. Christmas' companion picture to the sitting of an emancipated Parliament was Christmas in a Kilmainham cell, revealing the leader of the Irish people—the elect of three constituencies

royal Meath, Land League Mayo, "rebel" Cork—sickening over prison "skilly." The contrast to April 16th, 1782, was the exercise-yard of a common cutthroat's jail crammed with the best blood, the bravest souls of Ireland, and the poor peasant suspected of an offense for which there is no trial. Wrote Henry Grattan: "There are two days in Irish history that I can never forget—the one on which we gained our freedom. How great the triumph! How moderate! How well it was borne—with what dignity and with all absence of vulgar triumph! I shall ever remember the joy on that occasion. The other was the day on which we lost our Parliament. It was a savage act, done by a set of assassins who were brought into the House to sell their country and themselves. They did not belong to Ireland. Some were soldiers, all were slaves. Everything was shame and hurry and base triumph,"

What has this "Union" brought to Ireland? Two armed insurrections. Three famines. Pestilence—sure sutler in their train. A sextuple decimation of her sons and daughters. A population fallen to half. Fifty-two Coercion Acts. Commercial catastrophe. Industrial stagnation. Perennial agitation. The hegira of nobility. The degradation of the gentry. Desolated homes. Deserted squares. The emasculation of the bar. Universal discontent, class hatred, and international ill-will. The flight of the people and the perpetuation in a foreign land of racial enmity and hostility, bearing bitter fruit year after year in raids and dynamite and rumbling unrest, of which no man can see the settlement and the end.

Unroll the Union scroll, and what is there? Like the unrolling of a mummy—nothing but old bones and rotten rags. It is on record that Scott, Lord Clonmel, and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, confessed, when near his end, that the rebellion of '98—Lord Edward's and



Emmet's rebellion—had been encouraged by the Government, in order to pass the Union. Camden was right. "Keep it up," cried he to the Volunteers, "for England will never forgive you." They failed to keep it up. Flood fought with Grattan. Grattan quarreled with the Volunteers. The devilish policy—*"divide et impera"*—proved too much for them.

To-day no Irishman may carry arms—the first right of a free man. To-day 40,000 soldiers and police collect the rents in and are in martial occupation of an island within half a day's journey of the throne. Yet the saying of Charles James Fox inducing the King to acknowledge the independence of the Irish Parliament is as true to-day as it was one hundred years ago: "Unwilling subjects are little better than enemies." Instead of being the brightest jewel in the crown of the Queen, Ireland and her people are a constant thorn in England's side, what Poland is to Russia, what Hungary was to Austria—a weakness, not a strength. A Liberal government has disgraced itself by being the jailer of four hundred and sixty-five prisoners—more than one for every day in the year. A prime minister who won fame by the general jail-delivery of Naples, contradicts his life by the general jail-packing of Ireland. A tribune whose bright words will live forever belies them in his ministerial acts, and contradicts in the cabinet his great axiom before the populace. "Force is no remedy." The nominal governors of the country rule from the loop-holed fortalices of the Castle. While prisoners receive a national testimonial, the members of the government are the butts for nicknames. Let us quote the words of a great English minister again. Fox wrote to Lord Charlemont one hundred years ago: "There may be a government in Ireland of which Grattan is not ashamed to take a part." What Irishman to-day could take office and preserve the national con-

fidence? Yet it is as true now as it was then that no country can ever prosper when what should be the ambition of men of honor is considered as a disgrace. The tiger-striped clothing and broad arrow on the patriot prisoner's back are held in more honor than the Windsor uniform or the regalia of the Knight of St. Patrick. An Irish archbishop and a bishop visited the convict Davitt at Portland with national acclaim. Their lordships would be as shy of Dublin Castle and its powerful denizens as his satanic majesty of holy-water. Charles Stewart Parnell's levee in the cage at Kilmainham, wherein like a wild beast in a menagerie the suspect could alone see the visitor, was eagerly watched, not alone by the few favored with admission, but by an anxious country. It was like Grattan's when he lived opposite the Castle one hundred years ago.

Tell us not "tis sentiment." Is "keeping a firm grip" on the land merely sentiment? Is "Hold the Harvest" only sentiment? Or, again, is there nothing more sterling than empty sentiment in the thousand pounds for the interned Dr. Kenny, in the hundreds a week to feed the prisoners, in the thousands passing from America to Mr. Egan in Paris? But to any man who thinks, ruler or ruled, friend or foe, foreigner or native, they all reveal the same spirit, the striving, the straining, the yearning for substantial as well as sentimental home government and self-dependence.

History repeats itself. With the struggle for independence in 1782 came also the revival of industry. The ballad of that day might be sung in this:

"Ye noble men, in place or out,  
Ye volunteers, so brave and stout,  
Ye dames that flaunt at ball or rout,  
Wear Irish manufacture.

"Nor richest squire nor proudest peer  
Need scorn our humble homespun gear,



No stuff on earth stands wear and tear  
Like Irish manufacture.

“And if we'll all together stick,  
We'll give our enemies a lick,  
And Manchester to the d—l kick,  
With Irish manufacture.”

Sentiment and substance were never better blended since 1782 in Ireland than in the present popular upheaval. The practical shrewdness of a utilitarian age and of a new and friendly world is judiciously blended with the impetuosity and fire which were often wasted in Plumes Pass and Blackwater, at Limerick, Aughrim, or Athlone.

#### 1882 AND ITS MEMORIES.

On the 15th of August a great national event took place in Ireland, the celebration of the national Centennial, the unveiling of the O'Connell Monument, and the opening of the Dublin Exhibition. A hundred years before, amid the clashing of cathedral bells and the booming of cannon, the birth of Irish Freedom was proclaimed. The armed manhood of Ireland had sworn that English law should no longer be obeyed in Ireland, and they had made good their oath. Greater and of more moment than the birth of any hero or statesman, was this resurrection of a people. For a long while it had seemed that there was not, and never again could be, an Irish people in Ireland—only an English colony; when, all at once, somewhat like a lightning flash in the dark midnight, a nation leaped from out the chaos of tyranny and wrong and slavery. True, the day of freedom was brief, and the sun soon set. Yet something more than the memory of that passing gleam remained of it all. Truths that had slumbered through long years in the hearts of men were freely outspoken, never again to be hidden under

vain phrasings. Our rulers have tried to bayonet these truths, enunciated in 1782; nay, they have wished to purchase them, and so make bond-slaves of them; even in our own days the struggle between purblind authority, unable to control things except by its sword or its gold, and these principles of which we are the inheritors, has not quite ceased. From generation to generation has the strife been waged, down to our own time; and that Irishmen may know something of those who stood up to defeat oppression a century ago, of their aims and their sacrifices, of what they did and what they failed to do, we purpose to set down in order a brief history of them and of their times; so, learning how they failed, we may be taught how not to fail, and thereby be strengthened.

There is no need to speak of the struggle of which the Boyne and Aughrim were incidents, and which was ended by the famous treaty, and the flight of the "Wild Geese." It was the last time that old royal, loyal Ireland fought for a king. "*Rígh Semus agus Éire*" was the cry of the men who held Athlone bridge; doubtless *Éire* had the highest place in their thoughts, but the unfortunate loyalty to an English king, which had ruined the Irish cause before, proved fatal then again. Nothing availed to save Ireland, neither bravery nor skill, and soon the foreign soldiers of William laid the people, bound and helpless, at the feet of an upstart aristocracy; whereupon the aristocracy proceeded to legislate for Ireland. Then commenced the making of the penal laws. Their property, their civil and religious rights were confirmed to the Catholics by the treaty of Limerick; but never has it been known that any compact was too solemn to be violated by England, when urged thereto by English greed. For avarice was entirely the motive of the penal laws. The Williamite settler cared little for the salvation in an-



other world of Papist souls; he cared much, though, for the possession in this of a Papist's estate. He knew that he had won his property by the chance of war, as spoil taken from the enemy; he feared that he should lose it in the same way. So, to save trouble in the future, it was judged well to root out the vanquished race. In earlier times English kings and generals, like James I., "burning with a flagrant zeal" for the good of Ireland, had tried to exterminate the Irish with the edge of the sword. All attempts of the kind had failed, and now the slower process of legal enactment was put in force to the same end. One object was kept steadily in view—to render life in Ireland intolerable to Catholics, or, failing their absolute expulsion, to degrade them to the level of brutes. That the "Protestant interest" might feel the safer, an act was passed for disarming the Papists, and then, in truth, it fared badly with the Catholic who had excited the displeasure of his Protestant neighbor. He might be visited at any hour of the night, and his bed searched for arms. "No Papist was safe from suspicion who had any money to pay in fines; and woe to the Papist who had a handsome daughter!" says Mitchel. In common justice to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it must be said that Philistine legislation of the same nature is not quite unknown in our enlightened age. The whole penal code may be summed up in a sentence. By it the Catholics were deprived of every civil, political, and human right, even of the *right to live*. It was gravely laid down as a principle of law by Lord Chancellor Bowes that no such beings as Catholics existed, or could exist, within the land. To give some color of justification to new exactions and fresh enactments, the settlers pretended that they suspected the "loyalty" of the Catholics, and dreaded their vengeance in case of an armed rising of the people. Perhaps there was

some sincerity in these declarations. They knew that the Catholics had no reason to be loyal, and that their vengeance would be little more than justice. And yet there was no ground for these apprehensions; the Catholics, with shame be it said, *were* loyal; at least those excellent Catholic historians, Plowden and Curry, plume themselves greatly upon the fact. Those who might have been their leaders were shedding their blood in the service of every foreign power hostile to England; those at home were disarmed, disheartened, and impoverished. Thus, when all England was shaken to the centre by the efforts of the Stuarts to recover their lost throne, no attempt was made in Ireland to profit by the occasion. The Catholic gentry might hum under their breath the tune of the "Blackbird," a toast might now and then be drunk to the health of the "king over the water," or to the "little gentleman in black"—meaning the mole whose mole-hill caused King William's horse to stumble, which stumble of the brute broke the "deliverer's" neck; but their disaffection ended there. They had sunk to that lowest, most fearful depth of abasement, wherein the slave hugs his fetters and contents himself with the poor boon of existence. And so they remained for a long hundred years, tranquilly submissive to the tyranny which ground their faces in the dust. They had no more influence on the proceedings of Parliament, or on the course of public events, than have at this moment the Sioux Indians on the foreign policy of the United States. When one speaks of an "American" he does not mean an aborigine, but a settler or the descendant of a settler; in the same way the expression "Irish nation" was taken to mean the colony of English Protestants, and "Irishman" a member of that colony.

The Protestants were soon made to feel that they had purchased the right of persecuting Catholics,



at the price of their trade and their liberties. However zealous they might be to do the work of England in Ireland, since they dwelt in Ireland, and were in a sense Irishmen, they should not expect to escape scot-free themselves. They were there for England's profit, to be dealt with in the manner most advantageous to English interests, and they should learn to recognize the fact. At that time the trade in woolen goods was the staple industry of Ireland. Its magnitude soon aroused the jealousy and greed of the English manufacturers; the English Parliament, Lords and Commons, therefore petitioned William's "most sacred majesty"—"That your majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland that the growth and increase of the woolen manufacture there hath long been, and will be ever, looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom, and, if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws totally to prohibit and oppress the same." The King, whose "glorious, pious, and immortal memory" is still toasted betimes in Ireland, was graciously pleased to do what he was asked; "he would do all that in him lay to discourage the woolen manufacture of Ireland;" All export of Irish woolens to foreign countries was forbidden, whilst prohibitive duties rendered England and Wales safe from the enterprise of the Irish manufacturer. Every other branch of industry that was of sufficient value to catch the eye of the greedy British monopolist was treated in the same way. Whilst the colonists were persecuting the Catholics, England was steadily working their impoverishment. Long before then the descendants of English settlers, once tainted with Irish ideas, had become dangerous enemies to English rule; thenceforth there should be no such danger. The necessary consequence of the "royal patronage"

thus extended to Irish manufactures, was that the country was soon plunged in misery. Twenty thousand operatives, "mill-hands," sought in other countries the right to toil in peace. The wretched inhabitants of the towns, condemned to idleness, had no money to buy bread; the farmers had no market for their corn. About this time another "institution" comes into prominent notice; it was not less hateful nor less tyrannical than the penal code, and its name was landlordism. The lapse of a century and a half has changed none of its worst features, as witness the words of Dean Swift: "Another great calamity is the exorbitant raising of the rent of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently *improved his estate* if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent; leases granted but for a small term of years; tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised on the expiration of their lease proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus it is that honest industry is restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; and it is well if he can cover his family with a coarse, homespun frieze." As the English woolen manufacturers wanted raw wool, the Irish were permitted to export it; accordingly, the farmer had to make way for improved breeds of sheep, as in later times for the short-horns, and the most efficient regiment in the English service—the Crowbar Brigade—was put on a war footing. It has never since been disbanded. The results are briefly told. Crime followed on the heels of oppression; the gibbet-building trade alone was active for a while, and the hangman's office was no sinecure.

As the "Irish nation" was everything but Irish, so



the colonial Parliament, or Irish Parliament, as it was called, was not even colonial. It had not the power to legislate freely and independently, as the statute of Poynings, passed as far back as the year 1495, secured the initiative of all legislation to the English Privy Council. Without the consent of that body the Irish Parliament could not consider a bill. Yet, as if this "bridle," as Hallam calls it, was not a sufficient check, a statute was passed in the sixth year of George I. declaring that the English Parliament always had a right to make laws for Ireland. The colonists, great as was their loyalty to the English King and the "Protestant interest," could not look with favorable eyes upon their own impoverishment, but they chose to be an armed garrison in a hostile country, and their position could be maintained only through English aid. They held the Papists by the throat with one hand, and were powerless to combat English usurpation with the other. Apart from all external influences, the Irish Parliament contained within itself elements of weakness which alone were sufficient to paralyze all vigorous effort. By an act passed in the year 1727, Catholics were entirely disfranchised—they had previously been permitted to vote—so that thenceforth a very small number of electors returned the county and borough members to Parliament. It was an age of corruption; bribery had been dignified into a science, and politics degraded to a trade. The ill-acquired wealth of the planters had been quickly squandered in extravagant riotousness and dissipation. Timber and everything else that would fetch money had been sold off their lands, and their estates afterwards mortgaged to the last penny of their value, that the expenses of cock-fighting, of claret-drinking, of fox-hunting, and of priest-hunting might be decently met. When no more money was to be obtained, these "gentry," rather than forego the

gratification of the peculiar tastes which distinguished a man of quality, ran recklessly into debt. One sole resource remained—to sell themselves; and they did that. The nobles sold their patronage of the counties and boroughs to the only bidder—the government—and their *protégés*, the members, made their own terms in turn. Until a few years before the Volunteer movement the Irish Parliaments were elected, not for a specified time, but for the life of the King. Thus, the constituencies, even if so disposed, were unable to interfere with the betrayal of their interests by their representatives. Another plan adopted by the government for the better repressing any movement of independence, was to bestow the chief posts in Church and State on English strangers, who would be certain to uphold what was called the “English interest.” The system excited the most intense discontent amongst the people, whose attitude was soon turned to good account by “patriots”—gentlemen whose temporary opposition to the government served to enhance their ready-money value. Such a one was Boyle, some time Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Earl of Shannon. He had bitterly opposed the government on a question which involved the principle that the Parliament could not appropriate the public money without the consent of the English king. The opposition was not altogether unsuccessful and Boyle became a leading “patriot.” At that time Ireland was virtually ruled by Primate Stone, an imported Englishman sent over “to do the king’s business,” as the phrase went. Between the chief “patriot” and him a bitter struggle commenced, the strife of two able and ambitious men for their own aims. What manner of man Stone was, no writer can dare tell: suffice it, that he combined within himself all the vices of a bad man and of a corrupt statesman. Had Laud all the worst vices of the



worst Cæsar, his government would have been pure and liberal in contrast with that of Stone. He was an archbishop, and his palace reeked with the nameless pollutions of Capreæ; he governed the country by the same devices which Catiline employed to further his infamous conspiracy. There was no room for two such men as Boyle and him in the country; Boyle was troublesome to the government, and might become dangerous; he was purchased, therefore. His price was an earldom, a pension of £2,000 a year, and the dismissal of Stone from the Privy Council. The other "patriots" followed their leader, and thenceforward strove to give value for their annuities by helping on the "king's business" as best they could. It would scarcely be too much to say that the Irish Parliament was a national mart for the sale of principles; its destruction was finally accomplished by buying out the vested interests of the members in that traffic.

The nation, that is, the Protestant colony, was growing more and more indignant at the manner in which the "English interest" was maintained by the ruin of Ireland. From the writings of Swift and Lucas one may learn what thoughts were working in the minds of the people. Swift was entirely colonial in his sympathies, but he fiercely assailed the system of English government in Ireland and all and everybody connected with it; no man in Ireland was more popular with both Protestants and Catholics. Lucas insisted upon the right of the Irish Parliament to rule Ireland, and the Parliament, well paid to "do the king's business," voted him an enemy to his country. He had to fly the kingdom, but his principles could not be outlawed; they were taken to heart by the people, and in due time their fruition was seen. Strange fruit, indeed; such a crop as we are told of in the myth,

wherein Cadmus sows the dragon's teeth, and they spring up ready-armed men.

#### THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT—ITS WHEN AND HOW.

It can fairly be urged by any apologist for English rule in Ireland, that England did not treat her colonists there in a much worse manner than she did elsewhere. If in any place on the wide face of the globe, buccaneering was to be done, and weak communities, even of the Saxon race, to be robbed, England was ever ready with a pretext to justify and an army to execute the plundering. The American colonies had long suffered from the exactions of the mother-country. Many of the original colonists had fled from England to avoid persecution, others had been driven from Ireland; as in the case of the Anglo-Irish, they were taxed and governed entirely in the English interest. The system became insupportable, and they resolved on resistance. The King, the stupidest and least vicious of the Georges, would hear of no concession to their demands; the Colonists stood firm; the government tried repression, and Lexington Fight was the outcome. No such serious opposition had been expected in England; the Americans soon showed that, having once put their hands to the plough, they would not look back; no paltry concession would now satisfy, no thoughts of the issue deter them. In Ireland the struggle was watched with keen anxiety; the people strongly sympathized with the patriotic Colonists, whose cause was so nearly akin to their own; the government therefore resolved to set the two oppressed countries at enmity. The Irish House of Commons was asked to dispatch 4,000 soldiers to America; the Court party, consisting mostly of purchased members, overcame all resistance, and the men



were sent. It was proposed to replace them by an equal number of German mercenaries, but all, except the most thoroughly corrupt of the Irish members, opposed the measure; they themselves would defend the country against foreign invaders. This slight show of spirit irritated the government, it could not be borne that these Irish Colonists should have a will of their own, even in such a matter. The Parliament was at once dissolved by the English Council, as not being quite slavish and corrupt enough. In one day twelve peers were advanced in rank, and eighteen new peerages were created, all for the honoring, ennobling, and bribing of powerful "undertakers," as the owners of pocket-boroughs were called, thus a thoroughly subservient Parliament was secured to the government. But American ideas had spread, and were daily spreading, too far and too fast to be checked by any votes of a dead majority. The patriot party were growing impatient, and something should be done if the dangers that were gathering so fast round the "English interest" were to be averted. Wherefore, "a message of peace to Ireland" crossed the water; a bill to relieve the Catholics passed both Houses, and some of the commercial restraints were slightly relaxed. The former was represented as a "boon" conferred upon the Catholics by England in her zeal for their welfare; thus it was hoped that their grateful support would be secured to the Government in any emergency. The real object of the measure was to promote religious discord; the Protestant ascendancy was maintained by England, and Protestants called upon to defend it, at the same time that the Catholics were encouraged to struggle against it. A better feeling had grown up between Williamite Protestant and Jacobite Papist, which, if not speedily converted again to the old rancor, might prove troublesome to the system which

ground down both. The Catholics were not conciliated by the Relief Bill; it made them all the more conscious of their degradation. They had been stretched upon the rack until they had become insensible to pain; the slight relaxation of the cords but served to re-awaken them to a keener feeling of their torture.

In the month of August, 1778, the good townsfolk of Belfast were much troubled in their minds by some reports that hostile privateers had been seen hovering off the coast, it was presumed with no good intentions towards them. Once before they had narrowly escaped from Thurot's sea-rovers, and the memory of that invasion made them feel acutely the danger in which they were placed. They applied to the Irish government, asking that troops should be sent northwards to protect them and their property; the government found that they could only afford "a troop or two of horse, or part of a company of invalids," to such straits had they been reduced by the American war. In high wrath the Belfast men refused the help of the crippled veterans, and resolved to protect themselves as best they could. They at once formed volunteer companies; the example was speedily followed in other places, and in a few months the country was in arms. The "English interest" and the government were thoroughly frightened; but, as they dared not oppose the people in their present temper, they hid their fears and feigned satisfaction. They were as powerless to resist the armed citizen-soldiers as they would have been to cope with an invading army, and they could only look on inertly whilst the people were flocking to the volunteer standards, being equipped and drilled into discipline, and holding their military celebrations. The organization spread with the speed and strength of a forest fire. Not to be a Volunteer was to be of no account. With angry amazement, the government saw the very



Catholics, who hitherto had breathed only by connivance, hastening to form their companies. Terrified at the idea that religious hatreds should perish amongst Irishmen, they at once interfered to procure the exclusion of the "Papists." The Catholics of Limerick, thus prevented from bearing arms, subscribed £800 to the Volunteer treasury; the Volunteers passed resolutions of a decided tone in favor of their oppressed fellow-countrymen, and thenceforward Catholic and Protestant stepped side by side in the ranks of the popular army. In that moment the English colony disappears from our history, and the Irish nation, drilled and armed for the assertion of its national rights, stands in martial array before us.

The first task which the Volunteers set themselves was the winning of "Free Trade." The expression had then a vastly different significance from that which political economists now attach to it. It "did not mean that exports and imports should be free of all duty to the state, but only that the fact of import or export itself should not be restrained by foreign laws, and that the duties to be derived from it should be imposed by Ireland's own Parliament, and in the sole interest of Ireland herself." The English Parliament, thoroughly imbued with the avaricious spirit of British commerce, refused to remove the crushing restrictions imposed upon the Irish manufacturer. The Volunteers, relying upon the support of the country, undertook to redress these grievances in a summary manner. They adopted a system of exclusive dealing; in other words, "boycotted" all English-made goods and all importers of them. The measure was defensible on many grounds. No relief was to be obtained from the English Parliament; the Irish Parliament was in the fetters of the English Privy Council; the Irish people, therefore, legislated for themselves. For which atrocious conduct

the moral English press vilified them as savages, and threatened them as criminals; Irish trade revived none the less surely. It was plain that the first struggle between the Volunteers and the government was imminent, and throughout the country the opening of Parliament for the session of 1779-80 was awaited with feverish anxiety. The Parliament met, and the first blow was at once struck by Grattan. The speech of the Lord-Lieutenant referred vaguely to some good intentions of the King, and contained the amount of obscure promising, diplomatic falsehood, and frivolous advice usual in Viceregal utterances; the address in reply moved by a government hack, was suitably cringing; Grattan moved an amendment. It told the King in plain words that the only way to relieve Irish misery was "to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birthrights." The government were dismayed; they were stricken with rage and terror when Hussey Burgh, the prime serjeant, and, therefore, one of their officials, rose to declare that he would sacrifice his high position rather than hide his principles or consent to the oppression of the people, that strong statement of right rather than entreaty for justice was needed, and that he would ask Grattan to substitute for his amendment these words—"That it is not by temporary expedients that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." The government could not obtain a single vote in opposition to the stronger amendment; corruption was scorched in the fire of that fierce eloquence. Outside the House the Volunteers were drawn up in grim array, on the mouths of their cannon hung the motto, "Free Trade, or ——" There was terror in the Castle, and yet the government made one other vain attempt to resist the people, incurring thereby another defeat. They asked the House to vote supplies for two years; the Volunteers instructed their



adherents to vote them for not longer than six months; after a brilliant debate the patriots triumphed. *Then* it came to be seen in England that concession to the Irish demands was essential to the preservation of the empire; in that same moment it was recognized that these demands were just. Lord North forgot all his former arguments, swallowed his former principles, and forthwith introduced a Free Trade Bill conceding to Ireland all that the Volunteers had claimed. Perhaps these placard-bearing cannon of Napper Tandy's company had taught his lordship some new lessons in political economy.

The people rejoiced at the triumph of their principles, but it was with a grave and sober joy in which no insane gratitude towards England was mingled. They took their free trade, not as a gift from English power and bounty, but as a right wrung from a weakened tyranny. So long as England controlled the making of Irish laws there could be no security for the permanency of any concessions, for the rights respected by her in the hour of weakness might be trampled upon in the first moment of recovered strength. There was need then of a free Parliament; and they would win it "or ——" Grattan was still the unchallenged leader of the patriotic party, and he resolved to at once commence, in stern earnest, the battle of Parliamentary liberty. On the 19th April, 1780, he moved his Declaration of Right, setting forth that no power other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland could make laws to bind this country. It was a challenge and a defiance to England. The government did not venture to deny the principles of the Declaration, nor yet would it accept them; the question was evaded by a quibble, and the motion was not put to the House. The people saw that their surest hope was in their organization, which they now labored

zealously to perfect. All the requirements for a campaign were provided, while constant drilling and frequent reviews improved their soldierly bearing. A commander in-chief was chosen, and the man appointed to that responsible position was James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, than whom no honester and no more short-sighted patriot then lived in Ireland. The government, meanwhile, were not idle. They were lavish in their bribes, and when the Commons had been sufficiently corrupted, they asked that generous supplies should be voted, that thus they might have the wherewithal to bribe still more freely. Grattan boldly determined to appeal from that hireling Parliament to the country, thus rendering the government precautions useless.

It was on the 15th of February, 1782, that the representatives of thirty thousand armed men of Ulster met in the old parish church of Dungannon, commissioned by their respective corps to take such steps as would best secure the recognition of their rights to the Irish people. Either of two courses lay open to the delegates—to sever the connection with England, as America had done, or, with the lessons of English perfidy in the past before their eyes, to trust again in English faith. Grattan wished to maintain the “connection,” if possible. Charlemont would have been true to it at any cost, and the counsels of the more moderate prevailed at the convention. Nevertheless, the resolutions adopted by the delegates had a revolutionary ring in them that boded ill to a policy of temporizing or resistance by the government. Here are some of them:

“*Resolved*, unanimously—That a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.”



“*Resolved*, unanimously—That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.”

“*Resolved*—with two dissenting voices only to this and the following resolution—That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as ourselves.”

“*Resolved, therefore*, That as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.”

The resolutions were regarded as a declaration of war, with the alternative of concession. Neither Lord North, who was still at the head of the English ministry, nor the Irish government would hear of concession; but before the Volunteers were forced into revolution, the worst of England's many bad statesmen was driven from power, crushed and dishonored. A Whig administration, with the usual “liberal views,” succeeded, and an “ameliorative Viceroy,” the Duke of Portland, came to Ireland with a cut-and-dry policy of conciliation. All the resources of Whig diplomacy were tried, in order to divert Grattan from his purpose. Fox wrote to his “old and esteemed friend, the good Earl of Charlemont,” begging him to delay action, if only for three weeks. But Grattan would not pause for a moment, and Charlemont was firm. The patience of the hundred thousand soldiers whom he commanded was already too sorely tried; they would have no further promising and no more delays. Words of honeyed sweetness and graceful compliments were wasted on muskets and artillery; England should yield to Ireland her rights or take the consequence—“speedy

revolution." She yielded, and with the best possible simulation of good grace.

Thus far the history of the Volunteers is a record of success; in a few short years they had won commercial and political freedom for their country; all the glory was evanescent, and the tale of disunion and disaster has now to be told. In the moment of triumph, when all seemed won, dissension broke out among the popular leaders, and the flame was fanned by England; the conflicting ambitions of some, the timidity and courtly moderation of others, sacrificed all that had been gained. Grattan found a rival in Flood; the former was a pure politician and a great patriot, the latter a wise senator and a great statesman. They quarreled on a question of principle, but principles were soon forgotten in the heat of personal controversy.

The Irish Parliament had repealed Poynings's law; the English Parliament had repealed the obnoxious statute 6 George I., which asserted the right of England to legislate for Ireland. Grattan was contented with this simple repeal; Flood insisted that England should formally renounce forever any such right. It must be said that Flood advocated the wiser course, but it is not easy to understand how its adoption would have materially altered the future destinies of the country. Irish liberty was the child of arms; in the spirit of the Volunteers lay its best security, and when that spirit passed away, and the muskets fell from nerveless hands, parchments would have been of little avail against English force and English fraud. Again, the work of freeing the Irish Parliament had not been finished. It is true that England could no longer control it directly, but it still remained entirely dependent upon the English interest here. It was the old corrupt Parliament,



and corruption was as effective a resource of statecraft as ever. Flood saw that if the Parliament was to be saved from destruction the representation should be reformed. Unfortunately, the quarrel between him and Grattan had deepened into personal hostility, and they would not work in union. Although reform alone could save the constitution of '82, Grattan refused to advance; Flood refused to stand still. The Volunteers themselves had impressed upon their leaders that much was yet to be done; they had demanded reform at their meetings in every part of Ireland, and they were still in arms, a hundred thousand strong, resolved to follow their leaders, if only they were led. As in the previous year, it was resolved to hold provincial assemblies of the Volunteers, and at these meetings it was decided that a great National Convention should be held in Dublin. Amidst the hush of public expectation, one hundred and sixty delegates met at the Royal Exchange on the 10th November, 1783, and, having chosen Charlemont as chairman, adjourned to the Rotunda. It would have been difficult to find in all Ireland a man less suited to the position of president of the convention than was Charlemont. He would not be commanded, and he was too feeble to control; his high position and social graces had won him many adherents, but it is not by soft-handed courtesy that stern dangers may be averted. He had fallen into the hands of the Court party, and many of his friends were in secret understanding with the government; and, though no breath of suspicion taints his honor, he surrendered himself without knowing it to the objects of the administration. Of a different mould was the Bishop of Derry, the demagogue Earl of Bristol, whose ambition an Irish mitre and an English coronet could not satisfy. A bold and resolute man, he was unstained by the bigotry which disgraced Flood and Charlemont.

In conjunction with the former, he drew up the plan of reform, which was approved by the Convention. A bill founded on its principles was introduced into Parliament by Flood, and a struggle, of which the ultimate issue was national life or death, commenced within that assembly. The measure was rejected, those slavish creatures of the administration would maintain their "just rights and privileges" against all encroachments; and that, too, in the name of liberty! What these rights and privileges were has already been told; the principle was the right to sell their country and betray all who trusted in them. It was a valuable right, and worth struggling for; no "patriot" might be bought in those days for an invitation to a countess's garden party and a second-class clerkship in a colony, as a glance at the Black List will show. Intense was the indignation of the Volunteers; they had been treated with contempt and defiance; the gauntlet had been thrown down. Would they pick it up? Either Parliament or they should submit, which would it be? They themselves were not to decide. Charlemont was frightened; he hastily consulted with some other "moderates"; craven counsels, not manly boldness, marked the meeting, the "public peace" and the "connection" should be maintained at all hazards, and the upshot was that the Convention was dissolved by a disgraceful ruse. So true is it that feebleness is the worst crime in a popular leader. There was need of "an hour of Cromwell" to clear out that den of iniquity in College Green, need of men who would not falter in their work, nor pause for political etiquette; no need whatever of this dainty-palmed weakness and elegant incapacity. The binding principle which had held the Volunteers so firmly together was unloosed; doubts, suspicions, and strange fears filled their minds; their power was gone—their strength broken. They might



beat to arms and pass resolutions; but the drum-beats and the eloquence was so much noise unheeded by the government and their other foes. The organization lived on for some years in a manner; isolated corps remained undisbanded; but the National Army of Ireland had passed away, forever—perhaps.

Thus the great struggle ended in the triumph of corruption and of the government. Politics stagnated for a time, and to all outer seeming the Volunteer spirit of the first few glorious years had been lulled to sleep and shorn of its vigor. All the old resources of English rule were put in action as they never had been before, and now there was no man and no principle to oppose them with effect. Bribery was an avowed principle of government, as jury-packing was in later times, and as trial without jury is in our own day. The dead religious feuds were revived, that so, the old weakness ensuing, “the cause of law and order” might be strengthened. It was all done to an end, a long time looked forward to by the “English interest”; plotted for and schemed about with patient care and steady purpose—the Union. All the while the constitutionalists and loyalists and lawyerlings of the Whig Club were peddling about petty grievances, talking much ameliorative nonsense, and uttering most hollow cant, expressive of devotion to the sacred stupidity of monarchy. Amongst them was one young lawyer, who looked on matters in a different light from those around him. He saw that something more than talk was needed if Ireland was to be saved from the fate which an aristocracy corrupted by foreign gold, a commonalty maddened by persecution, and a people distracted by their divisions, should of necessity bring upon the country. He resolved to bind all Irishmen together in the bonds of brotherhood; and thus arose the “United Irishmen” society. The history of that

great organization is not now to be told; it may be briefly summed up. They failed, but their failure was heroic. Before foreign rule had finally clenched its gripe upon the land, they stood up to die, and died. They gave their lives, and all that endeared them to life, that their countrymen might be free, or, failing that, be prepared to do as they did; and since the headless trunk was borne from Thomas Street to an unhonored grave, the Irish nationalist and the Irish provincialist—Whig, West Briton, or whatever he may be—stand apart in our history, separated by a river of blood and tears.

How do we now celebrate the birth of our nation? With drum-beating and marching, with flaunting of gay flags and speeching—all by the tacit permission of an English lord, representing the power against which our fathers rose a hundred years ago. Shall it be always thus? Must “no” be ever the answer to the question of the fabled warrior, sleeping in that cavern of old Inishowen, “*Is the time yet come?*” How long may the world, pointing to us, say, “Woe to the land on whose judgment-seat a stranger sits—at whose gates a stranger watches!”

#### THE EXHIBITION AND O'CONNELL'S MONUMENT.

The celebration of the 15th of August, 1882, has realized the best that was dreamed of it and more. Its triumph was simply peerless. Not one note of discord or shadow of unpleasantness crossed it. Not only in this respect, but in size and pageantry, it excelled even the proportions of the O'Connell Centenary. Miles and miles of streets were populated with immeasurable crowds, any one of which would have made a mass-meeting. Bands beyond number; a procession that took two hours to pass at a quick march; streets gar-



landed from end to end with national colors; windows crowded with a fair garrison of smiling women; one huge furnace of enthusiasm, of life and gayety; no trace of disorder that could employ the baton of a policeman; not to talk of the guns of the huge army massed in the city barrack-yards; weather sunshiny enough to communicate its genial influence and showery enough to make people grateful that the showers were so transient; nothing was missing that could give dignity, joy, or greatness to a nation's holiday.

There were streets like Capel Street, and High Street, and Thomas Street, where every house, without exception, was dressed in fluttering banners. There were others—among which Grafton Street, Nassau Street, and Westmoreland Street had an evil preëminence—where a Queen's birthday would have been more honored. The Bank of Ireland floated not one yard of bunting in sympathy with the nation whose heart was throbbing around its sacred walls. Trinity College was rigidly sealed up. A few persons who made a stealthy appearance at one of the windows had a guilty look, as of folk who had disobeyed the word of command. The main entrance was closed. A printed notice informed whom it might concern that admission could only be had through a back door in Nassau Street. Numbers of the court milliners and folk of that ilk showed their impotent spite by banishing every smallest emblem of rejoicing from their house-fronts. And yet nothing was more wonderful in the day's success than the warmth with which the procession was greeted in the very districts, and from the very houses, that are supposed to be the fortresses of Castle gentility. In Dawson Street, for example, clouds of handkerchiefs were waved from nearly every window. Scarcely a house there, or in Nassau Street, or lower Grafton Street, or College Green, or Dame Street, but had some

friendly greeting—some cheer from the roof, some snow-white token from the windows—that showed how marvelously the spirit of popular education had spread even into the purlieus of the Castle of late. The National Bank floated its green flag as well as its mongrel imitation of the Union Jack. The Hibernian Bank floated an undeniable green flag. Even without the deafening accompaniment of cheers which resounded along the route of the procession like a magnificent organ-voice, the enthusiasm in the very genteel houses would never have led a stranger to suppose he was passing through neighborhoods where, a few years ago, a national emblem would have been spat upon and trampled. Either the Castle shopkeepers are giving up the ghost, or have friends or retainers who in their absence do not hesitate to shout their acclamations to patriots of as decided a hue as Parnell or Davitt.

But it was, of course, among the homes of the people that the decorations were the most numerous as well as the most tasteful. At the very Castle gates there began lines of flags which spread from house to house for the whole length of High Street, Thomas Street, and James's Street—sometimes in bright-colored clusters, at other times in gay arches spanning the thoroughfare, blended with national devices in flowers and evergreens.

One feature of the street ornamentation was significant. All the flags of the universe, it seemed, were afloat except the flag of England. The Irish and the American colors were, of course, the prime favorites. They drooped together from a thousand windows. The French tricolor ran next in favor. Failing these, violets, indigoes, blues, greens, yellows, and oranges of unknown nationalities were flung to the breeze—all that hadn't the blooded stamp of England upon them.



There were a few disguised Union Jacks, but the owners seemed always to labor under the necessity of making them as unlike Union Jacks as possible. The consequence was a very unsatisfactory compromise. In one case the red and blue crossed square at the ensign was retained. But the rest of the flag was a dirty white, with a light band of red across it. In another case—indeed over the Exhibition building itself—a still more uncomely transformation was attempted. The result was a very ill cross between an Irish, an English, and an American banner—with a green ground, a flavor of the Union Jack, and a bare suggestion of stripes and stars. The cases in which even the attempt was made, however, might have been counted upon one's fingers. The vast majority of those who displayed flags took no pains to conceal that there is no flag on earth in which they are less tempted to invest than that which floats from the Castle flagstaff. The extent to which the American flag was displayed was a subject of general observation, and wherever it was displayed, it was hailed with enthusiasm hardly less fervid than the immortal green. I may as well note here as elsewhere that one of the most remarkable of the street decorations was that outside the Ladies' Land League offices. A blood-red flag with the crescent and star would have been recognized as the Egyptian colors even without the explanatory description, "Arabi," and a tricolor bore the meaning legend, "Remember the Boers."

By nine o'clock the whole city was in movement towards the rendezvous. Bands from every corner of the island; bands in all conceivable uniforms; bands in gay green-and-white Emmet uniforms, with snow-white plumes; bands in blue and gold; bands as magnificently trained as the Cork Butter Exchange and Barrack Street Bands, and bands of youngsters with unambitious fifes, poured along by twenty different

avenues, mingled with battalions of trades under their gorgeous banners, and contingents of Foresters in their resplendent dress. The arrangements were admirable. Each body fell into its appointed place like clock-work. There was no confusion. Every man and body knew its ground and took it up. You will find underneath every detail that industry could gather as to the mammoth line that by half-past nine o'clock covered the four sides of Stephen's Green, and spread far into every avenue that opens upon it. There was scarcely a town in Ireland unrepresented—if not by its Town Commissioners (and they mustered in wonderful strength) by its trades or band. The trades procession proper was, perhaps, the greatest upon record. Trades walked that for many a languishing year never plucked up courage to show their diminished heads in public. Under the sunny influence of the national revival, trades that were almost forgotten gave the public a sturdy reminder of their existence. Of the appearance of these bodies, it is hard to speak without the suspicion of hyberbole. They were men fit to be the standard-bearers in the struggle for the revival of Irish trade. Their *physique*, their dress, their whole appearance, their scarves and regalia, their beautiful banners, were all worthy of the part the trades of Ireland are now summoned to play in vitalizing Irish industries.

Hitherto the pedestrian part of processions have gone first, and the dignitaries in the carriages have come last. This time the order of precedence was reversed, in order that the personages who were to figure in the unveiling of the O'Connell Monument might be able to get to their places without being wedged into an inextricable mass of men. Hence, after the advanced guard of Quay laborers, the line of carriages commenced at once with those containing the O'Connell



family and the Statue Committee, in whom it must in candor be said the public showed no very violent interest. Then came the Lord Mayor's procession in state. Lord Mayor Dawson was greeted everywhere as cordially as his magnificent share in the success of the Exhibition richly deserved. After the members of the Dublin Corporation (who wore their robes in their carriages) there followed a long line of carriages, containing the bishops and clergy, and the provincial mayors and deputations, whose names I append below. Every city and almost every town in Ireland that has Commissioners to send sent them.

The unveiling of the O'Connell Monument was simple. The Lord Mayor, the Hon. Charles Dawson, pulled a string which unloosed the drapery from it, and a shout went up from the assembled thousands. He made a speech, and was followed by the Hon. Charles Stewart Parnell, M. P., the High Sheriff, Edward Dwyer Gray, M. P., John Dillon, M. P., and others.

The procession then moved to the exhibition building, which was opened by the Lord Mayor in the same unostentatious, democratic manner. A Dublin journal, describing the opening, thus winds up:

Descending to the floor and taking up a good position there, he could note a few more things. There was a big attendance of clergy. Dr. Dorrian, of Belfast, had a seat whence he could admire the performance of the splendid organ, for the loan of which the Exhibition is indebted to him. In the front row of the semicircle were some familiar faces. T. D. Sullivan was on the next chair to W. H. O'Sullivan. A few chairs away, with still bright features and still bright eye, sat that fine old veteran, the O'Gorman Mahon. The audience, on a nearer view, seemed in every respect the right sort of audience for the occasion, representing the grit and intellect of every part of the country from

Cork to the Giant's Causeway. Lawrence, the photographer, had excellent materials for a historical picture, if he only succeeded in getting good negatives from the many points of view in which he tried to catch a likeness of the scene.

But to return to our Lord Mayor, whom we left arriving with his procession. His appearance was the signal for a salvo of cheering, which was renewed as each of the great ones was recognized by the people—Parnell, calm and pale; Dillon, looking brighter and stronger—God be thanked for it!—than he did this many a day; the High Sheriff, whose tall figure the crowd were not slow in distinguishing. The Lady Mayoress and household were escorted by V. Dillon to places on the dais. On the Lord Mayor taking his seat, the orchestra and chorus struck in with Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise," and we had the first opportunity of judging what kind of a musical treat Mr. Robinson had provided for us.

A chorus of four hundred singing such a hymn of praise as that in such a building should produce a good effect if it had any excellence at all. This one did anyhow, helped out by the admirable orchestra and organ, over which departments all of us gladly noted two old friends and favorites, R. M. Levey and John M. Glynn respectively, presided. The "Hymn of Praise" was followed by a selection from Haydn's "Creation." Mr. Ludwig opened with a recitative, the chorus breaking in splendidly with "Let there be light." This oratorio is remarkable for its magnificent descriptive effects, and these were emphasized with wonderful power by Mr. Ludwig in the recitative, "The Raging Tempest," and the air, "Rolling with foaming billows," and by Mr. Barton M'Guckin, "In splendor bright is rising now the sun." Miss Adelaide Mullen sang the



soprano parts with precision, and her sweet voice gave good account of itself in the closing trio.

When the oratorio was finished we saw a gentleman rising and presenting the Lord Mayor with a key in a silken case and a book in a green cover. This was Mr. Rooney, the secretary, making presentation to his lordship of the keys and the Exhibition catalogue. Whereupon his lordship proclaimed, in clear and affable accents, that the National Exhibition of Irish Industries and Arts was duly opened.

Which said, in came the band and chorus again—this time with Handel's titanic "Hallelujah" from the "Messiah" (the oratorio, by the way, of the German mæstro whose first appreciative audience was a Dublin one). One listened to this chorus almost with awe—with its glorious fugue and stupendous diapason. When it was over, Alfred Webb came forward and read an address from the directors of the Exhibition Company to the Lord Mayor.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Hon Charles Dawson, in reply to the address, spoke as follows:—  
"Gentlemen, with heartfelt pleasure, I receive your congratulations on this most auspicious event. With regard to your kind references to myself, I may truly say they apply to each and every one of you. And I cannot forget nor forbear to mention the hopefulness and spirit that animated the trades and working classes of Dublin and of all Ireland in supporting you and me in the task we had undertaken. The success is a tribute to their energy and self-reliance, and this fairy building a lasting memorial to the genius and steady perseverance of Irish workmen. Give them fair play, and I will guarantee their fidelity and exertions. They have left behind them here a lasting proof of their power to carry out a work without a moment's interruption. I may only wish all the new-born industries of Ireland a

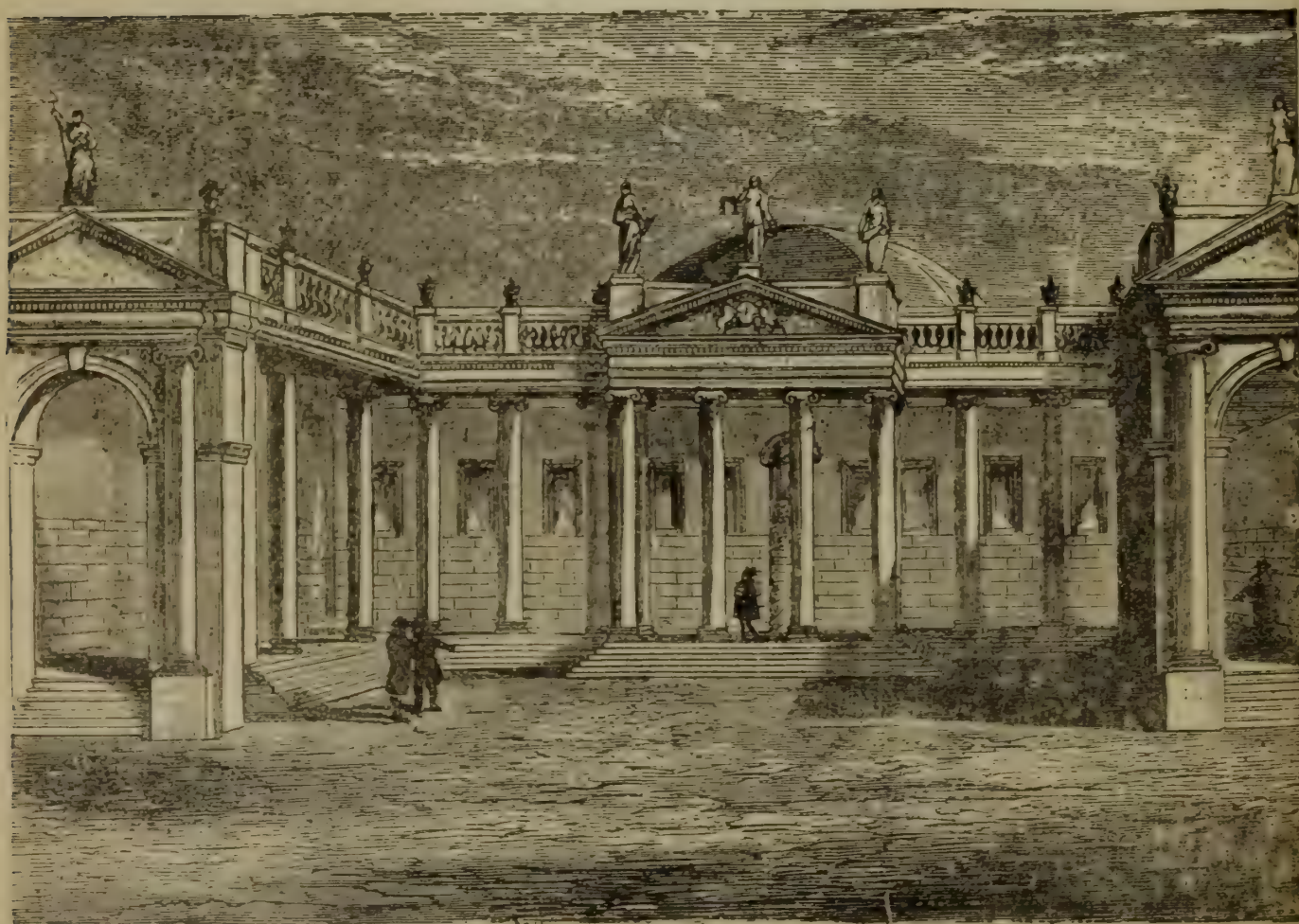
like support. This Exhibition blends, as you say, all creeds and classes in the great work of national progress. May it be an omen of the extension of that union so indispensable to our success. We do not desire to exclude the productions or manufactures of other lands, but rather to encourage and develop our own. No one can blame us for this. I am quite sure every exhibitor will make due allowance for the difficulties with which we had to contend. If any are displeased with their treatment, it is want of space, not of disposition, we must plead as our excuse. That want can only be repaired by another Exhibition, at which the increasing industries of Ireland shall, I hope, find extended and sufficient space. You say much depends upon ourselves. I say, all under God rests with us. The employers and workmen of Ireland have the future prosperity of the country in their hands. Here these two interests, well-balanced and just towards each other, have achieved a triumph which, I hope, may be only the first of a long series for our country. I cannot reciprocate your concluding prayer for my own happiness, to which this day so largely contributes, without conveying in an especial manner my thanks to our excellent staff. The tribute to our architect, Mr. Ashlin, is all around us; Mr. Dudgeon's work is everywhere to be seen; Mr. Rooney and his colleagues deserve immense praise for their untiring exertions, promoted by an interest higher than any reward could create. There is one name which comes up when I mention the staff, who, though not one of it in name, was its mainspring in all things involving hard work—I mean Alfred Webb, our fellow-director. None of us on the board but will, I am sure, gratefully acknowledge the special services of Mr. Webb. Were Irish enterprise carried out in the spirit he displayed, then all would meet with the same







CARLISLE BRIDGE AND SACKVILLE ST. DUBLIN.



OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE DUBLIN.



marked success which shall, I trust, attend this undertaking.

#### DUBLIN AND ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

A visit to the Irish metropolis by the Irishman who enters it for the first time is an event in his life; while to the traveler from other nations, whether he be born of Celt or Gentile, it is no unimportant event either—if he only understands it. Yet how many are there—like Peter Bell, to whom “a primrose by the river’s brim,” a yellow primrose was, and nothing more—untraveled countryman and wayfaring traverser of seas, who come to Dublin and leave it, just as they would enter and depart from any city under the sun, enriched with no other impressions than, mayhap, that it was a city, and that a city was a place with fine buildings, and streets, and tramcars, and crowds, and squalor, cheek-by-jowl with splendor; or that it was a “one-horse” concern, that the people were uncommonly sleepy in a business view, though civil, that the policemen were mostly big, that double X stout was good drinking and cheap; and such like, according to the temperament of the sojourners and the circumstances under which they make their stay? That, we should say, is one of the worst developments of Philistinism; and we heartily hope there will be more inspiration taken in by all who visit Dublin *this* time and taken home with them to aid the promptings to deeds and aspirations out of which will grow the history of the future.

Ruskin made a charming book out of the “Stones of Venice;” if the story of the “Stones of Dublin” were written it would make a book, though of a different kind, having its own powerful charm. For Dublin intrinsically has its honored place among the capitals, and Dublin’s history is a condensed, intensified reflex of the chequered history of our land. To all and

sundry who may have known it before, or who hear it now for the first time, be it known that Dublin, from an artistic point of view, is one of the finest cities in the world. The character of its numerous public buildings and of its principal streets is surpassed in no city. Walk along from the Rotunda to College Green, and you need walk no further to be convinced of this. Then if you reflect that it was during the lifetime of a fostering native Parliament that Dublin acquired the chief of her beauties, you will begin to perceive the bearing her historical has upon her architectural aspect. Dublin, or Eblana, or Balliath Cliath, or Dubhlinn—the “Town of the Ford of Hurdles”—has an antiquity of seventeen hundred years, as record sheweth. There is an interesting and authentic account of it by Ptolemy Claudius, bearing date A. D. 140. This we mention by the way. For the rest, in this connection, is it not written in a dozen authorities, beginning with the Black Book of Christ Church, and can these not be consulted by any one as well as by us who wishes to be learned on the subject? Our present task is to show our readers over the present city, and the best way to begin is with

#### A BIRD'S EYE VIEW.

If Nelson's Pillar be good for anything, besides obstructing the traffic, it is for the unequalled view of the city to be had from the platform at its top. Any of our friends who are sound of wind and limb, and of an adventurous turn, we would recommend to invest fourpence in obtaining the privilege of climbing to the summit of the spiral staircase inside the column. The active wight who has accomplished the ascent successfully has all Dublin, from its bay to the mountains, spread out at his feet like a map. Sackville Street, “worthy of the procession of a Cleopatra,” the broad-



est and stateliest street in Europe, to which the Maximilian Strasse of Munich, with its garden plots down its centre, is only a make-believe intended for show and not for business—Sackville Street, with the Rotunda and Exhibition Building at one end, the O'Connell Monument and magnificent O'Connell bridge at the other, the General Post-office in the middle, and the rows of lofty houses at either side, is right under him. A little beyond is College Green—one of the grandest piazzas in the world, with the pillared glories of the whilom temple of our nationality, the street facade of Trinity College, and the imposing banks and offices of the street around; beyond this is Grafton Street, the afternoon lounge of the fashionable; beyond this is St. Stephen's Green, now converted into a people's park and a gem of landscape gardening by the liberality of Lord Ardilaun; beyond Stephen's Green are Harcourt Street and the Rathmines district, and beyond these are the Wicklow Mountains. The two green patches to the left of Stephen's Green are Merrion Square and Fitzwilliam Square, which, with the neighborhood surrounding, is the region most affected by the Dublin "upper ten." That long and wide street, thronged with a busy commercial life, running almost parallel with the river, is made up of James's Street and Thomas Street. In the former is Guinness's brewery, which is a sight worth seeing as an Irish manufactory and the greatest porter brewery in the world, and to which we believe permits to strangers are freely and courteously given. With the latter are connected many historical associations—it was in Thomas Street Robert Emmet was murdered and Lord Edward Fitzgerald captured by Major Sirr. Thomas Street leads into High Street, Christ-Church Place (which takes its name from the Cathedral standing there), Castle Street, and Cork-hill, where stands the Castle—save the mark!—and

round the corner to Dame Street. The Liffey, with its quays and bridges, looking so like the Seine at Paris on a smaller scale, cuts the city in two. The localities adjoining it on either side are the oldest in the city. Fishamble Street is amongst them, where the Grattans, ancestors of the immortal Henry, used to live, hard by which "Drapier's Letters" were published and Handel's "L'Allegro" and "Messiah" first produced. (MEM.: At the performance of the latter, which was for the benefit of a charity, the ladies were requested to come without hoops, and gentlemen without swords, in order to give room for the bigger audience; the Lord-Lieutenant attended, and £400 were the net receipts.) The Liberties and the Coombe, which were in themselves a city of industry when Ireland had her manufactures, were also in this direction, but are now—*quantum mutatis ab illo!*—the plague-spot and slough of misery and desolation of the city. The river at one end vanishes from the view amid the foliage of the Phoenix Park, at the other it flows between rows of shipping, past docks and marine-yards, past the North Wall and the Bull, past the Pigeon-house Fort and the Lighthouse, and loses itself in the azure waters of the bay. Backwards, due North, is another area of fine streets—Gardiner Street and Mountjoy Square, Rutland Square and Eccles Street, where Isaac Butt used to live (and the Cardinal-Archbishop, before the palace was transferred to Rutland Square), at the top of which is the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital; Dorset Street, where Richard Brinsley Sheridan first saw the light, and Summer Hill, being portion of the ground whereon Clontarf's famed fight was fought, ending in the wide North Circular Road. And to the left again is the Northwestern district, with its fringe of jails, and barracks, and lunatic asylums—an odd association. On all sides are the spires of churches, the domes of noble



edifices, and the ceaseless hum—alas! not as resonant as it should be—of the city's work-day life.

Having taken this general *coup d'œil* of the city, we may descend from the pillar and consider the question, what are we next to see. In that matter, of course, we cannot pretend to dictate. The tastes of men are varied, and their time in all cases is not unlimited. We will simply mention, therefore, and give some account of the principal sights in Dublin and its vicinity, and the best way to see them. Our visitors, then, can take their choice as to what they will see, and suit their own convenience as to when and how they will see it.

#### THE BANK OF IRELAND.

Undoubtedly, the first part of the city for the visitor to face should be College Green. Halting at the railings of the College, he will stand within a space whose stately beauty and glorious associations no city can rival. The building opposite and the breathing statue in the centre of the ways might be the vision of a prophet-poet crystallized in stone—the cradle of a country's nationhood, and the man from whose loins sprung its life. Here thundered the voice of the Volunteers, speaking through their cannon. Here halted O'Connell in his procession, in the days when the word that he did not give would have been the signal for our second freedom, and transfixed a multitude with an inspired motion of his hand. Here halted Parnell in his procession in a later day to mark our recollection of the real goal to which we are striving. Here hover the dreams of every Irish patriot, as if some unseen power impelled them towards the place, as that where would be ultimately witnessed the patriot's ideal realized. The building, which is now the Bank of Ireland, and which was formerly the Irish

Parliament House, is ranked as the most perfect specimen of architecture in the three kingdoms. There is certainly no house of legislature, or no building of any kind in Europe, no matter how it may excel in size and grandeur, which surpasses it in nobility, grace, or the striking idealism of its conception. Its erection was commenced in 1729, on the site of old Chichester House, where the Parliament used previously be held, and was finished in 1739 at a cost of £95,000. It is built in the form of a semicircle of grand Ionic pillars, and is perfectly symmetrical. The extent of the grand portico in College Green is 147 feet; on the apex of its tympanum is the figure of Hibernia, on either side are the figures of Fidelity and Commerce. To the east side—facing and frowning upon the disgraceful and disgusting effigy of Moore—are six Corinthian columns, whose richness make a fine effect added to the simple Ionic; they are headed by a pediment on which are placed the statues of Fortitude, Liberty, and Justice. These formed the portico of a separate entrance to the House of Lords—an addition which was made in 1785 (in 1794 another entrance was made in the western side; both these additions cost an extra £50,000). The exterior of the edifice is quite in keeping with the majesty of its interior. The middle door under the portico used to lead to the House of Commons through a fine hall. The form of the Commons' chamber was singularly beautiful—a circle, fifty-five feet in diameter enclosed in a square; the seats rising above each other in concentric tiers; a gallery for the public running around; and a hemispherical dome supported by Corinthian columns covering the entire. The Speaker's chair and the table, with all the insignia, were on the floor. This room itself was an inspiration to the orator, whose eloquence resounded through it with an added dignity. The House of Lords was



another noble apartment, with an arched ceiling resting on Corinthian pillars, and having a rich entablature running round the four sides. The fire-place was a beautiful piece of work in Kilkenny marble; above it hung a tapestry representing the Battle of the Boyne; on the opposite wall was another commemorating the Defense of Londonderry. After the Union this building was sold to the Bank of Ireland for £50,000 and a yearly rent of £240. Of course the interior had to be much altered to suit the requirements of the Bank. The House of Commons was done away with, and now there is a cash office, a splendid room of great proportions, whose beauty is enhanced by rows of Ionic columns, entablature, and paneled walls. The library, another grand apartment, now holds the books of the Bank, and the House of Lords is the meeting-room of its directors. Towards Forster Place is the guard-room and printing-office, where the notes are struck off. The roof is flat, and of such vast extent that a regiment of soldiers could be mustered on it. In the library is a fine model of the entire building, which took the artist three years to complete. An order from one of the directors will secure admittance to the printing-office and other private portions of the edifice.

#### TRINITY COLLEGE.

The Parliament House looks over on Trinity College, the *alma mater* of so many of the former's brightest ornaments. Trinity College was founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1591 on the site of the Augustinian Monastery of All-Hallows, which was confiscated by Henry VIII. The building presents a very handsome Corinthian facade to College Green. Inside the fine gateway and vestibule is an immense quadrangle, allowed to be one of the first collegiate squares in the kingdom, in the

centre of which is the campanile, or bell tower, a beautiful piece of architecture. On one side are the chapel and dining hall, on the other side the examination hall and library. The dining-hall is a vast building which accommodates over 300 persons; it contains some excellent portraits of distinguished members of the University. In the examination-hall are also a fine collection of portraits, amongst others being those of Bishop Berkeley, Molyneux, Dean Swift, Henry Grattan, Hussey Burgh, Henry Flood, Lord Kilwarden, Primate Usher, Dr. Baldwin, and many more. This hall also contains the chandelier which hung from the dome of the Irish House of Commons. The library is a splendid building, with a colonnade beneath. It contains upwards of 16,000 volumes, many of which are most valuable and rare, in the centre, together with the Fagel Library, about 25,000 books, in the eastern pavilion. Its manuscripts, too, are exceedingly valuable, while amongst its treasures is an ancient Irish harp, said to belong to Brian Boroihme. Beyond the library is the "New Square" with the new museum building, a structure in the Venetian or Cinque-Cento style, with mouldings and carved work Giottesque, which for effect and diffuse beauty of ornamentation is unequalled. At the other side of this building is the extensive and beautiful College Park, at whose far end are the medical school, the new anatomical museum, and the gymnasium. We should mention that "Botany Bay," immortalized by Lever, is the square at the Brunswick Street side of the College. The Provost's House is at the south side, opposite Grafton Street. Strangers are always courteously admitted to the library, museums, and other portions of the College on presenting their cards. In front of the College are two beautiful statues—those of Burke and Goldsmith; while between the College and the Bank, in a most effective position, is the almost speak-



ing statue of Grattan. It is remarkable that these three statutes (thus in happy fellowship) of three great Irishmen are the acknowledged master-pieces of another great Irishman, the sculptor Foley.

#### A STATUE WITH A STORY.

No visitor should turn his back on College Green without giving a little time to reflection on the illustrious back that is turned thereon permanently by the memorable monstrosity of the quarter, the equestrian statue perpetuative of a "glorious and pious" memory. Chequered has been the fate, venerable the history, of this war-worn monument. Erected in 1701—majestic of air, the little Dutchman arrayed in the trappings of a Cæsar, and riding as if the spurs were on his toes, the impetuous charger curving its neck in a suicidal fashion, and curving its off fore-leg, of which there is fully a foot and a half more than of any of the other three, in a way showing the animal's remarkable powers of accommodating itself to the difficulties of its own anatomy—it is a testimony to the artistic instinct and imaginative faculty of the admirers of William III. in the seventeenth century. The material of which the statue is composed is lead, which, if not a very dignified metal for sculptural purposes, has proved, in this instance, capable of making a monument "more lasting than brass." For what brazen image would have withstood the vicissitudes of this—the villainous outrages of rebellious Papists, the insults of the College young gentlemen, indignant at being only allowed a backside vision of their idol, the perennial gunpowder of the Volunteers, and, above all, the loyal and æsthetic homage of five generations of Orangemen? Since the time it was erected till about fifty years ago this effigy was the focus of glorious celebrations on

Twelfths of July and Fourths of November. On these occasions it was the taste of the Orangemen to whitewash their fetish, paint the pedestal blue, cover William's classic nakedness in a scarlet cloak, supplied from a theatrical property-shop in Anglesea Street, and smother his conqueror's laurels in a cocked-hat. His truncheon they decorated with orange lilies, and under his horse's curled foot was placed a bunch of green and white ribbons—a beautiful conceit typifying the degradation of Irish Popery. The statue was indued with the honors of Gesler's hat on such anniversaries, the Orange mob saw to it that all who passed their image should uncover and do homage. It was in front of this statue the Volunteers used assemble and round its pedestal they hung their gallant mottoes. In 1792, however, they abandoned the custom in deference to their Catholic brethren and to the spirit of toleration that was then animating Irish national life, and the last time they did appear they wore green cockades instead of the accustomed lilies. On the night of November 3rd, 1805, a man came to the watchman on guard and told him he was a painter come to whiten the statue for the morrow's celebration. After painting away for a couple of hours he asked the watchman to look after his pots and brushes while he went to his employer's for more paint. When darkness vanished and the morning came, Dublin was horrified to behold the doughty William thickly daubed over with the blackest pitch, while a bucket of that compound hung, as if it were his morning's oats, from the horse's head. But it was on the night of April 7th, 1836, that the crowning indignity was inflicted. Shortly after midnight a terrible explosion startled the echoes of the place. Some nameless desperado had placed a charge of fulminating silver beneath William, which blew him out of the saddle a great height into the air



and landed him in Trinity Street, where he was found next morning, his face pitifully battered, and conveyed in a donkey's cart to the foundry to be mended. It was when O'Connell was Lord Mayor that the troubles of the veteran were finally brought to an end: a Papist heart that had learned to succor the wretched took compassion on the poor statue, and had it scraped of all its coats of paint and lime and pitch, and done up decently, as it now appears, in monumental bronze picked out with gold.

## THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

A few doors below the Mansion House, in Dawson Street, to the true Irishman will be one of the most interesting places to be visited in Dublin. It is endeared to us and honored by the associations of such men as Thomas Davis, Smith O'Brien, Dr. Petrie, Sir William Wilde, as well as by the great national work which it has done. Its museum, which is open every day free to the public, is the most valuable of Irish archæological treasures, of which Sir William Wilde has made an elaborate and learned catalogue. An hour spent in it is an inspiring lesson on our national past—a revelation as to what sort of people our remote ancestors were, which every Irishman would be the better of experiencing. The Tara Brooch is a wondrous triumph of exquisite design and workmanship, a dazzling gem to-day, though it is over a decade of centuries old. The Ardagh Chalice, a relic of the ninth century, with its beautiful inlaid stones and delicate surface-chasing; the Cross of Cong, tenth century, marvelous in its intricate filagree-work, fit for the church of a pontiff; the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell—the bell itself is also exhibited here—with its chaste tracery and glowing jewels; and all the beautiful golden brooches, bracelets,

collars, coronets, and rings displayed about the "strong-room," are the belongings of a people the essence of whose life was art, poetry, refinement, culture, and lofty idealism. They are some of what is left to us of the Ireland of Saints and Doctors, who sent the first professors to Oxford, and was the educator of Western Europe. In the library of the Academy is preserved, among other relics, the Speaker's Chair of the Irish House of Commons.

#### THE MANSION HOUSE.

The Lord Mayor's official residence is in Dawson Street. It is a spacious house with many large and handsome rooms, the chief of which is the "Round Room," in which the civic balls and great public entertainments are given. The roof of this fine room is entirely unsupported by pillars. It was built by the Corporation at the time of George IV.'s visit, for the purpose of accommodating the great number of guests. In the garden at the side there is a ridiculous equestrian statue of George I., who appears to be looking complacently over the railings, as if the royal jockey was conscious he could take the wall at a "fly" if he were so minded. It has been whispered in Gath that the present Mansion House is getting a bit seedy, and that with the increasing dignity of Dublin the time will not be long coming when the Corporation will be asked to enlarge it or build a new one.

#### THE ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY'S BUILDINGS.

Amongst the most important of the free sights of Dublin are the group of buildings of the Royal Dublin Society, approachable from Kildare Street, and through Leinster Lawn, from Merrion Square. The central



building, Leinster House, was originally the town residence of the great duke of that ilk in the time when Dublin was the capital of a self-governing nation, and is itself a magnificent testimony to what Dublin and its social life must have been in the fostering sunshine of those pre-Union days. The elegant buildings flanking Leinster Lawn are the National Gallery and the Museum. The former comprises on the ground floor a sculpture hall, a noble tiled and pillared apartment, in which an important collection of casts from the antique—a feature distinct from that of either London or Edinburgh—is exhibited. At the end of this hall is a splendid double-lighted stair-case leading to the picture gallery overhead. The gallery contains many of the genuine old masters, a profuse number of copies therefrom, and some valuable specimens of the modern schools. The gallery is open to the public free every day but Saturday and Friday, from twelve o'clock till six, and on Sundays from two o'clock. The Museum on the opposite side contains a wealth of specimens and objects relating to the sciences of geology, ornithology, entomology, and conchology. One of its most remarkable treasures is an almost perfect skeleton of the fossil giant deer of this country. What will be more interesting than the scientific department to the general visitor will be the very rare and interesting ancient Irish ornaments and weapons, and the fine collections of Etruscan vases, and many models of other art objects to be seen here. This building is open to the public free on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday from twelve to three o'clock. The central building, Leinster House, contains a very extensive library and reading-rooms, to the use of which the public are admitted. In the spacious and lofty hall there are many beautiful specimens of modern sculpture, which have been greatly enriched by the generous Foley bequest.

In connection with the Royal Dublin Society is an excellent School of Design, and the Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, noticed in another place. This society has the high distinction of being the oldest of all similar ones existing. In a corner of Leinster House stands a statue, by Farrell, of the liberal-handed William Dargan, who should not be forgotten these times, as he was the founder of the first Irish Industrial Exhibition, which was held twenty-nine years ago on that very site.

#### THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

A few hundred yards below O'Connell Bridge, on the north side of the river, stands the Custom House. The visit here, only that we have entered upon the era of trade-revival, would be a depressing one. One of the finest buildings in the metropolis—it is handsomer than the London Custom House, and bigger than the Douane at Marseilles—it is a sad anachronism, as far as Dublin is concerned, a building without its legitimate occupation. The corridors and courts and places which should be resonant with the hum of commerce are silent and all but deserted, and over the spacious offices and apartments which should be devoted to the customs' business of a thriving port are written such names as, "Poor Law," "Stamps," "Board of Works," "Assay," "Inland Revenue," "Commissioners of Woods and Forests." But there it stands, nevertheless, waiting its good time, which is soon to come—its vast and stately proportions, its lofty cupola, statue-crowned roof, pillared façades, waiting the time when Dublin will be a credit to its custom house and its custom house a credit to it.

#### THE FOUR COURTS.

The regal science of the law has certainly a temple it need not be ashamed of in Dublin. The Four Courts



on Inn's-quay, scene of so many mighty trials and exciting incidents, present a most imposing front to the river. The pile is surmounted by a noble dome, which forms the roof of a circular hall in the centre of the building, off which are the entrances to the several courts. A statue of Truth adorns the centre of this hall, and historical pieces in bas-relief are placed in the panels over the entrances to the courts, the subjects including William the Conqueror forming Courts of Justice: John signing the Magna Charta; the Irish Chieftains and Henry II.; James I. signing the Act of Oblivion and declaring the abolition of the Brehon Laws. Between the eight windows of the dome are statues of Law, Justice, Mercy, Wisdom, Providence, Eloquence, Vengeance, and Liberty. The frieze-work is adorned by medallions of the ancient law-givers—Ollamh Fodhla, Moses, Confucius, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, Alfred, Marcello Capræ. In the hall also are statues of Lord Plunkett, Sir Michael O'Loughlen, and Chief Justice Whiteside. Of what may be seen in this hall when it is term-time, and what is done then in these courts, we refrain from writing, for is not this writ large in a thousand satires whereto those who are interested may turn? Besides this is not term-time.

#### “THE CASTLE.”

Of the evil phenomena of this life, there is no class of them so repellant as that of things which are old, and whose vice and ugliness age serves only to intensify. Such a monster is Dublin Castle. It is ugly in its appearance and as ugly in its deeds since the day King John built it, with fortress and dungeons, to protect himself from the outer Irishrie and terrorize the city. From the King who betrayed his own brother and his own country, in the eleventh century, to the Cabinet

Minister who betrayed the secrets of his Cabinet in the last quarter of the nineteenth, its occupants, either fatefully chosen as spirits akin, or poisoned by its atmosphere, have been piling on its evil character, in the ratio of arithmetical progression. Of all the wicked and unlovely old institutions that ever were, it is the worst. The Inquisition had the merit of being picturesque. There was a certain dignity about the Star Chamber. But there is nothing in "the Castle" of Dublin that raises it out of the slime of which the toads and vermin are begotten. It is certainly not a theme to be introduced amongst the subjects of a pleasure visit, and it should not be spoken of in the connection but from the important part it plays in the government of our country. Unfortunately, the history of "the Castle" is inseparably wound into the past history of our land. "The Castle" has ever been the *sine qua non* of English rule in Ireland—the most potent demoralizer of our national and social life—and every Irishman in the Irish metropolis for the first time will do well to visit the Castle, and impress its features on his memory. He can always recall them afterwards when he hears the name mentioned, and that will be useful, as the recollection will leave him a less likely subject for the subtle and far-reaching influence of the place.

#### THE CHURCHES.

One of the rarest of the visitors' treats will be the churches. Of the ancient churches to be visited the two chief are Christ Church and St. Patrick's. Apart from their intrinsic beauty, the history of these and the proof they give of what Catholicity and architecture must have been in Dublin eight centuries ago, are matters of great value and interest. It would be too much here to give anything like the historical sketch that



might be given of these churches or to detail what is to be seen there. It is enough to mention of Christ Church that St. Patrick said Mass in it; that it was there Lambert Simnel was crowned; that for some time the Irish Parliament assembled within its walls; and that Strongbow's tomb is preserved there to the present day. Through the munificence of Mr. Roe, the distiller, this cathedral has been completely restored; amongst the additions to its internal beauties is a splendid rood-screen; Mr. Roe has also built a synod house in the style of the church, which is reached from the latter by an effective covered bridge spanning Michael's Hill. St. Patrick's Cathedral owes its restoration to the liberality of another eminent member of the liquor trade, the late Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness. This church was consecrated by Archbishop Comyn in the tenth century. Its interior is very beautiful and vast. The ancient crypt, under the south aisle of the nave, which was probably the original seat of the Dublin University in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, should be seen. In St. Patrick's are preserved many battle-torn military flags and trophies and relics; and amongst the mural tablets are two commemorative of Dean Swift and Stella. Pamphlet descriptions of both these churches are to be had from the vergers at the gates. Of course, the principal of the modern Catholic churches will be visited by most strangers in Dublin these weeks—all the ancient ones, which were Catholic too, being now, as the Americans would say, "worked" in the Protestant interest. The Catholic churches of our city are, with scarce an exception, exceedingly beautiful, each in its different way, and are a wonderful testimony to the status of the Faith in the capital of Ireland. It would be almost invidious to mention any, where all have such attractions, and where all are so easily accessible, without the help that we

can give. But we may allude at least to the Mission Fathers' Church, Phibsborough; the Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough Street; St. Francis Xavier, or the Jesuit Church, in Upper Gardiner Street; the Passionists' Church at Mount Argus, Harold's-Cross; St. Andrew's, Westland Row; and St. John's, Berkeley Street, as amongst the most noteworthy; whilst undoubtedly the prettiest church, as far as decoration is concerned, is St. Alphonsus's, Drumcondra. There are a few old churches in Dublin which the patriot should visit for their sacred associations. In St. Werburgh's in Werburgh Street, one of the most popular of the city temples in old days, Lord Edward Fitzgerald is buried. His body was laid here, under the chancel, one night in 1798. By a singular stroke of the irony of fate, Major Sirr, his capturer, is buried in St. Werburgh's church-yard, and the two fierce combatants, having been laid low by the great leveler, sleep their last sleep almost side by side in the same clay to-day. In the vaults of St. Michan's Church, in Church Street, lie the bones of the brothers John and Henry Sheares, and in its graveyard is the tomb of Dr. Lucas. There are very peculiar properties, by the way, attached to the vaults of this church, attributed to their dry state, of preserving the bodies interred in them; and several bodies buried there many years ago, still in a perfect state of preservation, are a very curious sight. While on the subject of tombs, it should be noted that Thomas Davis lies in Mount St. Jerome, the fine Protestant cemetery of the city, and that a handsome monument is erected over the grave, which forms one of the cemetery's chief attractions. It is worthy of mention, too, that Mrs. Hemans, the poetess, is buried in St. Anne's Church, in Dawson Street.



## THE MATER MISERICORDIÆ HOSPITAL,

which is admittedly one of the handsomest and most admirable institutions of its kind in the Three Kingdoms, is, without doubt, one of the sights of Dublin. It is presided over by the Sisters of Mercy, and this is enough to say that it is a heaven to all who are sick and maimed, and lucky enough to get there, no matter what faith they worship in. But what the visitor will most be struck with is the building itself—its vastness and beauty; the unusual elegance of its interior; its grand hall and staircase; its pathological museum and operation theatre, altogether unequaled in this country; its “mute matted corridors” and its wards, with their exquisite cleanliness, airiness, perfume of flowers, and sisters like ministering angels, flitting to and fro.

## GLASNEVIN CEMETERY

Glasnevin is one of the finest cemeteries attached to any city in Europe. Any one who sees it will say this at once—none more readily than the man who has traveled. Père-la-Chaise is the Glasnevin of Paris, and the model cemetery of the Continent, but the beauties of Père-la-Chaise seem tainted with rouge and powder when one has seen the swelling naturalness of Glasnevin. The beautifully kept paths, the waving trees, the rich country, with the Tolka meandering hard by, the pretty mortuary chapel in the centre, the subdued and distant hum of the city, make it a true God's-acre, a genuine Mother of the Dead, in whose bosom her sleeping children are held lovingly. The most striking feature in the cemetery, on entering the gate, is O'Connell's tomb, with its beautiful round tower, and the “O'Connell Circle,” where sleep Curran and “honest Tom Steele.” The memorial cross of the Manchester martyrs, while a shrine for the patriot, is

also a theme of admiration from the visitor. Some one, too, has at last found out Clarence Mangan's grave, and put up a direction-post near it. The dear poet of tears and glowing dreams has had his wish in death—the grave that Korner longed for, where none come to mourn but the birds and the caressing breezes, the night weeping her dew, and the “cold, cold moon tenderly shining.” But he who goes to Glasnevin can find out all else that is interesting for himself on the ground—the officials are obliging. The tram passes the gate, and will bring him on a little farther to the

#### BOTANIC GARDENS

of the Royal Dublin Society. These are excellently kept; their forcing-houses, with every gradation of climatic temperature, growing all sorts of vegetation from the Alpine edelweiss and Icelandic heather to the pine-trees and bananas of the tropics, should not be left unvisited.

#### THE PARK.

The Phoenix Park, anyhow, is one point on which Dublin claims superiority to every city in Europe. It is a grand expanse of undulating country, characterized by the beauties of wood and river, and surrounded by magnificent mountain scenery, to which the weary denizen of the Dublin purlieus can turn out at ten minutes' notice and breathe reviving air and fancy himself in Arcadia. The Park has attractions apart from its natural beauties—there are the People's Garden, the Viceregal Lodge, the residences of the Chief and Under-Secretaries, the Royal Irish Constabulary Depot, the Gough Memorial Statue, the Wellington art triumph, the Zoological Gardens. These latter are specially worth visiting by the tourist in Dublin—they are extensive, handsome, well stocked with birds, beasts



and fishes of all sorts, and the price of admission on Sundays is two pence. Chapelizod is a pretty village on the Liffey at one end of the Park. The famous Strawberry Beds are on the Liffey near Castleknock. The Park has historical associations other than those of the review in the Fifteen Acres. The Wellington Testimonial, if it did nothing else, marks the scene of the police battue in 1871; and right opposite the Viceregal Lodge the visitor may stand on the scene of the awful tragedy of three months ago, which Earl Spencer witnessed from its windows. While in the Park neighborhood, those so minded could conveniently have a look at grim Kilmainham. The Kingsbridge railway terminus is a very handsome building near at hand in the opposite direction; and the Royal Hospital for old soldiers, between Kingsbridge and Kilmainham, also deserves a look in passing. Some celebrated cricket clubs have their grounds in the Park, and there is an excellent polo ground near the Viceregal establishment. A drive through and round the Park—which a party of three or four may “do” very cheaply—is one of the very best ways of putting in a few hours during a visit to Dublin.

#### THE KINGSTOWN AND WICKLOW DISTRICT.

Dublin's proximity to the sea is one of its crowning advantages. Dublin Bay has been compared to the Bay of Naples, and, while not prepared to go exactly that length with enthusiasts, we must agree with every one who ever sailed into it, except Mr. Thackeray, who came in the dark, that the bay of the Irish metropolis is a truly magnificent one, and is endowed with beauties of its own, which even the Neapolitans might envy. No trip to Dublin is complete without a trip to Kingstown, which, besides its splendid harbor, where

mail packets and men-o'-war securely ride, its handsome terraces, imposing new Town Hall and fine hotels, can boast an obelisk commemorating a most notable circumstance—namely, that the spot whereon it stands was the last spot of Irish earth touched by George IV.'s gouty toe, on his departure from Ireland in 1821, when Kingstown first became Kingstown, in his honor, and discarded its honest patronym of Dunleary. The surroundings of the town, both at the Dublin and Wicklow side, are very beautiful. Trains run to and from Kingstown every fifteen minutes. Those who like tramway riding can tram it to Booterstown and Blackrock, walk from that to Kingstown, and tram it again from that to Dalkey, if they so elect. Down to Bray is the loveliest of trips, the railway running along the coast, past Dalkey, Killiney, and Ballybrack, in a manner commanding sea views unsurpassed by those of any railway in any country. To climb to the top of Killiney Hill and look from its obelisk, is to behold a panorama worth climbing any hill to see. When in Bray, and having walked round the Head, it is the easiest thing in the world to take a run to Enniskerry, only three miles away, the most prettily situated of villages, nestling amid a coverlet of trees in the bed of a lovely valley. Here one may get a pass to visit the Powerscourt demesne and glorious water-fall, while the famous Dargle is close at hand, and the Glen of the Downs not far away; the Sugar Loaves looking serenely down, and visible from all points of view.

#### HOWTH.

For bold, wild, natural coast scenery, however, commend us to Howth. A convenient train runs from Amiens Street to Howth, whence the sturdy pedestrian, in search of bracing air and gorgeous land and sea-



scapes, can trudge boldly hillwards, the new road making the ascent, to the healthy-limbed, a mere bagatelle. From the top of the hill, the magnificence of the widely-extended ocean view is simply indescribable. All Dublin Bay is stretched before the tourist like a map. Ireland's Eye, with its ruined church of St. Nessan, is on his left; Lambay, the renowned, is beyond it; and forty miles away he can see, clear cut and bold, the outlines of the Mourne Mountains. The Bailey Lighthouse, right off the commanding "Nose" of Howth, is an attractive bit in the scene; while the fishing boats and steamers, ploughing their way out in the blue sea, give the picture life and animation. The ruined Abbey of Howth, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and said to have been built by the St. Lawrences, six centuries ago, is a most interesting place to visit; while Howth Castle, the residence of the Earl, when he is at home, is always open to the visitor, and is well worth seeing. A delightful steamer excursion is often made to Lambay Island, which is always duly advertised in the papers. Clontarf, the Irish Marathon, is at the Howth side of Dublin, and one of its prettiest northern suburbs.

#### THEATRES AND AMUSEMENTS.

Alas for Dublin! It has only one high-class theatre since the noble old Royal was burnt, and Dubliners and their visitors have to suffer all the drawbacks which a management with a monopoly can inflict upon them with luxurious impunity. We must be thankful for small mercies, however, and, as far as amusements in this connection are concerned, direct our friends to the advertisements, where the theatres, and music-halls, and concert-rooms, and circus temptingly set forth their bills of fare.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE IRISH HIERARCHY.

*Their Views on the Land League—Extracts from their Pastorals and Addresses—Their Address to the People of Ireland.*

SHOULD a single priest or bishop speak in opposition to the Land League movement in Ireland, immediately the English papers and the enemies of Ireland in general lay hold of the fact and by labored efforts try and manufacture it into a general opposition on the part of the Irish hierarchy and priesthood in general. Even all kinds of bulls and denunciation condemning the movement have been weekly manufactured by the English press, to be immediately afterwards swallowed as a falsehood. The truth is, while the agitation keeps within just bounds and does not allow itself to be sullied by Communism or outrages, it has and will have no warmer advocates. In proof of this we publish the following as the views of the Hierarchy of Ireland:

## ARCHBISHOP CROKE.

We are in a great many respects one of the finest people on the face of the earth; we are the most religious, the most generous, the most unselfish, the most sympathetic, and in many other respects we can compare favorably with any other race upon the habitable globe. We are also a patriotic people. By "patriotic" I mean that there are no people on earth who love their

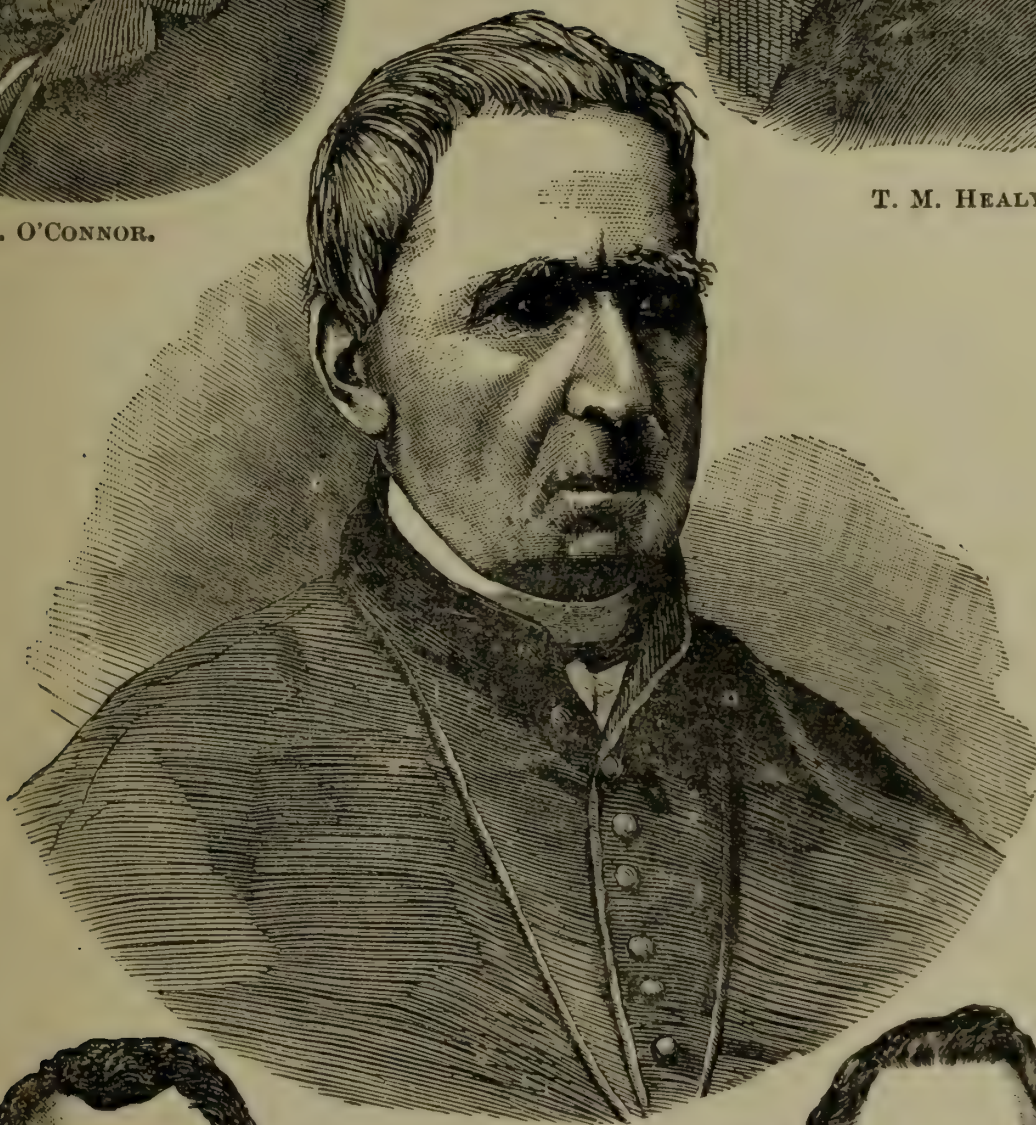




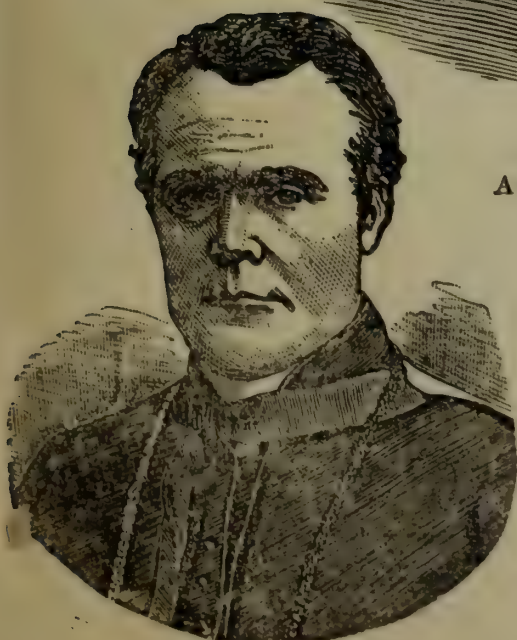
T. P. O'CONNOR.



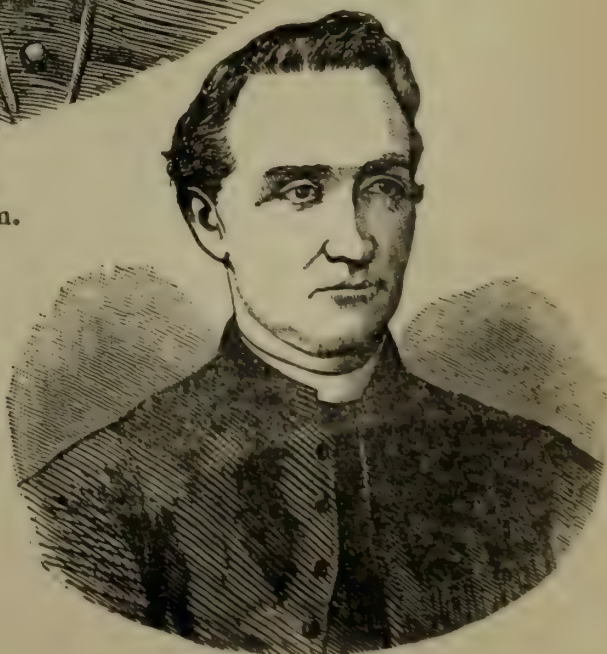
T. M. HEALY.



JOHN MACHALE,  
Arch-Bishop of Tuam.



THOMAS W. CROKE,  
Arch-Bishop of Cashel.



REV. EUGENE SHEEHY,  
Ireland's Patriot Priest.





country more than Irishmen have loved theirs, and how do I show this? I could show it in a great many ways. I have met men of our race in almost every country in the world, and wherever I found them far away, I found that their devotion to the country of their birth was even more intense than when they were at home. I have known people who came to visit Ireland after being ten or fifteen or twenty years away from it—I have known them, at much inconvenience to themselves, to carry back some of the soil or some other little souvenir of their native land.

As to the Land League movement, it is not a revolutionary movement in the strict sense of the word. It is a constitutional movement; it is a lawful movement. It is a movement which we intend to push forward by moral force alone. We do not intend to violate any law; we intend to exhaust all constitutional remedies. We are perfectly certain that the elasticity of the Constitution will allow us the means of working energetically to the last, and finally achieving the result we aim at. We wish to produce the effect upon England, not by physical force or by any manifestations of physical force, but by moral means.

We want to make our grievances known before the entire world, to tell France and Spain and Italy and the United States and the great colonies that acknowledge the sway of Great Britain that as in this country we have been kept down by bayonets to the present time, and as by bayonets we are kept down at present, please God, we are now fully determined, bayonets or no bayonets, to proclaim at all events our wants, and to proclaim that we will not be satisfied until we get our rights, and that we will enlist on our behalf, not the swords nor the guns nor the cannon of France or of Spain or of Italy or of the United States, but the intelligent opinion of all the intelligent nations of the earth.

Therefore this is not a revolutionary movement, nor is it an irreligious movement, because it is conducted by the most religious people in the world, and backed up by the best, the most holy, the most self-sacrificing, the most faithful, and the most uncompromising priesthood in the world. It is not an unjust movement, calculated or designed to do injury to anybody. We repudiate that charge. We say that we do not intend to do injury to any mortal man. We recognize the rights of the owner of the soil, and we recognize our own rights at the same time, and while we give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, we will assert for ourselves the things that are ours.

#### THE PATRIOT BISHOP OF MEATH.

Bishop Nulty in an address said: We do not want injustice or wrong; we want no more of these things, as hitherto in Ireland we had nothing but tyranny and oppression. We will stand this no longer; too long have we borne with it. We are determined now to persevere until the soil of the country shall be owned by the people—to persevere until no man shall have the power any longer to evict the people who are able and willing to live in the land of their birth. Besides the few points and principles of equity introduced into the bill, there were a number of qualifications and provisos appended in exact antagonism to the principles of the bill. Our object is to eliminate these things. If the main principles of the Land Bill were carried out without being hampered by any restrictions or exceptions, his belief was that it would be a good one, and would go far to secure a measure of justice, fair play, and loyalty to the people of Ireland. They did not wish to be disloyal. They wished to be allowed to remain in peace and occupy the land of their birth.



The highest and noblest title a man can have is to be an honest and improving tenant, and if a man be cheated out of that, he has a right before high heaven to defend and maintain it. The Irish members of Parliament had taken a peculiar action regarding the Land Bill. It was necessary for them to take an independent action, and they were justified in doing so. The people of Ireland had now a great power in the Land League to combine, and when they do so legally and justly there was no force on earth to withstand them. Already they had made the landlords feel that. It was better to settle the land question now than to go on in the old way of toil unrequited, hopes blasted, and disappointment. The landlords felt now as if parting with their hearts' blood in acceding to a measure of justice long delayed to their tenants. But they must give it up even to the last drop.

Let them conduct all their actions according to law, peace, and order—with no injustice, no outrage, no stain on their moral character. Let them never give up the Land League organization until the people are allowed to live in peace and prosperity in the country where God placed them. The Land Bill was certainly a great measure of justice, but it should be amended, and it would, he trusted.

Regarding the arrest of Father Sheehy, his Lordship said that he did not know that patriotic priest. He well knew the illustrious Archbishop of Cashel, and read what he had said of the imprisoned clergyman. He well knew that Dr. Croke would not say one word if he did not absolutely believe in its truth, and therefore he said that Father Sheehy was a good and a patriotic priest, who emulated the priests of old in offering up their lives for their people. He (Dr. Nulty) in heart and soul emphatically condemned the government in arresting and imprisoning him. What did it matter? Let them

now arrest bishops and priests. He would gladly follow Father Sheehy. It would be a relief to him if he was taken up by the minions of the government and put in jail. It was no disgrace for a bishop or a priest to be put in jail. One of the greatest men in Ireland—Archbishop O'Hurley of Cashel—was hunted like a wolf by the English government. He fled to the old Castle of Fennon, close by, then owned by the Flemmings, where he got a warm refuge. He was discovered, dragged out of it, and brought a prisoner to Dublin, where he suffered a most painful and cruel death. He suffered martyrdom and died for his country. The reason Father Sheehy was imprisoned was because he loved his country. It was no disgrace to suffer imprisonment in old Ireland. His Lordship again expressed his acknowledgements for the high honor done him. He was prepared to do everything—to lay down his life if need be—for his people.

The Most Rev. Dr. McEvilly, Coadjutor-Archbishop of Tuam, in his Lenten pastoral, says :

“While the great bulk of our people are allowed to live in the land of their birth, in most cases, on mere sufferance; while they are kept in constant dread, so far as the protection of law is concerned, of being the victims, in many instances, of plunder and spoliation; while, in a state of anxious uncertainty, they have cause to dread, in many cases, being turned adrift at the whim of irresponsible power, and of forfeiting the fruit of long toil and outlay, which is in reality for thousands a question of life and death,—can they in any sense of the word be regarded as free? While they see before their eye the laborer defrauded of his hire on a gigantic scale—what else can we term compelling men to pay in ever-increasing rents for the fruits of their hard industry?



## THE MOST REV. DR. GILLOOLY ON THE CRISIS.

In his Lenten pastoral the Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly, Lord Bishop of Elphin, thus refers to the present political situation:

In the very critical condition in which our country is now placed, we feel it our duty to give advice to our beloved diocesans on certain duties which they ought presently to fulfil, and also on certain dangers against which they should carefully guard themselves. In the course of the past year, at our conferences and visitations, we spoke, very reverend and reverend fathers, to you and your flocks, in the plainest terms, on the organized agitation which was being carried on amongst you and around you by the Land League. Whilst deeply sympathizing with the tenant class in their great losses and sufferings, and cordially approving the efforts they are making to improve their relations with their landlord, we could not in duty refrain from condemning several acts of injustice and intimidation which had occurred—apparently in connection with the Land League organization. We then warned our beloved people against all violent and illegal means of redress; and predicted, as it was easy to do, that illegal and defiant proceedings such as we condemned would certainly lead to coercive legislation, and possibly deprive the present generation of tenants of the remedial measures which had been promised to them. We now see, to our deep regret, a beginning of the evils we apprehended in the Coercion Bill which has been so eagerly and unanimously adopted by Parliament; and looking to the angry, vindictive spirit aroused amongst the upper classes in England against the land agitation and its promoters, we see great reason to fear that not only will all legislation favorable to the people be defeated, but that the landlord

class will be furnished with new means of oppression; that they will reassert and enforce their claims with renewed severity, and that the people will be again victimized by fines, imprisonments, and evictions.

We have had ample evidence of the despotic temper of a Liberal House of Commons; we have seen the House of Lords maintain its traditional hostility to the tiller of the soil; numerous and convincing proofs have also been supplied to us of the rigor with which the orders of the government and the decrees of the laws will be henceforth executed. In view of such facts, and with such means of forecasting the future, what honest man, if he be of sound mind, can still believe in the success of violent and illegal remedies? Who but an enemy can still advocate or recommend them?

#### THE BISHOP OF ACHONRY.

The Most Rev. Dr. F. J. MacCormack, Lord Bishop of Achonry, says:

We have passed into another year and approach another Lent, but the deep shadow of sorrow is still cast over our troubled land. Distress still hovers over the country, and it remains to be seen how the poor laborers and small farmers may eke out an existence during the ensuing spring and summer. The clouds of discontent thicken apace, and the outlook seems more gloomy day by day. The fortunes of our poor country are now in the uncertain balance of a foreign legislature, to be cast at the beck of British ministers. Discontent and disloyalty may be now perpetuated in this ill-used country, or on the other hand, one of the great wounds of Ireland may now be healed up and the feeling of unrest be quickly abated. The pressing evil of the iniquitous land system of Ireland has been brought to the front, and in its presence other Irish



grievances are hushed for the moment. In this momentous crisis of our unhappy nation it behooves clergy and people to unite in prayer to the Giver of all good, that he may inspire British legislators with wisdom and justice at a moment when great national interests hang in the balance.

The land grievance of Ireland is admitted by all just men, and the wonder is that any people with an instinct of honest manliness could have borne a cruel, transparent, and systematic wrong so long and so patiently. The earnest appeal for redress has at length gone forth, a combined effort to resist injustice is now made in every province in Ireland—in the black North as well as in the sunny South. We may rest assured that an urgent, persevering appeal for justice cannot and will not be disregarded when it emanates from Protestant as well as Catholic—from a body of “united Irishmen” determined to gain their point because justice is on their side. But with that thorough perseverance should be united an earnest endeavor to discountenance the employment of every illegal means in working out this all-important social reform. Let coercion do its worst, it can never prevail in quenching the claims of justice or silencing the spirit of earnestness which is now abroad.

The eyes of many nations are now watching the result of the Irish land movement, eagerly awaiting the next move of the British Government on the land question, and how our poor country will fare at their hands at this supreme moment. The United States of America particularly regard the struggle with deep and sympathetic interest. They see with regret “the substitution of the methods of tyranny for the peaceful process of conciliation” to stifle the voice of Ireland and paralyze her action. And they suggest that “if the British Parliament is unable or unwilling to apply

an efficient remedy to the cancer that is eating away the life of a nation," it is the duty of England to remit the cure of the evil to the people of Ireland themselves. We exhort both clergy and people to hold together, united in sentiment and action, in this trying crisis of our country. The clergy of Ireland owe a deep debt of loyalty to their faithful flocks, and as long as the people pursue the paths of justice and equity the clergy shall be ever found by their side. If the British government would only make an honest effort to redress the glaring grievances under which our poor people have suffered for ages in unparalleled misery, they may count upon a nation's loyalty and the cordial goodwill of every true Irishman. But coercion, in and out of Parliament, of the people and of the people's representatives takes the lead of redress, even in the full noonday of admitted wrongs—such coercion as was never heard of before, exasperating in the highest degree, in every shape and form that ingenuity could devise.

#### THE BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

The Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Lord Bishop of Clogher, refers thus to the land question:

It is with feelings of more than ordinary anxiety we address you at the present juncture. Our country presents at this moment, to the empire and the world, a spectacle of social upheaving calculated to inspire all of us with the gravest disquietude. After being rescued by the charity of the world—chiefly, no doubt, of our kith and kin—from the jaws of a terrible famine, which would have been the second within a generation, the Irish people have risen from their lethargy, and, joining together in lawful combination, have proclaimed that they shall no longer submit to conditions of life which keep the bulk of them in a state of chronic



abasement and misery, to be turned into the horrors of a national famine by the failure of a single esculent. Is it not time such a state of things should end, and that Irishmen, patterns of industry, thrift, loyalty, and prosperity in every foreign land, should no longer be kept in a perpetual struggle between life and death on this island which God has given for their support?

- We have been calling on the legislature to rescue us from land laws which condemn our people to starvation and degradation; and now, for the hundredth time, our appeal is responded to by coercion acts and arm acts. And is this to go on for ever? Are we to be left still preaching patience to a starving multitude, loyalty and submission to a people for whom law is but organized oppression, confiscation, expatriation! We have hopes that this may not be so, and that counsels of humanity and prudence may at length prevail; but the future is in the hands of God. Whilst we ask the clergy to impress on their flocks the necessity of prudence, moderation, and charity in the present agitation, and the need of keeping strictly within the laws of God and his Church, and the civil law as well, we call on priests and people to join with us, at this supreme moment, in making an earnest appeal to Almighty God that he may move the hearts of your rulers and legislators to send at length a message of relief to a long-suffering nation. For this purpose we ordain that the clergy and faithful of this diocese do enter on a novena, or nine days of devotional exercises, beginning with the 9th and ending with the 17th day of March, the feast of our national apostle.

#### THE BISHOP OF CLONFERT.

The Most Rev. Dr. Duggan, Lord Bishop of Clonfert, in his Lenten pastoral, thus refers to the present crisis:

It is earnestly hoped that Parliament will soon, by wise, vigorous, and incisive legislation, put an end forever to this burning land agitation—an agitation that will not cease to exercise the public mind in some form or another until finally settled on principles in conformity with the eternal laws of equity and justice. The condition of the laboring poor and artisan classes in this as in other towns is this year simply deplorable. The same is to be said of numbers of the small holders of land throughout this diocese. The failure of the potato crop affects those classes in a special manner. For large numbers of them we see no alternative but starvation, or a judicious outlay in out-door relief, combined with employment on works of public utility. The rigid application of the work-house test to able-bodied members of families, involving the eternal disruption of home ties, in seasons of exceptional severity, would be simply inhuman. As the duties entrusted by the legislature to those charged with the administration of the poor-laws are being more and more extended year after year, it should be borne in mind both by the rate-paying electors and guardians that their responsibilities are become proportionately increased—hence, among other matters, the duty on both to endeavor to temper economy with a judicious and humane regard to the condition of the indigent. It would be impossible to find words to adequately express our thanks to the munificent benefactors from all parts of the world who came to the relief of the famine-stricken poor of our locality during last year. We take this opportunity of again expressing our heartfelt acknowledgments. Let us hope the time is not far distant when there will be an end of such mendicancy.



## THE BISHOP OF DOWN.

The Right Rev. Dr. Dorrian, Bishop of Down and Connor, in his Lenten pastoral, deals at length with the land question and the present crisis in Ireland. So far as he understood the present agitation, he could see nothing in its principles opposed to an equitable settlement of the land question on the most constitutional lines. He condemned the coercive legislation of the government as unstatesmanlike, irritating, and illogical. Coercion was the weapon of the tyrant, not a remedy for hungering multitudes. It must produce hatred, not love; and terror would not lead to willing obedience of the law. In conclusion, he counseled his flock to continue to discuss their grievances and keep within the law until redress was constitutionally obtained.

## THE IRISH HIERARCHY.

*Their Address to the People of Ireland.*

The following is the full text of the address of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, assembled in Dublin, June 10th, 1882, to their flocks:

In the social crisis through which Ireland is now passing, which must long and deeply affect moral as well as material interests, you have a right to expect that your Bishops would give you advice and direction, and help to remove those perplexities with which the most enlightened as well as the best-disposed are now beset. Pressed by the duty we owe you in this conjuncture, and anxious beyond expression for your temporal as well as for your spiritual welfare, we have considered, at our meeting, among other subjects, the present condition of our beloved country; and we now hasten to communicate to you the result of those deliberations.

Let us premise that, in forming our judgments, we have been influenced chiefly by the consideration of your spiritual interests, and have been solely guided by the dictates of conscience, and by the ever-just and beneficent law of God. To you, the devoted children of the Catholic Church, enlightened by faith and obedient to the divine precept of seeking "first the kingdom of God and his justice"—to you, as to ourselves, it is and must be an undoubted truth that in all questions, social and political, as well as religious, the law of God is our supreme and infallible rule; that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right; and that an act which God forbids us to do cannot possibly benefit either ourselves or our country.

Applying those principles to events every day occurring around us, and to the important questions which now absorb the attention of our people, we see dangers against which we must raise our warning voice, and not a few excesses which we must deeply lament and unequivocally condemn.

It is true that on religious as well as political grounds, *it is the indisputable right of Irishmen to live on and by their own fertile soil, and be free to employ the resources of their country for their own profit.* It is, moreover, the admitted right, and often the duty, of those who suffer oppression, either from individuals or from the state, to seek redress by every lawful means; *and to help in obtaining such redress is a noble work of justice and charity.* On these grounds it is, that the object of our national movement has had the approval and blessing not only of your priests and bishops, but of the Sovereign Pontiff himself, and has been applauded in our own and foreign countries by all men of just and generous minds, without distinction of race or creed. It must, however, be well known to you, as, indeed, it is to



the world at large, that in the pursuit of your legitimate aims means have been from time to time employed which are utterly subversive of social order, and opposed to the dictates of justice and charity. It is to these unlawful means we desire to direct your attention, and especially to the following:

1st—Refusing to pay just debts when able to pay them.

2d—Preventing others from paying their just debts.

3d—Injuring the neighbor in his person, his rights, or property.

4th—Forcibly resisting the law and those charged with its administration, or inciting others to do so.

5th—Forming secret associations for the promotion of the above or other like objects, or obeying the orders of such condemned associations.

Under each of these heads numerous offenses, all more or less criminal, have been committed, fearfully prominent amongst them being the hideous crime of murder, which, even at the moment we address you, horrifies the public conscience, disgraces our country, and provokes the anger of the Almighty. Against all and each of these offenses we most solemnly protest in the name of God and of his Church; and we declare it to be your duty to regard as the worst enemy of our creed and country the man who would recommend or justify the commission of any of them. We solemnly appeal to all our flocks, especially to the youth of both sexes, not only to have no connection with secret societies, but to condemn and oppose them as being hostile alike to religion and to social freedom and progress.

Let us now assure you that the national movement, purged from what is criminal, and guarded against what leads to crime, shall have our earnest support, and that of our clergy.

A considerable installment of justice has within the last few years been given to the tenant-farmers of Ireland. *To them, and to other classes of our countrymen, especially to the laboring class, much more is due;* and it is your duty and ours to press our claims until they are conceded. In every peaceful and just movement of yours the clergy shall be with you, to guide, and if necessary to restrain you; but you must not expect them to do what in conscience they condemn. They cannot be the sowers of hatred and dissension amongst their flocks. They cannot under any pretext tolerate, much less countenance, lawlessness and disorder. They will work manfully with and for you, but in the light of day, with lawful arms, and for just and laudable objects; and we feel assured that your filial obedience to their instructions, and to the admonitions given in this brief address, will bring down the Divine blessing on our country, save it from the evils with which it is threatened, and lead it speedily to prosperity and peace.

Before concluding, we feel it our duty to declare, without in any sense meaning to excuse the crimes and offenses we have condemned, *that, in our belief, these would never have occurred had not the people been driven to despair by evictions and the prospect of evictions for the non-payment of exorbitant rents;* and furthermore, that the continuance of such evictions, justly designated by the Prime Minister of England as "sentences of death," must be a fatal, permanent provocative to crime, and that it is the duty of all friends of social order, and especially of the government, to put an end to them as speedily as possible, and at any cost.

Earnestly beseeching our loving Lord to bestow on you and on our afflicted country the wisdom, piety, and fortitude of his Divine Spirit, and to teach you to



prefer the treasures of his grace to all the goods of this earth, we heartily impart to you our pastoral blessing.

[Signed]

EDWARD CARDINAL M'CABE, Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland.

DANIEL M'GETTIGAN, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland.

THOMAS W. CROKE, Archbishop of Cashel, etc.

JOHN MACEVILLY, Archbishop of Tuam, etc.

WILLIAM DELANEY, Bishop of Cork.

FRANCIS KELLY, Bishop of Derry.

J. P. LEAHY, Bishop of Dromore.

JAMES WALSH, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

LAWRENCE GILLOOLY, Bishop of Elphin.

MICHAEL FLANNERY, Bishop of Killaloe.

PATRICK DORRIAN, Bishop of Down and Connor.

GEORGE BUTLER, Bishop of Limerick.

NICHOLAS CONATY, Bishop of Kilmore.

THOMAS NULTY, Bishop of Meath,

JAMES DONNELLY, Bishop of Clogher.

JAMES LYNCH, Coadjutor Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

PATRICK DUGGAN, Bishop of Clonfert.

HUGH CONWAY, Bishop of Killala.

F. J. M'CORMACK, Bishop of Achonry.

JAMES RYAN, Coadjutor Bishop of Kilalloe.

PATRICK F. MORAN, Bishop of Ossory.

JOHN POWER, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

JOHN MCCARTHY, Bishop of Cloyne.

MICHAEL WARREN, Bishop of Ferns.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD, Bishop of Ross.

BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.

MICHAEL LOGUE, Bishop of Raphoe.

ANDREW HIGGINS, Bishop of Kerry.

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE UNION.

*Articles of Union between Great Britain and Ireland—An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.*

THE following are the Articles of Union between Great Britain and Ireland:

## THE ARTICLES OF UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

RESOLVED, 1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

*Resolved*, 2. That for the purpose of establishing a Union upon the basis stated in the resolution of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, communicated by His Majesty's command in the message sent to this House by His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, it would be fit to propose as the first article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and forever after, be united in one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also



the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, shall be such as His Majesty by his royal proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom shall be pleased to appoint.

*Resolved, 3.* That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

*Resolved, 4.* That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

*Resolved, 5.* That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the said United Parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion

resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same periods of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner, to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless previous to any such period the United Parliament shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the general expenses of the empire shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes, imposed on the like articles in both countries.

*Resolved, 6.* That for defraying the said expenses, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the interest of the debt and sinking fund shall in the first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expense of the United Kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year. That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by these articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom respectively, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall from time to time deem fit, provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportion shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like articles.

*Resolved, 7.* That if at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution, and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be taken off the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the United Parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or invested by the commis-



sioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of contribution in time of war. *Provided*, The surplus so to accumulate, shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

*Resolved*. 8. That all moneys hereafter to be raised by loan in peace or war, for the service of the United Kingdom by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions. *Provided*, That if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

*Resolved*, 9. That if at any future day, the separate debt of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the value of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund), shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the United Parliament, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thence-

forth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expense of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the said United Parliament to declare, that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time as circumstances may require to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general expenses, according to any of the rules hereinbefore provided.

*Provided, nevertheless,* That the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionately as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

*Resolved,* 10. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union to such local purposes, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct.

*Resolved,* 11. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising from the territorial dependencies of the United Kingdom, shall be applied to the general expenditure of the empire, in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

*Resolved,* 12. That for the same purpose it would be fit to



propose that . . . . . lords spiritual of Ireland, and . . . . . lords temporal of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Commons in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

*Resolved*, 13. That such acts as shall be passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the act of the respective Parliaments, by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

*Resolved*, 14. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided, subject, nevertheless, to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the Parliament of the said United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

*Resolved*, 15. That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law, in cases of elections for counties, and cities, and boroughs, respectively, in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

*Resolved*, 16. That when His Majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding

the first or any subsequent Parliament of the United Kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal and commons who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the Parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid, on the part of Ireland, constitute the two Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

*Resolved*, 17. That if His Majesty on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said Lords and Commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom; and such first Parliament may (in that case,) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present Parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall, until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the Parliament of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, 18. That for the same purpose it would be fit to



I propose that the Churches of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, should be united into one Church, and the archbishops, bishops, deans and clergy of the Churches of England and Ireland shall, from time to time, be summoned to and entitled to sit in convocation of the United Church in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established, with respect to the like orders of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the United Church shall be preserved as now by law established for the Church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the Church of Scotland. And that the continuance and preservation forever of the said United Church, as the Established Church of that part of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union.

*Resolved*, 19. That for the same purpose, all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the Union be finally decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; and provided, that from and after the Union there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes civil and maritime only; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying this article into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

*Resolved*, 20. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ire-

land shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom respectively and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies ; and that in all treaties made by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, His Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, 21. That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

*Resolved*, 22. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties, shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as shall be annexed to the several articles contained in the Schedule No. I. ;\* and that the articles hereinafter enumerated shall be subject for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. II., annexed to this article, viz :

Apparel,	Millinery,
Brass, wrought,	Paper, stained,
Cabinet Ware,	Pottery,
Coaches and carriages,	Saddlery,
Copper, wrought,	Silk, manufactured,
Cottons,	Stockings,
Glass,	Thread, bullion for lace, pearl, and
Haberdashery,	spangles,
Hats,	Tin plates, wrought iron, and hard-
Lace, gold and silver;	ware.
gold and silver threads	

\* This refers to Schedules annexed to the resolutions, as originally introduced.



And that the woolen manufacture shall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland ; salt and hops on importation into Ireland, duties not exceeding those which are now paid in Ireland ; and coals on importation to be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight ; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced in such proportion, and at such periods as shall hereafter be enacted, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent. from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, which shall be in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one ; and that cotton, yarn, and cotton-twist shall also be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced at such times, and in such proportions, as shall be hereafter enacted, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

*Resolved, 23.* That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect to such internal duty or duties on the materials ; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said Schedule No. I. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty which shall be set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased in the manner herein specified ; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty, payable on the

articles hereinbefore specified, on the import into the same country with the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the United Parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth or manufacture of either country, or of any new additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

*Resolved*, 24. That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

*Resolved*, 25. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expenses of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions. *Provided*, Nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied or repeated, from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

AN ACT FOR THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 2D  
JULY, 1800.

WHEREAS, In pursuance of His Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two Houses of Parliament in Great



Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain and the two Houses of the Parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved that, in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both Houses of the said two Parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles, for effectuating and establishing the said purposes, in the tenor following:—

ARTICLE I. That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and forever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, shall be such as His Majesty, by his royal proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Article II. That it be the second article of Union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland is now limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

Article III. That it be the third article of Union, that the

said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled "The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Article IV That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That such act as shall be passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons, to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective Parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass, by the clerk of the Parliaments at the table of the House of Lords, whilst the house is sitting; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the Parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the case may be.



That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to service if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offense with which he may be charged.

That it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union. *Provided*, That no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the Union, shall have become extinct; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the United Kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the United Kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for His

Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled, by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom.

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct. *Provided*, That nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, reported to His Majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to His Majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United



Kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided; subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect to Ireland as, from local circumstances, the Parliament of the United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in the cases of elections for counties, and cities, and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That when His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding a first or any subsequent Parliament of the United Kingdom, a proclamation shall issue, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the Parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That if His Majesty, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain; then the said lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of

Great Britain, and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom; and such first Parliament may (in that case), if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present Parliament of Great Britain may by law now continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved: *Provided always*, That until an act shall have passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown of Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty, holding such offices or places as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house as to make the whole number of members of the said house holding such offices or places as aforesaid more than twenty, then and in such case the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom, in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall, until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the lords and commons of the Parliament of Great Britain.

That the lords of Parliament on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of Parliament which shall belong to the



lords of Parliament on the part of Great Britain; and the lord spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedence next and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the same (the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted); and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland, existing at the time of the Union, shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedence next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland created after the Union shall have rank and precedence with the peerages of the United Kingdom so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects, from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the United Kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the United Kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted.

Article V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called *The United Church of England and Ireland*; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be and shall remain in full force forever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of

England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Article VI. That it be the sixth article of Union, that His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, His Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

That, from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the Schedule Number One, A. and B., hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in the manner hereinafter provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the Schedule Number Two, hereunto annexed, shall



be subject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said Schedule Number Two, and the woollen manufactures, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland: Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain shall be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions, as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per centum from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so that as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said pur-

poses the articles specified in the said Schedule Number One, A. and B., shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner herein specified ; and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the United Parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty of any materials of which such article may be composed, or on any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions : *Provided always*, That nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit ; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions, on the said articles, may be regulated,



varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

Article VII. That it be the seventh article of Union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; and that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable,) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall deem just and reasonable upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision; or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined; or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other; unless, previous to any such period, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like

articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the United Kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall from time to time deem fit: *Provided always*, That in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that, if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; *Provided*, That the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all moneys to be raised after the Union, by loan in peace or war, for the service of the United Kingdom by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; *Provided*, That, if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each



country, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one-hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to declare that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called

Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand; that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules hereinbefore described; *Provided nevertheless*, That the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country; that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct; that, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the United Kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the United Kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Article VIII That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require. *Provided*, That all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; *And provided*, That from and after



the Union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to His Majesty's delegates in his Court of Chancery in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

*And whereas,* The said articles having, by address of the respective Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before His Majesty, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same; and to recommend it to his two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles; in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect forever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one. *Provided,* That before that period an act shall have been passed by the Parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## ORIGINAL LISTS.

*Original Red List—Original Black List*

## ORIGINAL RED LIST,

OR THE MEMBERS WHO VOTED AGAINST THE UNION IN 1799 AND 1800,  
WITH OBSERVATIONS.

Those names with a (\*) affixed to them, are County Members; those with a (†) City Members; and those with a (§), Borough Members. Those in *Italics* CHANGED SIDES, and got either money or offices.

NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
1 * Honorable A. Acheson	Son to Lord Gosford.
2 * William C. Alcock . .	County Wexford.
3 * Mervyn Archdall . .	County Fermanagh.
4 § W. H. Armstrong . .	Refused <i>all</i> terms from Government.
5 * <i>Sir Richard Butler</i> . .	<i>Changed Sides.</i> See Black List.
6 * <i>John Bagwell</i> . . . .	<i>Changed sides</i> TWICE. See Black List.
7 § Peter Burrowes . . .	Now Judge of the Insolvent Court; a steady Anti-Unionist.
8 * <i>John Bagwell, Jun.</i> . .	<i>Changed sides.</i> See Black List.
9 † John Ball . . . . .	Member for Drogheda— <i>incorruptible</i> .
10 † Charles Ball . . . . .	Brother to the preceding.
11 † Sir Jonah Barrington .	King's Counsel—Judge of the Admiralty— <i>refused all</i> terms.
12 § Charles Bushe . . . .	Afterwards Solicitor-General and Chief Justice of Ireland— <i>incorruptible</i> .
13 † John C. Beresford . .	<i>Seceded</i> from Mr. Ponsonby in 1799, on his declaration of independence. That secession was fatal to Ireland.
14. <i>Arthur Brown</i> . . . .	Member for the University, <i>changed sides</i> in 1800; was appointed Prime Sergeant by Lord Castlereagh, through Mr. Under Secretary Cooke—of all others the most open and palpable case. See Black List.



NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
15 § William Blakeney . .	<i>A Pensioner</i> , but opposed Government.
16 * William Burton . .	Sold his <i>Borough</i> , Carlow, to a Unionist (Lord Tullamore), but remained staunch himself.
17 * H. V. Brooke.	
18 § Blayney Balfour.	
19 § David Babington . .	Connected with Lord Belmore.
20 † Hon. James Butler . .	(Now Marquis of Ormonde), <i>voted in 1800 against a Union</i> , but with Government on Lord Corry's motion
21 * Col. J. Maxwell Barry	(Now Lord Farnham), nephew to the speaker.
22 § William Bagwell . .	<i>Changed sides TWICE</i> , concluded as a <i>Unionist</i> .
23 * Viscount Corry . . .	(Now Lord Belmore), dismissed from his regiment by Lord Cornwallis—a zealous leader of the Opposition.
24 † Robert Crowe . . .	<i>A Barrister</i> , bribed by Lord Castlereagh.
25 * Lord Clements . . .	(Now Lord Leitrim.)
26 * Lord Cole . . . .	(Now Lord Enniskillen), <i>unfortunately</i> dissented from Mr. Ponsonby's motion for a declaration of independence in 1799, <i>whereby</i> the Union was revived and <i>carried</i> .
27 § Hon. Lowry Cole . .	<i>A General</i> ; brother to Lord Cole.
28 * R. Shapland Carew .	
29 † Hon. A. Creighton . .	<i>Changed sides</i> , and became a Unionist. See Black List.
30 † Hon. J. Creighton . .	<i>Changed sides</i> . See Black List.
31 * Joseph Edward Cooper	
32 † James Cane . . . .	<i>Changed sides</i> . See Black List.
33 * Lord Caulfield . . .	(Now Earl Charlemont), son to Earl Charlemont, a principal leader of the Opposition.
34 † Henry Coddington .	
35 § George Crookshank .	<i>A son of the Judge of the Common Pleas</i> .
36 * Denis B. Daly . . .	Brother-in-law to Mr. Ponsonby; a most active Anti-Unionist.
37 † Noah Dalway.	
38 * Richard Dawson.	
39 * Arthur Dawson . . .	Formerly a Banker, father to the late Under-Secretary.
40 * Francis Dobbs .	Famous for his Doctrine on the Millennium; an ENTHUSIASTIC Anti-Unionist.

NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
41 † John Egan . . . .	King's Counsel, Chairman of Kilmainham; offered a Judge's seat, but could not be purchased, though far from rich.
42 R L. Edgeworth.	
43 † George Evans.	
44 * Sir John Freke, Bart. (Now Lord Carberry.)	
45 * Frederick Falkiner . . . .	Though a distressed person, could not be purchased.
46 § Rt. Hon. J. Fitzgerald	Prime Sergeant of Ireland; could <i>not</i> be bought, and was dismissed from his high office by Lord Cornwallis; father to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald.
47 * William C. Fortescue, (Poisoned by accident.)	One of the three who inconsiderately opposed Mr. Ponsonby, <i>and thereby carried the Union.</i>
48 * Rt Hon. John Foster.	Speaker; the chief of the Opposition throughout the whole contest.
49 * Hon Thomas Foster.	
50 * Sir T Fetherston, Bart. <i>Changed sides.</i> See Black List.	
51 * Arthur French . . . .	Unfortunately coincided with Mr. Fortescue in 1799, against Mr. Ponsonby.
52 § Chichester Fortescue . . . .	King-at-Arms; <i>brought over in</i> 1800, by Lord Castlereagh; voted both sides; <i>ended a</i> Unionist.
53 § William Gore . . . .	<i>Bought</i> by Lord Castlereagh in 1800.
54 § Hamilton Georges . . . .	A distressed man, but <i>could not</i> be purchased; father-in-law to Under-Secretary Cooke.
55 § Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan	
56 § Thomas Goold . . . .	Now Sergeant, brought into Parliament by the Anti-Unionists.
57 † Hans Hamilton . . . .	Member for Dublin County.
58 † Edward Hardman . . . .	City of Drogheda; the Speaker's friend.
59 § Francis Hardy . . . .	Author of the Life of Charlemont; brother-in-law to the Bishop of Down.
60 § Sir Joseph Hoare.	
61 * William Hoare Hume	Wicklow County.
62 § Edward Hoare . . . .	Though <i>very old</i> and <i>stone blind</i> , attended all debates, and sat up all the nights of debate.
63 § Bartholomew Hoare . . . .	King's Counsel.
64 § Alexander Hamilton . . . .	King's Counsel; son to the Baron.
65 § Hon. A. C. Hamilton.	



NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
66 § Sir F. Hopkins, Bart.	Prevailed on to take money to <i>vacate</i> , in 1800, and let in a Unionist.
67 † H. Irwin.	
68 * Gilbert King.	
69 † Charles King.	
70 * Hon. Robert King.	
71 * Lord Kingsborough .	(Now Earl Kingston.)
72 Hon. George Knox .	Brother to Lord Northland; lukewarm.
73 † Francis Knox . . .	Vacated his seat for Lord Castlereagh. See Mr. Crowe's Letter.
74 * Rt. Hon. Henry King.	
75 † Major King. . . .	He opened the Bishop of Clogher's Borough in 1800.
76 § Gustavus Lambert .	Brother to Countess Talbot.
77 * David Latouche, jun .	A Banker.
78 § Robert Latouche. . .	Ditto.
79 § John Latouche, sen.	Ditto.
80 § John Latouche, jun. .	A Banker.
81 * Charles Powell Leslie.	
82 * Edward Lee . . . .	Member for the County of Waterford; zealous.
83 † Sir Thomas Lighten, Bart. . . . .	A Banker.
84 * Lord Maxwell . . .	Died Lord Farnham.
85 * Alexander Montgomery	
86 § Sir J. M'Cartney, Bart.	Much distressed, but could not be bribed; nephew, by affinity, to the Speaker.
87 § William Thomas Mansel	Actually <i>purchased</i> by Lord Castlereagh.
88 § Stephen Moore . . .	Changed sides on Lord Corry's motion.
89 § John Moore.	
90. Arthur Moore . . .	Now Judge of the Common Pleas; a staunch Anti-Unionist.
91 * Lord Mathew . . .	(Now Earl Llandaff), Tipperary County.
92 § Thomas Mahon.	
93 § John Metge . . . .	Brother to the Baron of the Exchequer.
94 § Richard Neville . . .	Had been a dismissed treasury officer; <i>sold his vote to be reinstated, changed sides</i> , See Black List.
95 § Thomas Newenham .	The Author of various Works on Ireland; one of the steadiest Anti-Unionists.
96 * Charles O'Hara . .	Sligo County.
97 * Sir Edward O'Brien .	Clare County.

NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
98 § Col. Hugh O'Donnel .	A most <i>ardent</i> Anti-Unionist; dismissed from his regiment of Mayo militia
99 § James Moore O'Donnell	Killed by Mr. Bingham in a duel.
100 § Hon W. O'Callahan .	Brother to Lord Lismore.
101. Henry Osborn . . .	Could not be bribed; his brother was.
102 * Right Hon. Geo. Ogle.	Wexford County.
103 § Joseph Preston . . .	An eccentric character; could not be purchased.
104 * <i>John Preston</i> . . .	Of Belintor, was <i>purchased</i> by a title, (Lord Tara,) and his brother, a Parson, got a living of £700 a year.
105 * Rt. Hon Sir J. Parnell	Chancellor of the Exchequer, dismissed by Lord Castlereagh; incorruptible.
106 § Henry Parnell,	
107 § W. C. Plunket . . .	Now Lord Plunket.
108 * Rt. Hon. W. B. Ponsonby . . . . .	Afterwards Lord Ponsonby.
109 § J. B. Ponsonby . . .	Afterwards Lord Ponsonby.
110 § Major W. Ponsonby.	A General killed at Waterloo.
111 * Rt. Hon. G. Ponsonby	Afterwards Lord Chancellor; died of apoplexy.
112 * Sir Lawrence Parsons	Kings County; now Earl of Rosse; made a remarkably fine speech.
113 § Richard Power . . .	Nephew to the Baron of the Exchequer.
114 * <i>Abal Ram.</i> . . . .	<i>Changed sides.</i>
115 * <i>Gustavus Rochfort</i> . .	County Westmeath; seduced by Government, and <i>changed sides</i> in 1800. See Black List.
116 § John S. Rochfort . .	Nephew to the Speaker.
117 Sir Wm. Richardson	
118 § <i>John Reilly</i> . . . . .	<i>Changed sides.</i> See Black List.
119 William E. Reily	
120 § Charles Ruxton	
121 § William P. Ruxton	
122 * <i>Clotworthy Rowley</i> . .	<i>Changed sides.</i> See Black List.
123 § <i>William Rowley</i> . . .	<i>Changed sides.</i> See Black List.
124 § <i>J. Rowley</i> . . . . .	<i>Changed sides.</i> See Black List.
125 * Francis Saunderson .	
126 * William Smyth . . .	Westmeath.
127 * James Stewart.	
128 § Hon. W. J. Skeffington	
129 * Francis Savage.	
130 § Francis Synge.	



## ORIGINAL BLACK LIST.

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NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
131 § Henry Stewart.	
132 § Sir R. St. George Bart.	
133 § <i>Hon. Benj. Stratford</i> .	Now Lord Aldborough; gained by Lord Castlereagh; <i>changed sides</i> . See Black List.
134 * Nathaniel Sneyd.	
135 * <i>Thomas Stannus</i> . . .	<i>Changed sides</i> . Lord Portarlington's Member. See Black List.
136 § Robert Shaw . . .	A Banker.
137 § Rt. Hon. Wm. Saurin	Afterwards Attorney-General; a steady but calm Anti-Unionist.
138 § William Tighe.	
139 § Henry Tighe.	
140 § John Taylor.	
141 § Thomas Townshend.	
142 * <i>Hon. Richard Trench</i> .	Voted against the Union in 1799; was gained by Lord Castlereagh, whose relative he married, and voted for it in 1800; was created an Earl, and made an Ambassador to Holland; one of the Vienna Carvers; and a Dutch Marquess.
143 * Hon. R. Taylor.	
144 § Charles Vereker . . .	(Now Lord Gort,) City Limerick.
145 § Owen Wynne.	
146 * John Waller.	
147 § E. D. Wilson.	
148 * <i>Thomas Whaley</i> . . .	First voted <i>against</i> the Union; <i>purchased</i> by Lord Castlereagh; he was Lord Clare's brother-in-law. See Black List.
149 * Nicholas Westby.	
150 * John Wolfe . . .	Member for the County Wicklow; Colonel of the Kildare Militia; refused to vote for Government, and was cashiered; could not be purchased.

## ORIGINAL BLACK LIST.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
1 R. Aldridge . . . .	An English <i>Clerk</i> in the Secretary's office; <i>no connection</i> with Ireland.
2 Henry Alexander . .	Chairman of Ways and Means; cousin of

NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
	Lord Caledon; his brother made a Bishop; himself a Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope.
3 Richard Archdall . . .	Commissioner of the Board of Works.
4 William Bailey . . .	Commissioner of the Board of Works.
5 Rt. Hon. J. Beresford.	First Commissioner of Revenue; brother-in-law to Lord Clare.
6 J. Beresford, jun., . .	Then Purse-bearer to Lord Clare, afterwards a Parson, and now Lord Decies.
7 Marcus Beresford . .	A Colonel in the Army, son to the Bishop, Lord Clare's nephew.
8 J. Bingham . . . .	Created a Peer; got £8,000 for two seats; and £15,000 compensation for Tuam. This gentleman first offered himself for sale to the Anti-Unionist; Lord Clanmorris.
9 Joseph H. Blake. . .	<i>Created a Peer</i> —Lord Wallscourt, etc.
10 Sir J. G. Blackwood .	<i>Created a Peer</i> —Lord Dufferin.
11 Sir John Blaquiere . .	Numerous Offices and Pensions, and created a Peer—Lord De Blaquiere.
12 Anthony Botet . . .	Appointed Commissioner of the Barrack Board, £500 a year.
13 Colonel Burton . . .	Brother to Lord Conyngham; a Colonel in the Army.
14 <i>Sir Richard Butler</i> . .	Purchased and changed sides; voted <i>against</i> the Union in 1799, and <i>for</i> it in 1800; Cash.
15 Lord Boyle . . . .	Son to Lord Shannon; they got an <i>immense</i> sum of money for their seats and Boroughs; at £15,000 each Borough.
16 Rt. Hon. D. Brown .	Brother to Lord Sligo.
17 Stewart Bruce . . .	Gentleman Usher at Dublin Castle; now a Baronet.
18 George Burdet . . .	Commissioner of a Public Board. £500 per annum.
19 George Bunbury . .	Commissioner of a Public Board, £500 per annum.
20 <i>Arthur Brown</i> . . .	<i>Changed sides and principles</i> , and was appointed Sergeant; in 1799 opposed the Union, and supported it in 1800; he was Senior Fellow in Dublin University; lost his seat the ensuing election, and died.



NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
21 ——— <i>Bagwell, sen.</i> ,	<i>Changed</i> TWICE; got half the patronage of Tipperary; his son a Dean, etc., etc.
22 ——— <i>Bagwell, jun.</i> ,	<i>Changed</i> TWICE; got the Tipperary Regiment, etc.
23 William Bagwell	His brother.
24 Lord Castlereagh	The Irish Minister.
25 George Cavendish	Secretary to the Treasury during pleasure; son to Sir Henry.
26 Sir H. Cavendish	Receiver General during pleasure; deeply indebted to the Crown.
27 Sir R. Chinnery	Placed in office after the Union.
28 James Cane	Renegaded, and got a pension.
29 Thomas Casey	A Commission of Bankrupts under Lord Clare; made a city Magistrate.
30 Colonel C. Pope	Renegaded: got a Regiment, and the patronage of his country.
31 General Cradock	Returned by Government: much military rank; now Lord Howden.
32 James Crosby	A regiment and the patronage of Kerry, jointly; seconded the Address.
33 Edward Cooke	Under-Secretary at the Castle.
34 Charles H. Coote	Obtained a Regiment (which was taken from Colonel Warburton.) patronage of Queens County, and a peerage. (Lord Castle-coote,) and £7,500 in cash for his interest at the Borough of Maryborough in which, in fact, it was proved before the Commissioners that Sir Jonah Barrington had more interest than his Lordship.
35 Rt. Hon. I. Corry.	Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, on dismissal of Sir John Parnell.
36 Sir J. Cotter	Privately brought over by cash.
37 Richard Cotter.	
38 Hon. H. Creighton }	Renegaded (see Red List) privately purchased.
39 Hon. J. Creighton }	
40 W. A. Crosbie	Comptroller to the Lord-Lieutenant's Household.
41 James Cuffe	Natural son to Mr. Cuffe of the Board of Works, his father created Lord Tyrawly.
42 General Dunne	Returned for Maryborough by the united influence of Lord Castle-coote and Government, to keep out Mr. Barrington; gained the election by only <i>one</i> .

NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
43 William Elliot . . .	Secretary at the Castle.
44 General Eustace . . .	A Regiment.
45 Lord C. Fitzgerald . .	Duke of Leinster's brother; a Pension and a Peerage; a Sea Officer of no repute.
46 Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald.	
47 Sir. C. Fortescue . . .	Renegaded (see Red List) Officer King at Arms.
48 A. Fergusson . . . .	Got a place at the Barrack Board, £500 a year and a Baronetcy.
49 Luke Fox . . . . .	Appointed Judge of Common Pleas; nephew by marriage to Lord Ely.
50 William Fortescue . .	Got a Secret Pension, out of a fund (£3,000 a year.) intrusted by Parliament to the Irish Government, solely to reward Mr. Reynolds, Cope, etc. etc., and those who imformed against rebels.
51 J. Galbraith . . . .	Lord Abercorn's Attorney; got a Baronetage.
52 Henry D. Grady . . .	First Counsel to the Commissioners.
53 Richard Hare . . . .	Put two members into Parliament, and was created Lord Ennismore for their votes.
54 William Hare . . . .	His son.
55 Col. B. Henniker . . .	A regiment, and paid £3,500 for his Seat by the Commissioners of Compensation.
56 Peter Holmes . . . .	A Commissioner of Stamps.
57 George Hatton . . . .	Appointed Commissioner of Stamps.
58 Hon. J. Hutchinson . .	A General—Lord Hutchinson.
59 Hugh Howard . . . .	Lord Wicklow's brother, made Postmaster General.
60 Wm. Handcock, (Athlone)	An extraordinary instance; he made and sang songs <i>against</i> the Union in 1799, at a public dinner of the Opposition, and made and sang songs <i>for</i> it in 1800; he got a Peerage.
61. John Hobson . . . .	Appointed Storekeeper at the Castle Ordinance.
62 Col. G. Jackson . . .	A Regiment.
63 Denham Jephson . . .	Master of Horse to the Lord-Lieutenant.
64 Hon. G. Jocelyn . . .	Promotion in the Army, and his brother consecrated <i>Bishop of Lismore</i> .
65 William Jones . . . .	
66 Theophilus Jones. . .	Collector of Dublin.



NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
67 Major General Jackson.	A Regiment.
68 William Johnson . . .	Returned to Parliament by Lord Castlereagh, as he himself declared, "to put an end to it;" appointed a Judge since.
69 Robert Johnson . . .	Seceded from his patron, Lord Downshire, and was appointed a Judge.
70 John Keane . . . . .	A Renegade; got a Pension; See Red List.
71 James Kearny . . . . .	Returned by Lord Clifton being his Attorney; got an office.
72 Henry Kemmis. . . . .	Son to the Crown Solicitor.
73 William Knot . . . . .	Appointed a Commissioner of Appeals £800 a year.
74 Andrew Knox.	
75 Colonel Keatinge.	
76 Rt. Hon. Sir. H. Langrishe.	A Commissioner of the Revenue, received £15,000 cash for his patronage at Knockoper.
77 T. Lingray, sen., . . .	Commissioner of Stamps, paid £1,500 for his patronage.
78 T. Lindsray, jun., . . .	Usher at the Castle, paid £1,500 for his patronage.
79 J. Longfield. . . . .	Created a Peer; Lord Longueville.
80 Capt. J. Longfield . . .	Appointed to the office of Ship Entries of Dublin taken from Sir Jonah Barrington.
81 Lord Loftus . . . . .	Son to Lord Ely, Postmaster-General; got £30,000 for their Boroughs, and created an English Marquis.
82 General Lake . . . . .	An Englishman (no connection with Ireland;) returned by Lord Castlereagh, <i>solely</i> to vote for the Union.
83 Rt. Hon. David Latouche	
84 General Loftus . . . . .	A General; got a Regiment; cousin to Lord Ely.
85 Francis M'Namara . . .	Cash and a private pension, paid by Lord Castlereagh.
86 Ross Mahon . . . . .	Several appointments and places by Government.
87 Richard Martin . . . . .	Commissioner of Stamps.
88 Rt. Hon. Monk Mason	A commissioner of Revenue.
89 H. D. Massy . . . . .	Received £4,000 cash.
90 Thomas Mahon.	
91 A. E. M'Naghten . . .	Appointed a Lord of the Treasury, etc.

NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
92 Stephen Moore . . .	A Postmaster at will.
93 N. M. Moore.	
94 Rt. Hon. Lodge Morris	Created a Peer.
95 Sir. R. Musgrave . .	Appointed Receiver of the Customs, £1,200 a year.
96 James M'Cleland . .	A Barrister—appointed Solicitor General, and then a Baron of the Exchequer.
97 Col. C. M'Donnel . .	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £500 per annum.
98 Richard Magenness .	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £500 per annum.
99 Thomas Nesbit . . .	A Pensioner at will.
100 Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart . . . . .	Bought, (see 'Memoir ante,) and a Peerage for his wife.
101 Richard Neville . .	Renegaded; reinstated as Teller of the Exchequer.
102 William Odell . . .	A Regiment, and Lord of the Treasury.
103 Charies Osborne . .	A Barrister; appointed a Judge of the King's Bench.
104 C. M. Ormsby . . .	Appointed First Council Commissioner.
105 Admiral Pakenham .	Master of the Ordnance.
106 Col. Pakenham . . .	A Regiment; killed at New Orleans.
107 H. S. Prittie . . .	A Peerage—Lord Dunalley.
108 R. Pennefather.	
109 T. Prendergast . . .	An office in the Court of Chancery; £500 a year; his brother Crown Solicitor.
110 Sir Richard Quin . .	A Peerage.
111 Sir Boyle Roche . .	Gentlemen Usher at the Castle.
112 R. Rutledge.	
113 Hon. C. Rowley . .	Renegaded, and appointed to office by Lord Castlereagh.
114 Hon, H. Skeffington .	Clerk of a Paper Office of the Castle, and £7,500 for his patronage.
115 William Smith . . .	A Barrister; appointed a Baron of the Exchequer.
116 H. M. Sandford . .	Created a Peer; Lord Mount Sandford.
117 Edmond Stanley . .	Appointed Commissioner of Accounts.
118 John Staples.	
119 John Stewart . . .	Appointed Attorney-General, and created a Baronet.
120 John Stratton.	



NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
121 <i>Hon. B. Stratford</i>	Renegaded to get £7,500, his half of the compensation for Baltinglass.
122 <i>Hon. J. Stratford</i>	Paymaster of Foreign Forces, £1,300 a year, and £7,500 for Baltinglass.
123 Richard Sharkey	An obscure Barrister; appointed a County Judge.
124 <i>Thomas Stannus</i>	Renegaded.
125 J. Savage.	
126 Rt. Hon. J. Toler	Attorney-General; his wife, an old woman created a Peeress; himself made Chief Justice and a Peer.
127 Frederick Trench	Appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Works.
128 Hon. R. Trench	A Barrister; created a Peer, and made an Ambassador. See Red List.
129 Charles Trench	His brother; appointed Commissioner of Inland Navigation—a new office created by Lord Cornwallis, for rewards.
130 Richard Talbot.	
131 P. Tottenham	Compensation for patronage; cousin, and politically connected with Lord Ely.
132 Lord Tyrone	104 offices in the gift of his family; proposed the Union in Parliament, by a speech written in the crown of his hat.
133 Charles Tottenham	In office.
134 ———Townsend	A Commissioner.
135 Robert Tighe	Commissioner of Barracks.
136 Robert Uniack	A Commissioner; connected with Lord Clare.
137 James Verner	Called the Prince of Orange.
138 J. O. Vandeleur	Commissioner of the Revenue; his brother a Judge.
139 Colonel Wemyss	Collector of Kilkenny.
140 Henry Westenraw	Father of Lord Rossmore, who is of the very reverse of his father's politics.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## ABSTRACT AND LISTS.

*Abstract of Volunteers—List and Names of the Volunteers—List of the Original Planters—List of Peerages—List of Governors.*

## VOLUNTEERS.

ABSTRACT of the effective Men in the different Volunteer Corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, and those who acceded to their Resolutions, and to the Requisitions of the House of Commons of Ireland, the 16th of April, 1782.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF,  
Earl of Charlemont.

GENERALS.—Duke of Leinster, Earl of Tyrone, Earl of Aldborough, Lord De Vesci, Sir B. Denny, Rt. Hon. George Ogle, Sir James Tynte, Earl of Clanricarde, Earl of Muskerry, Sir William Parsons, Hon. J. Butler, Right Hon. Henry King.\*

## PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Dungannon Meeting, 153 Corps.....	26,380
Twenty-one Corps since acceded.....	3,938
Infantry since acceded, two Battalions.....	1,250
Six Corps of Cavalry.....	200
Eight Corps of Artillery.....	420
	<hr/>
	33,088
Ulster Corps which have acceded since 1st of April, 35 of Infantry and 1 Battalion.....	1,972
Two of Cavalry.....	92
	<hr/>
Total of Ulster.....	34,152



## VOLUNTEERS.

383

*Artillery.*

Six Pounders.....	16
Three Pounders.....	10
Howitzers.....	6
Total Pieces of Artillery.....	32

## PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Ballinasloe Meeting, 59 Corps.....	6,897
Thirty-one Corps of Infantry who since acceded.....	5,781
Cavalry, 8 Corps.....	421
Artillery.....	250

13,349

Acceded since 1st of April, four Corps of Infantry and one of Cavalry.....	987
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Total of Connaught.....14,336

*Artillery.*

Six Pounders.....	10
Three Pounders.....	10
Total Pieces of Artillery.....	20

\* Besides these the Volunteers at

## PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

City and County of Cork.....	5,123
Sixty-eight other Corps Infantry in the Province.....	7,987
Cavalry of the Province returned, 15 Corps.....	7,10
Artillery, 9 Corps.....	221

14,041

Acceded since 1st April, 15 Corps of Infantry.....	3,921
Two Corps of Cavalry.....	94

Total of Munster.....18,056

*Artillery.*

Six Pounders.....	14
Three Pounders.....	14
Howitzers.....	4
Total Pieces of Artillery.....	32

## PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

139 Corps, whose Delegates met at Dublin, April, 17, 1782.....	16,983
Ten Corps of Cavalry who before acceded and no delegates sent..	580
Nineteen ditto of Infantry.....	4,398
Artillery, 9 Corps.....	322

Total Leinster..... 22,283

*Artillery.*

Nine Pounders.....	2
Six Pounders.....	16
Three Pounders.....	14
Howitzers.....	6
<b>Total Pieces of Artillery.....</b>	<b>38</b>

*Total Numbers.*

Ulster.....	34,152
Connaught.....	14,336
Munster.....	18,056
Leinster.....	22,283
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>88,827</b>
Twenty-two Corps have also acceded but made no returns; estimated at.....	12,000
<b>Making in all nearly a grand Total of.....</b>	<b>100,000</b>
Artillery, 130 pieces.	

## LIST AND NAMES OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

- Aghavoc Loyals.—Associated July 1st, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain Robert White.
- Aldborough Legion.—August, 1777; scarlet, face black, silver lace. Colonel Earl of Aldborough.
- Ards Battalion.—Colonel Patrick Savage.
- Ardee Rangers.
- Arlington Light Cavalry.—September 18th, 1779: scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Captain George Gore; Lieutenant J. Warburton; Cornet Jonathan Chetwood.
- Arran Phalanx—Scarlet, faced white. Captain Dawson; Lieutenant Frederick Gore; Earl of Arran.
- Armagh Volunteers.
- Athy Independents.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Captain Robert Johnson.
- Athy Volunteers.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white.
- Athy Rangers.—Captain Weldon.
- Attorney Corps.
- Aughnacloy Battalion—Scarlet, faced white. Colonel P. Alexander.
- Aughnacloy Volunteers.—Captain Thomas Forsyth.
- Ashfield Volunteers.—Blue, faced blue. Captain H. Clements.
- Aughrim Corps of Cork.—March 17th, 1778; scarlet, faced scarlet; edged white. Colonel Richard Longfield; Major Edward Jameson; Captain Samuel Rowland.



- Aughrim Light Horse.—Scarlet, faced pea-green. Colonel Walter Lambert.
- Bantry Volunteers.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced black, edged white.
- Ballintemple Forresters.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet faced blue. Captain Stewart.
- Ballyroom Cavalry.
- Barony Rangers.—March 17th, 1778; scarlet, faced black; Colonel Andrew Armstrong; Captain Robert Shervington.
- Barony of Forth Corps.—January 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Major Hughes.
- Ballyieek Rangers.—1779; scarlet, faced white, gold lace. Colonel John Montgomery.
- Bandon Cavalry.—Colonel S. Stawell; Major John Travers.
- Bandon Independent Company.—Colonel Francis Bernard; Captain Robert Seale
- Ballina and Ardnaree (loyal) Volunteers.—July 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black Colonel Right Honorable Henry King; Major Henry Cary.
- Ballymascanlan Rangers (Co. Louth). Captain R. M'Neale.
- Belfast Union.—June 12th, 1778; scarlet, faced blue. Captain Lyons.
- Belfast Light Dragoons.—March 26th, 1781; scarlet, faced green, silver lace. Captain Burden.
- Belfast Battalion.—April, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Stewart Banks; Major Brown.
- Belfast Volunteer Company.—April 6th, 1778; blue, faced blue, laced hats. Colonel Brown; Captain S. M'Tier.
- Belfast First Volunteer Company.—March 17th, 1778; scarlet faced black. Captain Waddel Cunningham.
- Belfast United Volunteer Companies.
- Blackwater Volunteers.—Colonel Richard Aldworth; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Stanard.
- Blackpool Association.—Colonel John Harding; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Barry.
- Blarney Volunteers.—Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Cribbs; Captain Edward O'Donoghue.
- Burros Volunteers.—1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Kavanagh.
- Burros in Ossory Rangers.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet faced black, silver epaulets. Captain-Commandant James Stephens; Lieutenant Erasmus Burrowes; Ensign Walter Stephens.
- Boyne Volunteer Corps.—Colonel John Bagwell; Major John Bass; Lieutenant Chas. Wilcocks.
- Builders' Corps.—November 4th, 1781; blue, faced blue, edged scarlet. Colonel Read.
- Burros-a-kane Volunteers.—Major Thomas Stony.

Castlebar Independents.—March 17th, 1779; scarlet, faced deep green.

Colonel Patrick Randal M'Donald.

Castlebar Volunteers.—Lieut. Colonel Jordan, M. S.

Carrick-on-Shannon Infantry.—August, 1779; scarlet, faced blue.

Lieutenant-Colonel Peyton.

Castle Mount Garret Volunteers.—1778; scarlet, faced deep green.

Colonel D. G. Browne; Lieutenant John Henry.

Callan Union.—April 1st, 1779, green, edged white. Captain Elliott.

Caledon Volunteers.—Captain James Dawson.

Carlow Association.—September 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Major

Eustace, M.S.; Lieutenant and Adjutant T. Proctor.

Carrick-on-Suir Union.—Captain Edward Morgan Mandeville.

Carberry Independent Company.—Captain John Townsend.

Carrickfergus Company.—April 3d, 1779; scarlet, faced pea green.

Captain Marriot Dalway, Lieutenant Rice.

Carton Union.—Colonel H. Cane.

Castlecomer Hunters and Light Infantry.—Colonel Lord Wandesford.

Castledernot Volunteers.—Captain Robert Power.

Castledurrow Light Horse.—August, 1778; green, edged white. Cap-

tain Richard Lawrenson.

Castledurrow Volunteers.—July 1st, 1779; green edged white, silver

lace. Captain Bathorn.

Castletown Union.—Captain Com. Rt. Hon. T. Connolly.

Cavan (County) Volunteers.—Colonel Enery.

Cavan Independent Volunteers.

Carlow (County) Legion.—September 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced lemon

color. Colonel J. Rochfort; Major Henry Bunbury.

Charleville Infantry.—January 4th, 1779; blue, faced scarlet. Colonel

Chidley Coote; Major H. George Hatfield.

Clanricarde Brigade.—June, 1783; scarlet, faced blue. Major D'Arcy.

Clanricarde Cavalry.—Captain David Power.

Clanricarde Cavalry.—Colonel Peter Daly; Captain P. D'Arcy.

Clanwilliam Union.—Colonel Earl of Clanwilliam; Captain Alleyn.

Clane Rangers.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Captain Michael Aylmer.

Clonmel Independents.—Colonel Bagwell.

Clonlunan Light Infantry.—Colonel George Ciburhorne.

Cork Independent Artillery.—March 17th, 1781; blue, faced scarlet, gold lace. Colonel Richard Hare.

Constitution Regiment (Co. Down).—Scarlet, faced yellow. Captain Ford; Captain Gawin Hamilton.

Coleraine Volunteers.—Colonel Richardson; Lieutenant-Colonel Canning; Major Lyle.

Coolock Independents, North.—Captain James Walker.



- Coolock Independents.—Colonel Richard Talbot.  
 Comber Battalion.—Colonel David Ross.  
 Connaught Volunteers.  
 Counagh Rangers.—Colonel Percival.  
 Connor Volunteers.  
 Cork Union.—Henry Hickmar, Commandant.  
 Cork Cavalry.—Colonel William Chetwynd; Major John Gilman; Captain John Smyth.  
 Crossmolina Infantry and Artillery.  
 Cullenagh Rangers.—Colonel Barrington.  
 Culloden Volunteer Society of Cork.—Colonel Benjamin Sarsfield; Captain-Lieutenant Henry Newsom.  
 Curraghmore Rangers.—Captain Shee.  
 Delvin Volunteers. Colonel Thomas Smyth.  
 Donegal First Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton.  
 Doneraile Rangers.—Colonel Right Hon. Lord Doneraile; Captain Nicholas G. Evans.  
 Down Volunteers.—Captain Henry West.  
 Down First Regiment (2d Battalion).—Blue, faced orange. Colonel Stewart.  
 Down Fusileers.—Captain Trotter.  
 Drogheda Association.—1777; scarlet, faced Pomona green, gold laced hats. Colonel Mead Ogle; Lieutenant-Colonel H. Montgomery Lyons; Major William Cheshire; Captain Oliver Fairtlough; Lieutenant William Holmes; Lieutenant John Ackland.  
 Dromore Volunteers (Co. Kerry).—Scarlet, faced green. Colonel John Mahony.  
 Drumahare Blues.—Lieutenant Armstrong.  
 Drumbridge Volunteers.—Major A. G. Stewart.  
 Dublin Volunteers.—October 6th, 1778; blue, faced blue, edged scarlet, yellow buttons. Colonel Duke of Leinster; Lieutenant-Colonel H. Monck; Captain N. Worren; Lieutenant E. Medlicott.  
 Dublin (County) Light Dragoons.—August, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Right Hon. Luke Gardiner; Captain Everard.  
 Dublin Independent Volunteers.—April 24th, 1780; scarlet, faced dark green. Colonel Henry Grattan; Lieutenant-Colonel Right Hon. H. Flood; Major Samuel Canier.  
 Duhallow Rangers.—Colonel the Hon. Charles George Percival; Lieutenant-Colonel William Wrixon.  
 Duleek Light Company.—July 1778; scarlet, faced black. Captain Thomas Trotter.  
 Dunkerrin Volunteers.—June 20, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel J. F. Rolleston.

Dunlavin Light Dragoons.—1777; white, faced black, silver lace. Colonel M. Saunders; Captain Charles Oulton.

Dunlaven Corps.

Dunmore Rangers.—August, 1779; green, edged white. Colonel Sir Robert Staples, Bart.

Dundalk Independent Light Dragoons.—Captain Thomas Read.

Dundalk Horse.—Scarlet, faced green. I. W. Foster, Esq.

Dundalk Artillery,

Dungarven Volunteers.—Captain Boate.

Dungiven Battalion.—June 14th, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Major Thomas Bond; Captain Thomas Fanning.

Dungannon Battalion.—Major O'Duffia.

Durrow Light Dragoons.

Dungannon Volunteers.—Captain Richardson.

Echlin Vale Volunteers.—October 19th, 1778; scarlet, faced white. Captain Chas. Echlin.

Edenderry Union.—May 1st, 1777; scarlet, faced black. Captain Shaw Cartland.

Edgeworthstown Battalion.—1779; blue, faced scarlet. Colonel Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart.

English Rangers.—August 29, 1779; scarlet, faced black, silver epaulets. Major Thomas Berry; Captain John Drought; Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Clarke.

Ennis Volunteers.—October 12th, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Colonel William Blood.

Enniscorthy Light Dragoons.—Colonel Phaire; Captain Charles Dawson.

Enniscorthy Artillery.—Colonel Joshua Pouden; Major William Bennett.

Eyre court Buffs.—June 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced buff, gold epaulets. Colonel Giles Eyre; Captain Stephen Blake.

Independent Enniskilleners.—Scarlet, faced black. Captain James Armstrong.

Farbill Light Dragoons.—Captain Robert Cook.

Fartullagh Rangers.—October 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Colonel Rochfort Hume.

Fethard Independents.—Major Matthew Jacob.

First Irish Volunteers (Co. Wexford).—Lieutenant-Colonel Dorenzy.

Finea Independents.—May 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Colonel Coyne Nugent.

Fingal Light Dragoons.—June 27th, 1783; scarlet, faced white. Captain Thomas Baker.

Finglass Volunteers.—Colonel Segrave.

Fore Infantry Loyalists.—Major William Pollard; Captain Nugent.



Fore Cavalry and Finca Rangers.—Colonel William Gore (Finca Rangers).

French Park Light Horse.—June, 1779; scarlet, faced black, edged white, gold lace. Lieutenant-Colonel Edward M'Dermott; Lieutenant Owen M'Dermott.

Galway Volunteers.—Colonel Richard Martin; Major John Blake.

Galway (County) Volunteers.

Garrycastle Light Cavalry.

Glanmire Union.—Colonel Henry Mannix; Captain Simon Dring.

Glen' o and Kilemat Regiment.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Cullen.

Glendermot Battalion.—Colonel George Ash.

Glin Royal Artillery.—April, 1776; blue, faced blue, scarlet cuffs and capes, gold lace. Colonel J. Fitzgerald, Knight of Glen; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Burgess.

Glorious Memory Battalion.—1780: scarlet, faced grass green. Colonel T. Morris Jones.

Goldsmith's Corps.—March 17th, 1779; blue, faced scarlet, gold lace. Captain Benjamin O'Brien.

Gort Light Dragoons.—Major James Galbraith.

Gortin Volunteers.—Hon. Arthur Colonel Hamilton; Lieutenant Lennon.

Graigie (Q. C.) Volunteers.—May 1st, 1779; blue, faced scarlet, silver lace. Colonel B. Bagnal.

Granard Infantry Union Brigade.—May 1st, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain C. E. Hamilton.

Granard Volunteers.—Colonel Earl of Granard; Lieutenant Robert Holmes.

Hanover Society.—Colonel Richard Hungerford.

Hollywood Volunteers.—Captain John Kennedy.

Hibernian Light Dragoons.

Ida Light Dragoons.—Major Fitzgerald.

Imokilly Horse (County Cork).—White, edged scarlet. Colonel Roche; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert M'Carthy.

Imokilly Blues.—Colonel Robert Uniacke Fitzgerald.

First Volunteers of Ireland.—July 1st, 1766; scarlet, faced blue. Colonel Sir Vessey Colclough, Bart.

Irish Brigade.—June 5th, 1782; scarlet, faced grass green, silver lace. Captain Charles Abbott.

Iveagh First Battalion.—Colonel Sir Richard Johnston.

Iverk Volunteers.—Colonel Right Hon. John Ponsonby; Major Osburne.

Inchegelagh Volunteers.—Captain-Commandant Jasper Masters; Lieutenant John Boyle.

Kanturk Volunteers.—Colonel Right Hon. Earl of Egmont.

- Kell's Association.—November 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Morris.
- Kerry Legion—Colonel Arthur Blennerhasset; Major Godfrey.
- Kile Volunteers.—August 1, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Charles White.
- Kilcullen Rangers.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Captain Keating.
- Kilcoursey Union.—Major Bagot.
- Kilcooly True Blues.—1779; blue, faced white. Colonel Sir William Barker, Bart.
- Kildare Infantry.—Captain James Spencer.
- Kilkenny Rangers.—January 2d, 1770; green, with silver lace. Colonel Mossom; Mayor Wemys.
- Kilkenny Horse.—Colonel Cuffe.
- Kilkenny Volunteers.—June 10th, 1779; blue, faced scarlet, gold lace. Colonel Thomas Butler; Lieutenant-Colonel Knaresborough; Captains Laffan, Shanahan, Purcell; Ensign Davis.
- Kilkenny Independents.—Major Roche.
- Killala Infantry.
- Killmoon Battalion and Artillery Company.—Robert White Adjutant.
- Killinchy (First) Independent Volunteer Company.—Captain Gawin Hamilton.
- Kilmore Light Infantry.—Matthew Forde, Jr.
- Kinnilea and Kirrikuriky Union.—Colonel Thomas Roberts; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Herrick; Major John Roberts.
- Kinsale Volunteers.—Colonel Kearney; Captain Leary.
- Killivan Volunteers.—December 25th, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Major William Smith.
- Kilmain Horse and Infantry.
- Knox's Independent Troop.
- Lagan Volunteers.
- Larne Royal Volunteers.
- Lawyer's Corps.—April, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Colonel Townly Pattent Filgate.
- Lambeg, Lisburne, etc., Volunteers.—R. H. M'Neil, Commandant.
- Lawyers' Artillery.—Captain William Holt.
- Larne Independents.—April, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain White.
- Leap Independents.—March 17th, 1780; blue, faced blue, edged white. Colonel Jonathan Darby.
- Lecale Battalion (County Down).—Lieutenant Charles M'Carthy.
- Leitrim Rangers.
- Liberty Volunteers.—July, 1779; scarlet, faced pea-green. Colonel Sir Edward Newenham; Captain Edward Newenham.
- Liberty Artillery.—Captain Tandy.



- Limavady Battalion.—November 7th, 1777; scarlet, faced black. Colonel James Boyle.
- Limerick Loyal Volunteers.—Brigadier-General Thomas Smyth; Captain George Pitt.
- Limerick Independents.—September, 1776; scarlet, faced green, silver lace. Colonel John Prendergast; Major C. Powell.
- Limerick Volunteers.
- Limerick Cavalry.—Scarlet, faced blue, silver lace.
- Liney Volunteers.—1778; scarlet, faced blue. Major George Dodwell.
- Lisburne Fusileers.—Scarlet, faced blue. Lieutenant John Kenby.
- Lismore Independent Blues.
- Londonderry Independent Volunteer Company.—Captain J. Ferguson.
- Londonderry Fusileers.—June 14th, 1778; scarlet, faced blue. Lieutenant A. Scott; Adjutant Henry Delap.
- Longfords (County) Light Horse.—Earl of Granard.
- Longford Light Horse.—1779; buff, faced black. Colonel H. Nisibitt.
- Lorha Rangers.—Captain Walsh.
- Loughal Volunteers.
- Loughgall Volunteers.—Captain J. Blackall.
- Loughinshillen Volunteers.
- Loughinshillen Battalion.—General Right Hon. Thomas Connolly; Colonel Staples; Lieutenant-Colonel Dawson; Major John Downing.
- Lower Iveagh Legion.
- Lowtherstown, etc., Independent Volunteers.—1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel William Irvine.
- Maguire's Bridge Volunteers.
- Magherafelt (First) Volunteers.—June, 1773; scarlet, faced black. Captain A. Tracy; Lieutenant Richard Dawson; Ensign R. Montgomery.
- Mallow Independent Volunteers.
- Mallow Boyne Cavalry and Infantry.—(Cavalry) Captain Rogerson Cotter; (Infantry) Captain Wm. Gallway.
- Maryborough Volunteers.—May, 1796; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Sir J. Parnell, Bart.
- Meath Volunteers.
- Merchants Corps.—June 9th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Captain Theos. Dixon; Captain C. M. M'Mahon.
- Merchants' Artillery.—Captain George Maquay.
- Mitchelstown Independent Light Dragoons.—Scarlet, faced black. Colonel Right Hon. Lord Kingsborough; Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Cole Bowen, Esq.; Major James Badham Thornhill.
- Monaghan Independents.
- Monaghan Rangers.—January 10th, 1780; scarlet, faced white, Colonel William Foster.
- Monaghan First Battalion.—Colonel J. Montgomery.

- Monastereven Volunteers.—October, 1778; scarlet, faced white. Captain Houlton Anderson.
- Mote Light Infantry.—1778; scarlet, faced pea-green. Colonel Sir H. Lynch Blosse, Bart.
- Mountain Rangers —August 15th, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Bernard; Major George Clarke; Captain John Drought.
- Mountmelick Volunteers.
- Mountnorris Volunteers.
- Moycashel Association.—Colonel Hon. Robert Rochfort; Captain John Lyons.
- Mullingar Volunteers.—Colonel Earl of Granard; Lieutenant-Colonel William Judge.
- Munster Volunteers.
- Muskerry True Blue Light Dragoons.—Colonel Robert Warren; Lieutenant-Colonel R. Hutchinson; Major Samuel Swete.
- Muskerry True Blues.
- Muskerry Volunteers.—Captain-Commandant Thomas Barker, Esq.
- Mullingar Association.—Captain Robert Moore.
- Nass Rangers.—December 10, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Captain-Commandant R. Neville.
- Newberry Loyal Musqueteers.
- Newmarket Rangers.—Colonel Boyle Aldworth; Major William Allen.
- Newport Volunteers.—Captain Richard Waller.
- New Ross Independent.—November 17th, 1777; scarlet, faced black, Colonel B. Elliot.
- New Castle and Donore Union.—Captain Verschoyle.
- Newry Volunteers (1st Company).—Captain Benson.
- Newry Volunteers (3d Company).—Captain David Bell.
- Newry Rangers.—Captain Benson.
- Newtown and Castlecomer Battalion.—Captain-Commandant Robert Stewart.
- Newry 1st Regiment, or Newry Legion.
- Offerlane Blues.—October 10th, 1773; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace Colonel Luke Flood.
- Orior Grenadiers.—September 13th, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Captain James Dawson.
- Ormond Independence.—Colonel Toles, Lieutenant Wm. Greenshields.
- Ormond Union.—Captain Ralph Smith.
- Ossory True Blues.—July 1st, 1779; scarlet, edged blue. Colonel Edward Flood; Major Robert Palmer.
- Owzle Galley Corps.—Captain Theo. Thompson.
- Parsonstown Loyal Independents.—Feb. 15th 1776; scarlet, faced black, silver lace. Colonel Sir William Parsons, Bart; Major L. Parsons, Captain B. B. Warburton; Lieutenant Edward Tracy.



**Passage Union Volunteers.**

Portarlington Infantry.—September 18th, 1779; scarlet, faced yellow. silver lace. Major-Commandant W. H. Legrand; Captain James Stannus. Captain Henry Carey; Ensign Annesly Carey.

Raford Brigade (Light Cavalry).—Dec. 26th, 1779; scarlet, edged blue, gold lace. Colonel Denis Daly.

Rakenney Volunteers.—Colonel Theophilus Clements.

Ralphsdale Light Dragoons.—Scarlet, faced yellow. Captain John Tandy.

Ramelton Volunteers.—Captain James Watt.

Raphoe Battalion.—July 1st, 1778; scarlet, faced blue. Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbitt.

Rathdown Carbineers.—Maj. Edwards.

Rathdown Light Dragoons (Co. Dublin).—June, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Sir John Allen Johnson, Bart.

Rathdowny Volunteers.—Feb. 1776; scarlet, faced white. Colonel J. Palmer.

Rathangan Union.—August 2d, 1782; scarlet, faced white. Captain William Montgomery.

Rockingham Volunteers.—September 7th, 1779; blue, faced blue, edged scarlet, yellow buttons. Colonel Nixon; Major Chamney.

Rosanallia Volunteers.—July 1st, 1774; scarlet, faced blue. silver lace. Colonel Richard Croasdale; Major George Sandes; Captain L. Sandes; Captain J. Sabatier; Captain A. Johnson; Lieut. William Tracey.

Roscrea Blues.—July 21st, 1779; blue, faced blue, gold lace. Colonel L. Parsons.

Roscommon Independent Forresters.—May 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Colonel R. Waller; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas M'Dermott; Major Edward Dowling.

Ross Union Rangers.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Colonel Drake.

Ross Volunteer Guards.—September 20th, 1779; scarlet faced black. Captain-Lieut. H. T. Houghton.

Roxborough Volunteers.—1777; scarlet, faced blue, silver epaulets. Colonel William Perse.

Royal 1st Regiment (Co. Antrim).—Scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Major A. M'Manus.

Saintfield Light Infantry.—Captain Nicholas Price.

Skreen Corps.—Lord Kideen.

Skreen Corps of Dragoons.—Colonel John Dillion; Captain James Cheeny.

Slane Volunteers.—Lieutenant John Forbes.

Slievardagh Light Dragoons.

- Sligo Loyal Volunteers.—May 24th, 1779; scarlet, faced white, Lieutenant-Colonel Ormsby.
- Society Volunteers of Derry.—March 17th, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain William Moor.
- Straban Battalion—Lieutenant-Colonel Charleton.
- Stradbally Volunteers.—October 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Thomas Cosby.
- Strokestown Light Horse.—November, 1779; scarlet faced yellow. Major Gilbert Conry.
- Talbotstown Invincibles.—December, 1780; scarlet, faced deep green. Colonel Nicholas Westby; Major John Smith; Lieutenant F. W. Greene.
- Tallow Blues.—Captain-Commandant, George Bowles.
- Tipperary Light Dragoons and Infantry.—Lieutenant-Colonel Baker.
- Tipperary Volunteers.—May 1st, 1776; scarlet, faced black, silver lace. Captain James Roe.
- Tralee Royal Volunteers.—January 7th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Colonel Sir Barry Denny, Bart.
- Trim Infantry.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Captain W. H. Finlay.
- Trim and Ratoath Volunteers.—Colonel Earl of Mornington, after Marquis of Wellesley.
- True Blue Legion (City of Cork).—Colonel the Right Hon. Earl of Shannon; Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison.
- True Blue and Society Volunteers.
- True Blue Legion (Co. of Cork).—Colonel Right Hon. Earl of Shannon; Lieutenant-Colonel James Morrison; Major Michael Westroop.
- True Blue Volunteers (Londonderry).—Capt. Lieut. Moore; Captain William Lecky.
- True Blue Battalion (Co. Fermanagh).—Colonel Archdall; Captain Lendrum.
- Tullamore True Blue Rangers.—October 28th, 1778; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Charles William Bury.
- Tallow Rangers.—August 10th, 1778; scarlet, faced black, white buttons. Captain Whelan.
- Tully Ash Real Volunteers.—October 15th, 1783; scarlet, faced black, silver lace. Colonel J. Dawson Lawrence; Captain A. Dawson Lawrence.
- Tyrawley Rangers.
- Tyrell True Blues.
- Tyrell's Pass Volunteers.—1776; grey, faced scarlet, silver lace. Captain Hon. Robert Moore.
- Tyrone First Regiment.—July, 1780; scarlet, faced deep blue. Colonel James Stewart; Lieutenant-Colonel Charlton.



- Ulster Volunteer True Blue Battalion.—September 3d, 1779; blue, faced scarlet. Major Robert Barden; Lieutenant George Tandy.
- Ulster (First) Regiment.—Scarlet, faced white, Colonel Earl of Charlemont; Lieutenant-Colonels Sir W. Synnot, Right Hon. William Brownlow, C. M'Causland; Captain G. W. Molyneux.
- Ulster (Third) Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel William Ross.
- Ulster (Fourth) Regiment.—Scarlet, faced blue. Colonel R. M'Clintock.
- Ulster Regiment.
- Ulster Regiment Artillery.—Blue, faced scarlet. Captain Thomas Ward.
- Union Regiment (Moir).—Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman; Captain Patton.
- Union Rangers.—Captain Arthur Dawson.
- Union Light Dragoons (Co. Meath).—Scarlet, faced green, Captain G. Lucas Nugent.
- Union Light Dragoons (City of Dublin).—Sept. 12th, 1780; scarlet faced green. Captain-Commandant R. Cornwall; Lieutenant J. Talbot Ashenburst.
- Upper Cross and Coolock Independent Volunteers.—October, 1779; scarlet, faced black.
- Waterford Volunteer Companies (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5).
- Waterford City Royal Oak Volunteers.
- Waterford Artillery and Infantry (No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.)—Captain Hannibal William Dobby.
- Waterford Light Battalion.—April 25th, 1779; scarlet faced blue. Major William Alcocks, Captain Robert Shapland Carew.
- Waterford Artillery.—Captain Joshua Paul.
- Waterford Infantry.
- Waterford Union.—November 6th, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Captain Thomas Christmas.
- Westport Volunteers.
- Wexford Independent Light Dragoons.—Autumn of 1775; scarlet, faced royal blue. Colonel John Beauman.
- Wexford Independents.
- Wexford Independent Volunteers.—October 4th, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Captain and Adjutant Millard Clifford.
- White House Volunteers.
- Wicklow Forresters.—July 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced light blue. Colonel Samuel Hayes; Captain Thomas King; Captain Andrew Prior.
- Wicklow Association Artillery.—Blue, faced scarlet. Thomas Montgomery Blair, Esq.
- Willsborough Volunteers.—October, 1779, dark green, edged white. Colonel Thos. Willis; Major Owen Young.

Youghal Independent Rangers —Lieutenant-Colonel Meade Hobson;  
Major John Swayne.

Youghal Independent Volunteers.—Captain Boles.

Youghal Union.—Major Thomas Green.

### LIST OF THE ORIGINAL PLANTERS IN MUNSTER

(According to Sir Richard Cox and the Carew Manuscripts).

CORK.	ACRES.		ACRES.
Arthur Robins.....	18,000	Sir Thomas Norris.....	6,000
Fane Beecher.....	12,000	Thomas Say.....	5,775
Hugh Worth.....	12,000	Sir Richard Beacon.....	1,600
Sir Arthur Hyde.....	5,574	Edmund Spenser.....	3,028
Arthur Hyde.....	11,766	Sir George Bouchier.....	1,300
Sir W. St. Leger.....	6,000	Sir Edward Fitton.....	16,902
Hugh Cuffe.....	6,000	Francis Fitton.....	3,780
Thomas Fleetwood.		Richard { Fitton.....	3,026
Marmaduke Edmunds.		Alexander {	
Sir John Stowell.		Sir Edward Fitton.....	11,500
Sir John Clifton.		William Carter.....	3,661
CORK AND WATERFORD.		Sir George Thornton.....	1,500
Sir Walter Raleigh.....	42,000	Robert Annesley.....	2,599
WATERFORD.		Sir Henry Ughtred.....	2,000
Sir Christopher Hatton.....	10,910	Robert Strowde.....	10,000
Sir Edward Fitton.....	600	Robert Collum.....	2,500
Sir R. Beacon.....	4,400	Rowland Stanley.	
TIPPERARY.		KERRY.	
Earl of Ormonde.....	3,000	Sir William Herbert.....	13,276
Sir Edward Fitton.		Charles Herbert.....	3,768
LIMERICK.		Sir Valentine Brown.....	6,560
Sir George Bouchier.....	12,880	Sir Edward Denny.....	6,000
William Trenchard.....	12,000	John Hollis.....	4,422
Sir Henry Billingsley.....	11,800	Captain Conway.....	5,260
Sir William Courtenay.....	10,500	John Champion {	
Francis Barkly.....	7,250	George Stone {	1,434
Ed. Mainwaring.....	3,747	John Crosbie.	
		Captain Thomas Spring.	
		Stephen Rice.	
		Luke Morrice.	

### LIST OF THE ORIGINAL PLANTERS IN ULSTER

(According to the Carew Manuscripts).

ENGLISH.			
		ARMAGH.	ACRES.
Earl of Worcester.		John Heron.....	2,000
Lord Say.....	3,000	Stanhawe.....	1,500
Powell.....	2,000	John Dillon.....	1,500
Sacheverel.....	2,000	Brownlowe.....	1,000
		Machett.....	1,000
		Rolleston.....	1,000
			16,500



TYRONE.	ACRES.
Earl of Salisbury.	
Sir Thomas Ridgway.....	2,000
Thomas Roch.....	2,000
Francis Willoughbie... ..	2,000
Sir John Ashborneham.....	2,000
Captain and Thomas Ed- ney.....	1,500
George Ridgway.....	1,000
William Parsons.....	1,000
William Turvine.....	1,000

12,500

TYRONE.	
Lord Audley.....	3,000
Sir Mervin Audley.....	2,000
Fernando Audley.....	2,000
Sir John Davies.....	2,000
William Blunt.....	2,000

11,000

DONEGAL.	
Lord Chamberlaine.	
William Wilson.....	2,000
Sir Norris Barkley.....	2,000
Sir Robert Remington.....	2,000
Sir Thomas Cornwall.....	2,000
Sir William Barnes.....	1,500
Sir Henry Clare.....	1,500
Captain Coach.....	1,500
Edward Russell.....	1,500
Captain Mansfield.....	1,500

15,000

FERMANAGH.	
Earl of Shrewsburie.	
Sir Edward Blennerhassett.	2,000
Thomas Blennerhassett....	2,000
Sir Hugh Woorall.....	1,000

5,000

FERMANAGH.	
Earl of Shrewsburie.	
Thomas Flowerden.....	2,000
Edward Ward.....	1,000
Henry Hunings.....	1,000
Thomas Barton .....	1,000
John Ledborough.....	1,000
Robert Calvert.....	1,000
Robert Boggas.....	1,000
John Archdale.....	1,000

9,000

CAVAN.	ACRES.
Earl of Northampton.	
Richard Waldron.....	2,000
John Fish.....	2,000
Stephen Butler.....	2,000
Sir Nicholas Lusher.....	2,000
Sir Hugh Wirrall.....	1,500
John Taylor.....	1,500
W. Lusher.....	1,500

12,500

Total.....81,500 acres.

## SCOTTISH.

## ARMAGH.

Sir James Douglass.....	2,000
Claude Hamilton.....	1,000
William Lander.....	1,000
James Craig.....	1,000
Henry Acheson.....	1,000

6,000

## TYRONE.

Lord Uchiltrie.....	3,000
Sir Robert Hepburne.....	1,500
L. Lochnories.....	1,000
Barnard Lyndsey.....	1,000
Robert Stewart of Hilton..	1,000
Robert Lindsey.....	1,000
Robert Stewart of Rotton..	1,000

9,500

## TYRONE.

Earl of Abercorne.....	3,000
Sir Claude Hamilton.....	2,000
James Clapen.....	2,000
Sir George Hamilton.....	1,500
Sir Thomas Boyd.....	1,500
James Haig.....	1,500
Sir John Drummond of Bord- land.....	1,000
George Hamilton.....	1,000

13,500

## DONEGAL.

Duke of Lennox.....	3,000
Lord of Minto.....	1,000
John Stewart.....	1,000
Alex. McAulla of Durling..	1,000

		SERVITORS.	
		ARMAGH.	ACRES.
L. Glengarnock.....	2,000	Sir Gerald Moore.....	1,000
John Cunningham of Cran-		Sir Oliver St. John.....	1,500
field.....	1,000	Lord Audley.....	500
Cuthbert Cunningham.....	1,000	Sir Thomas Williams.....	1,000
L. Dunduff.....	1,000	Captain Bouchier.....	1,000
James Conyngham.....	1,000	Captain Cooke.....	1,000
	12,000	Lieutenant Pomes.....	200
DONEGAL.		Marmaduke Whitechurch...	120
L. Bomby.....	2,000	Captain Atherton.....	300
L. Brougham.....	1,500		6,620
William Stewart.....	1,500	TYRONE.	
Sir Patrick McKee.....	1,000	Sir A. Chichester.....	1,320
Alexander Conyngham....	1,000	Sir Thomas Ridgway.....	2,000
James McCulloch.....	1,000	Sir Richard Wingfield.....	2,000
Alexander Dombar.....	1,000	Sir Toby Caulfield.....	1,000
Patrick Wans.....	1,000	Sir Francis Roe.....	1,000
	10,000		7,320
FERMANAGH.		FERMANAGH.	
L. Burley.....	3,000	Sir John Davis.....	1,500
L. Pittarre.....	1,500	Captain Samuel Harrison...	500
L. Mountwhany, jun.....	1,500	Piers Mostyn.....	246
L. Kinkell.....	1,000		2,246
James Traill.....	1,000	DONEGAL.	
George Smelhome.....	1,000	Captain Stewart.....	1,000
	9,000	Captain Craffoord.....	1,000
FERMANAGH.		Captain John Vaughan....	1,000
Sir John Horne.....	2,000	Captain Kinsmill.....	1,000
Robert Hamilton.....	1,500	Captain Brookes.....	1,000
William Fowler.....	1,500	Sir Richard Hansard.....	1,000
James Sibb.....	1,000	Lieutenant Parkins and En-	
Jehue Lyndsey.....	1,000	sign Hilton.....	300
Alexander Home.....	1,000	Sir Thomas Chichester....	500
John Dombar.....	1,000	Captain Hart.....	1,000
	9,000	Sir Raffe Binglie.....	1,128
CAVAN.		Lieutenant Ellyes.....	400
Sir Alexander Hamilton....	2,000	Captain Henry Vaughan....	1,000
John Auchmootie.....	1,000	Captain Richard Bingley..	500
Alexander Auchmootie....	1,000	Lieutenant Gale.....	100
Sir Claude Hamilton.....	1,000	Charles Grimsditch.....	240
John Broune.....	1,000	Lieutenant Browne.....	400
	6,000		11,568
CAVAN.		FERMANAGH.	
L. Obignye.....	3,000	Sir Henry Folliott.....	1,500
William Dowmbar.....	1,000	Captain Atkinson.....	1,000
William Baylie.....	1,000	Captain Coale.....	1,000
John Ralston.....	1,000	Captain Goare.....	1,000
	6,000		4,500
Total.....	81,000 acres.		



## ORIGINAL PLANTERS.

399

CAVAN.		CAVAN.	
	ACRES.		ACRES.
Sir George Greame and Sir Richard Greame.....	2,000	Sir John Elliott.....	400
Captain Coolme and Walter Talbot.....	1,500	Captain John Ridgeway....	1,000
Captain Pinner.....	1,000	Sir William Taaft.....	1,000
Lieutenant Rutlidg.....	300	Lieutenant Garth.....	500
Serjeant Johnes.....	150	Sir Edmond Fetiplace.....	1,000
	4,950		3,900
CAVAN.		CAVAN.	
Sir Oliver Lambart.....	2,000	Sir Thomas Ashe and John Ashe....	750
Captain Lyons and Joseph Jones.....	1,500	Archibald More and Brent More.....	1,500
Lieutenant Atkinson and Lieutenant Russell.....	1,000	Captain Tirrell.....	2,000
	4,500		4,250
		Total.....	39,914..

## LIST OF THE ORIGINAL PLANTERS IN WEXFORD.

*(According to the Carew Manuscripts.)*

	ACRES.
Sir Richard Cooke.....	1,500
Sir Lawrence Esmond.....	1,500
Sir Edward Fisher.....	1,500
Francis Blunden.....	1,000
Conway Brady.....	600
Sir Roger Jones.....	1,000
Sir James Carroll....	1,000
John Wingfield.....	1,000
Sir Adam Loftus.....	1,000
Fergus Græmes.....	300
Sir Richard Winfield.....	1,000
William Marwood.....	1,000
Francis Blondell.....	1,500
John Leghorn.....	1,000
Captain Trevillian.....	2,000
Captain Fortescue.....	2,000
Thomas Hibbets.....	1,600
The Bishop of Waterford.....	1,000
Total.....	20,900 acres.

The following also received grants amounting together to 12,000 acres.

Captain Dorrington.	Lieutenant Burroughs.
“ Meares.	“ Stratford.
“ Pikeman.	“ Mr. Gillet.
“ Cawell.	“ Waldrond.
“ Ackland.	“ Sherlock.
“ Henry Fisher.	“ Hashwell.
Lieutenant John Fisher.	

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LIST OF ENGLISH AND IRISH PEERAGES AND STEPS IN THE IRISH PEERAGE CONFERRED IN A. D. 1800, IN CONSIDERATION OF A SUPPORT OF THE UNION BILL.

I. CREATIONS.

IRISH PEERAGES.

- Earl of Montrath to be Baron of Castlecoote with remainder to Mr. Charles Coote, M. P. for Maryborough.
- Lord Langford (the Hon. William Clowworthy Rowley).
- “ De Blaquiere (the Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere).
- “ Frankfort (the Right Hon. Lodge Morris).
- Baroness Dufferin, with remainder to her son Sir James Blackwood.
- Lord Henniker (Sir John Henniker).
- Baroness Newcomen, wife of Sir W. Newcomen, with remainder to her heirs male.
- Lord Adare (Sir Richard Quin).
- “ Ventry (Sir Thomas Mullins).
- “ Ennismore (William Hare, Esq.).
- “ Wallscourt (John Henry Blake; Esq.).
- “ Mountsanford (Henry Moore Sanford).
- “ Donalley (Henry Prittie, Esq.).
- “ Tara (John Preston, Esq.).
- “ Hartland (Maurice Mahon, Esq.).
- “ Clanmorris (John Bingham, Esq.).
- “ Lecale (Right Hon. Lord Charles Fitzgerald).
- “ Norbury (John Toler, Attorney-General).
- “ Ashtown (Frederick Trench, Esq.).
- “ Clarina (Eyre Massey, Esq.).
- “ Erris (Hon. Robert King).
- Earl of Clanricarde to be Earl of Clanricarde with remainder to his daughters and to their heirs male.



## ENGLISH PEERAGES.

Earl of Clare to be Lord Fitzgibbon.  
 Marquis of Drogheda to be Lord Moore.  
     "      Ely                  "      "      Loftus.  
 Earl of Ormonde          "      "      Butler.  
     "      Carysfort          "      "      Carysfort.  
 Marquis of Thomond      "      "      Thomond.

## II. PROMOTIONS IN THE IRISH PEERAGE.

Earl of Inchiquin to be Marquis of Thomond.  
     "      Bective              "      "      Headfort.  
     "      Altamount          "      "      Sligo.  
     "      Ely                  "      "      Ely.  
 Viscount Castlestewart to be Earl of Castlestewart.  
     "      Bandon              "      "      Bandon.  
     "      Donoghmore          "      "      Donoghmore.  
     "      Caledon              "      "      Caledon.  
     "      Kenmare              "      "      Kenmare.  
     "      O'Neil              "      "      O'Neil.  
 Lord Glentworth to be Viscount Limerick.  
     "      Somerton          "      "      Somerton.  
     "      Yelverton          "      "      Avonmore.  
     "      Longueville          "      "      Longueville.  
     "      Bantry              "      "      Bantry.  
     "      Monck              "      "      Monck.  
     "      Kilconnell          "      "      Dunlo.  
     "      Tullamore          "      "      Charleville.  
     "      Kilwarden          "      "      Kilwarden.

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LIST OF THE CHIEF GOVERNORS OF IRELAND FROM 1173 TO  
 A. D. 1883.

## HENRY II.

1173. Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Meath, Lord-Justice.  
       Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Justice.  
 1177. Raymond le Gros, Lord-Deputy.  
       John, Earl of Morton, Lord of Ireland.  
       William Fitzaldelm, Lord-Justice.  
 1179. Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Meath, Lord-Deputy.  
 1181. John de Lacy,                    }  
       Richard de Peeche,               } Lords-Justices,  
       William Fitzaldelm, Lord-Deputy.

1184. Philip de Braosa, Lord Deputy.  
 1185. John, Earl of Morton, Lord of Ireland.  
       John de Courcy, Earl of Ulster, Lord-Deputy.

## RICHARD I., 1189.

1189. Hugh de Lacy, the younger, Lord of Meath, Lord-Justice.  
 1191. William Le Petit, Lord-Justice.  
       William Earl of Pembroke, Earl Marshal, Lord-Justice.  
       Peter Pipard, Lord-Justice.  
 1194. Hamo de Valois, Lord-Justice.

## JOHN, 1199.

1199. Meiler FitzHenry, Lord-Justice.  
 1203. Hugh de Lacy, the younger Lord-Deputy.  
 1205. Meiler FitzHenry, Lord-Justice.  
 1208. Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, Lord-Deputy.  
 1210. King John in person, Lord of Ireland.  
       William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Deputy.  
       John de Grey (Bishop of Norwich), Lord-Justice.  
 1213. Henry de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord-Justice.  
 1215. Geoffrey de Marisco (Mountmorres), Lord-Justice.

## HENRY III., 1216.

1219. Henry de Londres, Lord-Justice.  
 1224. William, Earl of Pembroke, the younger, Lord-Justice.  
 1226. Geoffrey de Marisco, Lord-Justice.  
 1227. Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, Lord-Justice.  
       Richard de Burgh, Lord of Connaught, Lord-Deputy.  
 1229. Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord-Justice.  
 1230. Geoffrey de Marisco, Lord-Deputy.  
 1232. Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord-Justice.  
 1245. Sir John de Marisco, Lord Deputy.  
 1247. Theobald Walter, Lord of Carrick, } Lords-Justices.  
       John de Cogan, }  
 1248. Sir John de Marisco, Lord Justice.  
 1252. Prince Edward Plantagenet, Lord-Justice.  
 1255. Alan de la Zouche, Lord-Justice.  
 1259. Stephen Longespee, Lord-Justice.  
 1260. William Dene, Lord-Justice.  
 1261. Sir Richard de Rupella (Roche), Lord-Justice.  
 1266. Sir John De Marisco, Lord-Justice.  
 1267. Sir David de Barry, Lord-Justice.  
 1268. Sir Robert de Ufford, Lord-Justice.  
 1269. Richard de Exeter, Lord-Justice.



- 1270. Sir James Audley, Lord-Justice.
- 1272. Maurice Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, Lord-Justice.

## EDWARD, 1272

- 1273. Sir Geoffrey de Genevill Lord-Justice.
- 1276. Sir Robert de Ufford, Lord-Justice.
- 1277. Stephen de Fulburn, Bishop of Waterford, Lord-Deputy.
- 1280. Sir Robert de Ufford Lord-Justice.
- 1282. John de Saunford, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord-Justice.
- 1287. Stephen de Fulburn Lord-Justice.
- 1290. William de Vesci, Lord-Justice.
- 1293. William de la Haye, Lord-Justice.
- 1294. William de Odinsele, Lord-Justice.
- 1295. Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, Lord-Justice.
- Sir John Wogan, Lord-Justice.
- 1302. Sir Maurice Rochfort, Lord-Deputy.
- Sir John Wogan, Lord-Justice.

## EDWARD II., 1307.

- 1308. Sir Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, Lord-Deputy.
- Sir William Bourke, Lord-Deputy.
- 1309. Sir John Wogan, Lord-Justice.
- 1312. Sir Edmund Butler, Lord-Deputy.
- 1314. Sir Theobald de Vardon, Lord-Deputy.
- 1315. Sir Edmund Butler, Lord-Deputy.
- 1317. Sir Roger Mortimer, Earl of Mach, Lord-Justice.
- 1318. William FitzJohn, Archbishop of Cashel, Lord-Deputy.
- Alexander Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord-Deputy.
- 1319. Sir Roger Martimer, Lord-Justice.
- 1320. Thomas FitzJohn Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy.
- 1321. Sir John de Birmingham, Earl of Louth, Lord-Justice.
- 1322. Ralph de Gorges, Lord-Deputy.
- Sir John Darcy, Lord-Deputy.
- 1323. Sir Thomas Burke, Lord-Deputy.
- 1324. Sir John Darcy, Lord-Justice.
- 1326. Thomas, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Justice.

## EDWARD III., 1327.

- 1328. Roger Outlawe, Lord Chancellor, Lord-Justice.
- Sir John Darcy, Lord-Justice.
- 1329. James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1330. Roger Outlawe, Lord-Deputy.
- 1331. Sir Anthony Lucy, Lord-Lieutenant.

- 1332. Sir John Darcy, Lord-Justice.
- 1333. Sir Thomas de Burgh, Lord-Deputy.
- 1334. Sir John Darcy, Lord-Justice.
- 1337. Sir John Charlton, Lord-Justice.
- 1338. Thomas Charlton, Archbishop of Hereford, Lord-Deputy.
- 1340. Roger Outlawe, Lord-Justice.  
Sir John Darcy, Lord-Justice.
- 1341. Sir John Morice, Lord-Deputy.
- 1344. Sir Ralph Ufford, Lord-Deputy.
- 1346. Sir Roger Darcy, Lord-Justice.  
Sir Walter Bermingham, Lord-Justice.
- 1347. John leArcher, Prior of Kilmainham, Lord-Deputy.
- 1348. Sir Walter Bermingham Lord-Justice.
- 1349. Sir John de Carew, } Lords-Justice.  
Sir Thomas Rokeby }
- 1351. Maurice de Rochfort, Bishop of Limerick, Lord-Deputy.
- 1353. Sir Thomas Rokeby, Lord-Justice.
- 1354. Maurice FitzThomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, Lord-Justice.
- 1356. Sir Thomas Rokeby, Lord-Justice.
- 1357. Sir Almeric de St. Amand, Lord-Justice.
- 1359. James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Justice.
- 1360. Maurice FitzThomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy.  
James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord Justice.
- 1361. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Earl of Ulster, Lord of Connaught,  
Lord Lieutenant (till 1369).
- 1364. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord Deputy.
- 1365. Sir Thomas Dale, Lord Deputy.
- 1367. Gerald Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond, Lord Justice.
- 1369. Sir William de Windsor, Lord Lieutenant.
- 1371. Maurice, Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy.
- 1372. Sir Robert Asheton, Lord-Justice.  
Ralph Cheney, Lord-Deputy.  
William Tany, Prior of Kilmainham, Lord-Justice.
- 1374. Sir William de Windsor, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1375. Maurice, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy.
- 1376. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Justice.

#### RICHARD II., 1377.

- 1378. Alexander Balcot, Bishop of Ossory, Lord-Justice.
- 1379. John de Bromwich, Lord-Justice.
- 1380. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Lord-Lieutenant  
(till 1383).
- 1381. John Colton, Dean of St. Patrick's, Lord-Justice.
- 1383. Philip de Courtenay, Lord Lieutenant (till 1385).



1384. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Deputy.  
 1385. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over; attained 1388.)  
 Sir John Stanley, Lord-Deputy.  
 1386. Sir Philip de Courtenay, Lord-Lieutenant (till 1389).  
 1387. Alexander Balscot, Bishop of Meath, Lord-Justice.  
 1389. Sir John Stanley, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Richard White, Prior of Kilmainham, Lord-Deputy.  
 1391. Alexander Balscot, Bishop of Meath, Lord-Justice.  
 1392. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Justice.  
 1393. Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 (Never came over.)  
 The King in person, Lord of Ireland.  
 1394. Sir Thomas le Scrope, Lord-Deputy.  
 1395. Roger Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1398. Roger Gray, Lord-Justice.  
 Thomas de Holland, Earl of Kent, Lord Lieutenant.  
 1399. The King in person, Lord of Ireland.

## HENRY IV., 1399.

1399. Alexander Balscot, Lord Justice.  
 Sir John Stanley, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1401. Thomas de Lancaster, Lord-Lieutenant (till 1413).  
 Sir Stephen Scrope, Lord-Deputy.  
 1405. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Justice.  
 Earl of Kildare, Lord-Justice.  
 1406. Sir Stephen Scrope, Lord-Deputy.  
 1407. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Deputy.  
 1409. William de Botiller, Prior of Kilmainham, Lord-Deputy.

## HENRY V., 1413.

1413. Sir John Stanley, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1414. Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord-Justice.  
 Sir John Talbot, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1419. Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord-Deputy.  
 1420. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.

## HENRY VI., 1422.

1423. Edmond Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Ed. Dantsey, Bishop of Meath, Lord Deputy.  
 Lord Talbot, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1424. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1426. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Justice.

- 1427. Sir John de Grey, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1428. Sir John Sutton, Lord Dudley, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1429. Sir Thomas Scrope, Lord-Deputy.
- 1430. Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord-Deputy.
- 1431. Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1432. Sir Christopher Plunket, Lord-Deputy.
- 1435. Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1436. Richard Talbot, Lord-Deputy.
- 1438. Lord-Welles, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)
- 1440. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Deputy.
- 1442. William Welles, Lord Deputy.
- 1443. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1445. Richard Talbot, Lord Deputy (till 1449.)
- 1446. John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1449. Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, Earl of March and Ulster,  
Lord-Lieutenant.  
Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, Lord-Deputy.
- 1450. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Deputy.
- 1452. Sir Edward Fitz-Eustace, Lord-Deputy.
- 1453. James, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.  
John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh, Lord-Deputy.
- 1454. Sir Edward Fitz-Eustace, Lord-Deputy.
- 1459. Richard Plantagenet, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1460. Thomas Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy.

## EDWARD IV., 1461.

- 1461. Thomas, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Justice.  
George, Duke of Clarence, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1462. Roland Fitz-Eustace, Lord-Deputy.  
William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, Lord-Deputy.
- 1463. Thomas, Earl of Desmond, Lord-Deputy.
- 1467. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Lord-Deputy.
- 1468. Thomas, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy.
- 1475. William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, Lord Deputy.
- 1478. Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York (second son to the King),  
Lord Lieutenant (till 1783; he never came over).  
Sir Robert Preston, Lord Gormanston, Lord-Deputy.  
Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy (till 1492).

## RICHARD V., 1483.

## RICHARD III., 1483.

- 1480. Edward, Prince of Wales, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)
- 1484. John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, Lord-Lieutenant.



## HENRY VII., 1485.

- 1485. Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1492. Walter FitzSimon, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord-Deputy.
- 1493. Lord Gormanstown, Lord-Deputy.  
William Preston, Lord-Deputy.
- 1494. Henry, Duke of York (second son to the King), Lord-Lieutenant.  
(He never came over.)  
Sir Edward Poynings, Lord Deputy.
- 1495. Henry Deane, Bishop of Bangor, Lord-Justice.
- 1496. Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy (till 1513).

## HENRY VIII., 1509.

- 1513. Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, Lord-Justice.  
Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy (till 1520).
- 1515. Lord Gormanston, Lord-Justice.
- 1520. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1521. Sir Piers Butler, Earl of Ormonde, Lord-Deputy.
- 1524. Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy.
- 1526. Lord Delvin, Lord-Deputy.
- 1528. Sir Piers Butler, Earl of Ossory, Lord-Justice.
- 1529. Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond (natural son to the King),  
Lord Lieutenant. (Never came over.)
- 1530. Sir William Skeffington, Lord-Deputy.
- 1532. Gerald, Earl of Kildare Lord-Deputy.
- 1535. Lord Leonard Gray, Lord-Deputy.
- 1540. Sir William Brereton, Lord-Justice.  
Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord-Deputy (till 1546).
- 1543 Sir William Brabazon, Lord-Justice.
- 1546 Sir William Brabazon, Lord-Deputy.  
Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord-Deputy.

## EDWARD VI.. 1547.

- 1547. Sir William Brabazon, Lord-Justice.
- 1548. Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord-Justice.
- 1549. Sir Francis Bryan,        }  
      Sir William Brabazon,    } Lords-Justices.
- 1550. Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord-Deputy.
- 1551. Sir James Croft, Lord-Justice.
- 1552. Sir James Cusacke, Lord-Chancellor  
      Sir Gerald Aylmer, Lord-Chief-Justice, K. B., } Lords-Justices.

## MARY, 1553.

1553. Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord-Deputy.  
 1556. Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, Lord-Deputy (till 1560).  
 1557. Hugh Curwen,        }  
       Sir Henry Sidney,    } Lords-Justices.  
 1558. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Justice.

## ELIZABETH, 1558.

1560. Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord-Deputy.  
       Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, Earl of Sussex, Lord-Deputy.  
 1561. Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord-Deputy.  
       Earl of Sussex, Lord-Lieutenant.  
       Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord-Deputy.  
 1564. Sir Nicholas Arnold, Lord-Justice.  
 1565. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy.  
 1567. Robert Weston, Lord-Chancellor, }  
       Sir William Fitzwilliam,        } Lords-Justices.  
 1568. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy.  
 1571. Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord-Justice.  
 1575. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy.  
 1578. Sir William Drury, Lord-Justice.  
 1579. Sir William Pelham, Lord-Justice.  
 1580. Lord Grey de Wilton, Lord-Deputy.  
 1582. Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord- }  
       Chancellor,                        } Lords-Justices.  
       Sir Henry Wallop.  
 1584. Sir John Perrot, Lord-Deputy.  
 1588. Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord-Deputy.  
 1594. Sir William Russell, Lord-Deputy.  
 1597. Lord Burgh, Lord-Deputy.  
       Sir Thomas Norris, Lord-Justice.  
 1598. Adam Loftus,                        }  
       Sir Robert Gardiner, C. J. K. B., } Lords-Justices.  
       Earl of Ormonde,  
 1599. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Lord-Lieutenant.  
       Adam Loftus,                        }  
       Sir George Carew,                } Lords-Justices.  
 1600. Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Lord-Deputy.

## JAMES I., 1603.

1603. Lord Mountjoy, Lord-Lieutenant.  
       Sir George Carew, Lord-Deputy.  
 1604. Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord-Deputy (till 1616).  
 1613. Sir Richard Wingfield,                }  
       Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, } Lords-Justices.



1615. Archbishop Jones, }  
 Sir John Denham, } Lords-Justices.
1616. Sir Oliver St. John (Lord Grandison), Lord-Deputy.
1622. Lord Falkland, Lord-Deputy (till 1629).
1623. Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, Lord Chancellor, }  
 Sir Richard Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt, } Lords-Justices.

## CHARLES I., 1625.

1629. Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, }  
 Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, } Lords-Justices.
1632. Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Deputy (till 1641).
1636. Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, }  
 Christopher Wandesford, } Lords-Justices.
1639. Lord Dillon, }  
 Christopher Wandesford, } Lords-Justices.
1640. Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Stratford, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Sir Christopher Wandesford, Lord-Deputy.
1639. Lord Dillon }  
 Sir William Parsons, } Lords-Justices.  
 Robert, Earl of Leicester, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)  
 Sir William Parsons, }  
 Sir John Borlase, } Lords-Justices.
1643. Sir John Borlase, }  
 Sir Henry Tichborne, } Lords-Justices.
1644. James Butler, Marquis of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.
1647. Philip Sidney, Lord Lisle, Lord-Lieutenant (appointed by the  
 Parliament.).

## THE REPUBLIC, 1649.

1649. Oliver Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant.
1650. General Henry Ireton, Lord-Deputy..
1651. General Lambert Lord-Deputy.
1653. General Charles Fleetwood, }  
 General Edmund Ludlow, }  
 General Miles Corbet, } Commissioners.  
 John Jones, }  
 John Weever, }

## THE PROTECTORATE, 1553.

1654. General Charles Fleetwood, Lord-Deputy.
1655. Henry Cromwell, }  
 Matthew Tomlinson, }  
 Miles Corbet, }  
 Robert Goodwin, }  
 William Steel, }
1657. Henry Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant.

1659. Edmund Ludlow,  
 John Jones,  
 Matthew Tomlinson,  
 Miles Corbet,  
 Major Bury, } Commissioners.

## CHARLES II., 1660.

1660. George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)  
 John, Lord Robarts, Lord-Deputy. (Never came over.)  
 Sir Maurice Eustace,  
 Sir Charles Coote, Earl of Montrath, } Lords-Justices.  
 Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery,  
 1661. Sir Maurice Eustace } Lords-Justices.  
 Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery,  
 1662. James Butler Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1664. Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory, Lord-Deputy.  
 1669. John, Lord Robarts, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1670. John, Lord Berkeley, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1671. Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin, } Lords-Justices (till 1685).  
 Sir Arthur Forbes,  
 1672. Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1677. James, Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant (till 1685).  
 1682. Richard Butler, Earl of Arran, Lord-Deputy.

## JAMES II. 1685.

1685. Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Sir Alexander Fitton, Lord-Chancellor, } Lords-Justices.  
 William, Earl of Clanricarde,  
 1689. King James in person.

## WILLIAM III., 1689.

1690. King William in person.  
 Henry, Viscount Sydney,  
 Sir Charles Porter, Lord-Chancellor, } Lords-Justices.  
 Thomas Coningsby,  
 1692. Henry, Viscount Sydney, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1693. Henry Lord Capel } Lords-Justices.  
 Sir Cyril Wyche,  
 William Duncombe, }  
 Sir Charles Porter, } Lords-Justices.  
 Sir Cyril Wyche,  
 1695. Lord Capel, Lord-Deputy (d. 1696).  
 1696. Sir Charles Porter, Lord-Justice.  
 Sir Charles Porter, } Lords Justices.  
 Earl of Montrath,  
 Earl of Drogheda, }



1697. Earl of Galway, Lord-Justice.  
 Marquess of Winchester, }  
 Earl of Galway, } Lords-Justices.  
 Viscount Villiers, }
1699. Duke of Bolton, }  
 Earl of Galway, } Lords-Justices.  
 Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, }
- Duke of Bolton, }  
 Earl of Berkeley, } Lords-Justices.  
 Earl of Galway, }
1701. Earl of Rochester, Lord-Lieutenant.
1702. Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, }  
 Earl of Drogheda, } Lords-Justices  
 Earl of Mount Alexander, }

## ANNE, 1702.

1702. Earl of Mount Alexander, }  
 General Earl, } Lords-Justices.  
 Thomas Keightley, }
1703. James, Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Sir Richard Cox, Lord-Chancellor, }  
 Earl of Mount Alexander, } Lords-Justices.  
 General Earl, }
1705. Sir Richard Cox, }  
 Lord Cutts of Gowran, } Lords-Justices.
1707. Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh, }  
 Sir Richard Cox, } Lords-Justices.  
 Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Lieutenant.
- Narcissus Marsh, }  
 Richard Freeman, Lord-Chancellor, } Lords-Justices.
1709. Earl of Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Richard Freeman, Lord-Chancellor, }  
 General Ingoldsby, } Lords-Justices.
1710. James, Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 Narcissus Marsh, }  
 General Ingoldsby, } Lords-Justices.
1711. Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord-Chancellor, }  
 General Ingoldsby, } Lords-Justices.
1712. Sir Constantine Phipps, }  
 John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, } Lords-Justices.
1713. Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord-Lieutenant.
1714. Thomas Lindsay, Archbishop of Armagh, }  
 John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, } Lords-Justices.  
 Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord-Chancellor, }

## GEORGE I., 1714.

1714. William King, Archbishop of Dublin, }  
 John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, } Lords-Justices  
 Earl of Kildare, }

1714. Earl of Sunderland, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)
1715. Duke of Grafton, }  
 Earl of Galway, } Lords-Justices.
1716. Charles Viscount Townshend, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)
- Alan Brodrick, Lord-Chancellor,  
 William King, Archbishop of Dublin,  
 William Conolly, Speaker, } Lords-Justices till 1719.
1717. Duke of Bolton, Lord-Lieutenant.
1719. Alan Brodrick, Viscount Midleton,  
 William Connolly, Speaker, } Lords-Justices.
1721. Duke of Grafton, Lord-Lieutenant.
1722. William King, Archbishop of Dublin,  
 Viscount Shannon,  
 William Conolly, Speaker, } Lords-Justices.
1723. Viscount Midleton, Lord Chancellor  
 William King, Archbishop of Dublin,  
 Viscount Shannon,  
 William Conolly } Lords-Justices.
1724. Viscount Midleton,  
 Viscount Shannon, } Lords-Justices.  
 William Connolly,  
 Lord Carteret, Lord-Lieutenant.
1726. Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh,  
 Richarch West, Lord-Chancellor,  
 William Conolly, Speaker, } Lords-Justices.

## GEORGE II., 1727.

1731. Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, Lord-Lieutenant.
1732. Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh,  
 Lord Wyndham, Lord-Chancellor,  
 Sir Ralph Gore, Speaker, } Lords-Justices.
1733. Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh,  
 Lord Wyndham, Lord-Chancellor,  
 Henry Boyle, Speaker, } Lords-Justices  
 till 1740.
1737. Duke of Devonshire, Lord-Lieutenant.
1740. Archbishop Boulter,  
 Robert Jocelyn, Lord-Chancellor,  
 Henry Boyle, Speaker, } Lords-Justices.
1742. John Hoadley, Archbishop of Armagh,  
 Robert Jocelyn, Lord-Chancellor,  
 Henry Boyle, Speaker, } Lords-Justices  
 till 1747.
1745. Earl of Chesterfield, Lord-Lieutenant.
1747. George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh,  
 Robert Jocelyn, Lord Newport, Lord-Chancellor,  
 Henry Boyle, Speaker, } Lords-Justices  
 till 1754.
- Earl of Harrington, Lord-Lieutenant.
1754. George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh,  
 Lord Newport, Lord-Chancellor,  
 Earl of Bessborough, } Lords-Justices.



1755. Marquis of Hartington, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1756. Robert, Lord Jocelyn, Lord-Chancellor, }  
       Earl of Bessborough, } Lords-Justices.  
       Earl of Kildare, }  
 1757. John, Duke of Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1758. George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, }  
       Henry Boyle, Earl of Shannon, } Lords-Justices  
       John Ponsonby, Speaker, } till 1765.

## GEORGE III. 1760.

1761. Earl of Halifax, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1763. Earl of Northumberland, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1765. Lord Weymouth, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)  
       John, Lord Bowes, Lord-Chancellor, }  
       John Ponsonby, Speaker, } Lords-Justices.  
       Earl of Hertford, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1766. Lord Bowes, Lord-Chancellor, }  
       Earl of Drogheda, } Lords-Justices till 1767.  
       John Ponsonby, Speaker, }  
       Earl of Bristol, Lord-Lieutenant. (Never came over.)  
 1767. George, Viscount Townshend, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1772. Earl Harcourt, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1777. Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1780. Earl of Carlisle, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1782. Duke of Portland, Lord-Lieutenant.  
       Earl Temple, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1784. Duke of Rutland, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1787. Richard Rutland, Archbishop of Armagh, }  
       Viscount Lifford, Lord-Chancellor, } Lords-Justices.  
       Right Honorable John Foster, Speaker, }  
       Marquis of Buckingham, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1789. Lord Fitzgibbon, Lord-Chancellor }  
       Right Honorable John Foster, Speaker, } Lords-Justices.  
 1790. Earl of Westmoreland, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1794. Earl of Fitzwilliam, Lord-Lieutenant.  
       John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord-Chancellor, }  
       Right Honorable John Foster, Speaker, } Justices.  
 1795. Earl of Camden, Lord-Lieutenant.  
 1798. Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord-Lieutenant.  
       Charles, Marquess Cornwallis.  
 1801. Philip, Earl of Hardwick.  
 1806. John, Duke of Bedford.  
 1807. Charles, Duke of Richmond.  
 1813. Charles, Earl Whitworth.  
 1817. Charles, Earl Talbot.

## GEORGE IV. 1820.

1821. Richard, Marquess Wellesley.

- 1828. Henry, Marquess Anglesey.
- 1829. Hugh, Duke of Northumberland.
- 1830. Henry, Marquess Anglesey.

WILLIAM IV. 1830.

- 1833. Marquess Wellseley.
- 1834. Thomas, Earl of Haddington.
- 1835. Henry, Marquess of Normanby.

VICTORIA. 1837.

- 1839. Hugh, Viscount Elrington, afterwards Earl Fortescue.
- 1841. Thomas Philip, Earl De Grey.
- 1844. William, Lord Heytesbury.
- 1846. John William, Earl of Bessborough, 16 May, 1847 Died.
- 1847. George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon.
- 1852. Archibald William, Earl of Eglinton.
- 1853. Edward Granville, Earl of St. Germans.
- 1855. George, Earl of Carlisle.
- 1858. Archibald, Earl of Eglinton.
- 1859. George, Earl of Carlisle, 5th Dec. 1864, Died.
- 1864. John, Lord Wodehouse, afterwards Earl of Kimberley.
- 1866. James, Marquess of Abercorn.
- 1867. The Duke of Abercorn.
- 1868. Lord Spencer.
- 1871. Lord Spencer.
- 1873. Duke of Abercorn again.
- 1879. Duke of Marlborough with the notorious James Lowther, Chief-Secretary.
- 1880. Lord Cowper, and W. E. Forster, nicknamed "Buckshot" Forster as Secretary, who was succeeded by Lord Frederick Cavendish who was assassinated in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, in May, 1882.
- 1882. Earl Spencer again Lord-Lieutenant.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND.

*Embracing the Leading Events in the History of Ireland, from the First Settlement of the Country down to 1883.*

B. C.

2035. Ireland colonized by a chief named Partholan and his followers, who are said to be of Scythian origin.
1727. A chief named Nemedius and his four sons led a thousand colonists into Ireland from the shores of the Euxine Sea, and colonized the country, the descendants of Partholan having perished by plague.
1560. About this date the Fomorians, who are generally supposed to be Carthaginian pirates, made inroads on the country, but did not succeed in establishing a permanent settlement.
1470. About the middle of the fifteenth century a tribe called Firbolgs, whose origin is in doubt, took possession of the island and divided it into five parts or provinces.
1400. Towards the close of the fourteenth century before Christ the Tuatha de Danains landed in Ireland. They are supposed to have come from Greece. They were idolaters, skilled in Magic and all the superstitions of the East. They brought with them the *Lia-fail*, or stone of destiny. They ruled *Bamba*, as Ireland was then called, for nearly two hundred years.

B.

1234. The Milesians, after the death of their chief Milesius in Spain, sailed for Ireland under their Queen Scota, accompanied by her sons. They conquered the Tuatha de Danains and took possession of the country. Scota killed in a battle with the enemy. Heremon and Heber divide the country between them.
1220. Death of Heremon, who was followed by sixteen Ardrighs, or supreme monarchs, until the reign of Ollave Fola.
918. Ollave Fola, the wise king and legislator, ascended the throne; he might be aptly styled the Solomon of Ireland. He was followed by several rulers of whose history little authentic is known.
650. Sedna II. ascended the throne. From Sedna to Kimbeath twenty *Ardrighs* ruled over Ireland.
350. Kimbeath ascended the throne. He built the palace of Emania in Ulster. Sixteen Monarchs ruled from Kimbaeth to Aengus with an average of thirteen years.
130. Aengus III. ascended the throne. Ireland was at this time called *Inis-fail*, or "Isle of Destiny," *Inis-ealga*, the "Noble Island," and Eire, after a queen of that name. It was also called Ireland, after Ir, the son of Milesius, who was drowned in a storm when the Milesians were landing. It was also known to the Romans as Hibernia, Iris, and Iverna. Fifteen monarchs succeeded Aengus up to the reign of Conaire Mor. About this time the celebrated Irish militia flourished. The militia of Leinster were called the *Fiann Erin*; of Munster, the *Clan Degaid*; of Ulster, the *Knights of the Red Branch*; and of Connaught, the *Clanna Morna*. *Conaire Mor* ascended the throne a few years before Christ, the Saviour of the world, was born. He was succeeded by several monarchs of whose reigns little is known. It is said that the monarch



who ruled at the time of the crucifixion of our Saviour foretold his death, and got into such a fit of anger at his execution that he burst a tumor and died.

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95. Tuathal Tectmar ascended the throne. In his reign the Feis or National Assembly was commenced at Tara.
129. Felim II., Monarch of Ireland. He introduced the Brehon Code, or *Lex talionis*, of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," and also the law of *Eire*, which punished crimes by the imposition of fines or by death.
140. Cathaire Mor, who founded Dublin, ascended the throne of Ireland. He was succeeded by Con of the Hundred Battles.
146. Conaire II., the father of Carbry Riada, who subsequently led an Irish colony into Albania, ascended the throne. The most celebrated Irish chiefs of the time were Eagan, King of Munster, Goll, son of Morna, general of Connaught, and Cuall, father of the celebrated Finn, the chief of the Fiann of Leinster.
224. Cormac Ulfada ascended the throne of Ireland. His reign was one of the brightest in the history of Pagan Ireland. He collected the laws of the country and published a code which existed until the time of the English invasion. He carried on the wars in Albania begun by his predecessors.
268. Carbre II., succeeded his father Cormac Ulfada. During his reign both Ossian the poet and his son Oscar flourished.
284. The great battle of Gabra was fought, in which Carbre and Oscar were killed.
331. The palace of Emania in Ulster destroyed by the men of Connaught in the reign of Muredach II.
350. Eocha XII. ascended the throne of Ireland. Ireland was distracted by internecine wars during his

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- reign, which continued under his successors up to the reign of Laegaire. Britain was at this time a Province of Rome, and with the exception of Ireland all the other European countries were under the same despotic sway. Eocha was succeeded by Cremtham III., who led expeditions to Albania, Britain, and Gaul. He was succeeded by Niall of the Nine Hostages, who ravaged Britain, Wales, and Gaul. He was killed near the Loire in France by Eocha, King of Leinster. St. Patrick was among the captives taken on this expedition.
- 403 Dathy succeeded to the throne. He was the last Monarch of Pagan Ireland. He was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps, A. D. 428.
428. Laegaire II., son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, ascended the throne after the death of King Dathy.
431. Palladius sent to convert the Irish by Pope Celestine I., but failing in his mission, he retired to Albania, where he died.
432. Patricius, or Patrick, the great Apostle, arrived in Ireland to convert the natives.
433. First baptism by St. Patrick in Ireland. St. Patrick preached at Tara.
444. Foundation of the see and priory of Armagh by St. Patrick.
448. Christianity established.
450. Foundation of the abbeys of Inniscathery, Downpatrick, Saul, Trim, Ardagh, Duleek, Drumshallon, and Louth by St. Patrick.
480. Foundation of an abbey at Antrim by Dartract, a disciple of St. Patrick. Foundation of an abbey at Clogher by St. Aid.
484. Foundation of the nunnery and abbey of Kildare by St. Bridgid.
493. St. Patrick died on the 17th of March, in the abbey of Saul, built by himself, and was buried



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there, being about a quarter of a mile from Down, aged 120 years.

- 500. St. Bridget's Church at Kildare built. The famous men of the fifth century in Ireland were St. Albe, Dubrach, Fiach, Benigne, Selulius, Feredeline, St. Catald, Kienan, etc.
- 500. Foundation of a monastery at Swords by St. Columb. Foundation of a priory at Castle Dermot by St. Dermot. Foundation of the abbey of Lough Deary, Co. Donegal (St. Patrick's Purgatory), by St. Dabeoc.
- 510. Foundation of the abbey of Emly by St. Ailbe.
- 521. St. Columbkille born at Gartan, Kilmacrennan, in Tyrconnell.
- 525. St. Brigid died at Kildare, in the 77th year of her age.
- 527. St. Canice, patron of Kilkenny, born.
- 530. Foundation of the abbey of Glendalough by St. Kevin.
- 540. Foundation of an abbey at Clones by St. Tigernach. Foundation of the abbey of Roscommon by St. Colman.
- 544. Foundation of the abbey Island of All Saints, in Loughrea, by St. Kieran.
- 546. Foundation of abbeys at Derry and Durrow by St. Columb.
- 548. Foundation of the abbey of Clonmacnoise.
- 549. Foundation of the abbey of Clonard by St. Kieran.
- 550. Foundation of the abbey of Muckamore, Co. Antrim, by St. Colman. Foundation of the abbey of Aghmacarte, by O'Dempsey. St. Tigernach was baptized by Conlath, Bishop of Kildare, St. Bridget being his god-mother. He founded the Abbey of Clones, in the County Monahan, where he fixed his episcopal see, now united to that of Clogher, and died in 550. St. Munchin founded a Bishopric and

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- built a church in Limerick, which was destroyed by the Danes in 853.
555. Foundation of the abbey of Drumlane, Co. Cavan. Foundation of the abbey of Kells by St. Columb. Foundation of the abbey of Bangor by St. Comgall.
563. St. Odran, Monk of Derry, died at Iona, whither he had accompanied St. Columbkille from Ireland. St. Molaise, founder of the Monastery of Devinish Island, died. St. Columbkille preaches Christianity in the Western Isles.
570. Foundation of a monastery at Ardfert by St. Brendan. Foundation of the abbey of Innisfallen by St. Finian the Leper. Foundation of the abbey of Aghadoe by St. Canice.
572. St. Columbanus.
590. Foundation of a monastery at Drumcliffe by St. Columb.
597. St. Columbkille died at Iona.
600. Eminent persons who flourished in the sixth century in Ireland were St. Collumbkille, St. Finian, St. Tarlah, St. Brendan, St. Congal, St. Kenny, St. Colman, St. Bridget, St. Ita, with several others.
615. St. Columbanus died at Bobbio in Italy.
620. Foundation of a monastery at Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway, by St. Colman.
630. Foundation of the abbey of Lismore by St. Mochuda. Foundation of the priory at Fore, Westmeath, by St. Fechin. The cathedral of Cork founded by St. Finbarr.
632. St. Ædan, first Bishop of Ferns, died.
634. St. Aidan, from Iona, reintroduces Christianity at Lindisfarne. Irish missionaries on the Continent.
639. The episcopal church of Killaloe was founded



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about this time, by the contribution of different kings.

- 656. St. Fiechin, founder of the Abbey of Fore, etc., died
- 660. Foundation of a monastery at Cong, Co. Mayo, by St. Fechan.
- 665. Foundation of a monastery at Mayo, by St Colman.
- 745. Feargal (Virgilius) flourished.
- 795. The Danes and Normans, known by the name of Easterlings, or Ostmen, invade Ireland.
- 800. The Danes build Dublin and other cities. Foundation of the abbey of Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.
- 812. The Normans made a second descent on Ireland.
- 815. Arrival of Turges.
- 820. St. Mary's Abbey at Trim, built.
- 838. The Danes in sixty ships arrive and take Dublin.
- 844. Turges' death. Massacre of the Northmen by the Irish.
- 849. Fresh incursions of Northmen.
- 850. Joannes Scotus Erigena flourished.
- 852. Armagh destroyed by the Danes on Easter Day.
- 853. Arrival of Amlaf. Nose-money is collected.
- 872. The Northmen invade Scotland from Ireland.
- 882. Cormack M'Cullen, King of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel.
- 888. A great battle between Maolseachluin I., king of Ireland, and the Danes.
- 902. The Danes, with a vast fleet, were overthrown by the people of Dublin, with great slaughter.
- 916. Fiann Sionna, Monarch of Ireland, died at Tailteann, in Meath. The Danes routed at Clonmel by Niall Glendubh, Monarch of Ireland.
- 917. Great Battle at Dublin between Danes and Irish. Niall Glendubh, Monarch of Ireland, slain.
- 948. Conversion of the Northmen in Ireland. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, founded by the Northmen.

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- 968. Battle of Sulchoid. Brian Boru succeeds to the throne of Munster.
- 980. The Northmen defeated at Tara by Malachy, King of all Ireland. Foundation of the priory of Holmpatrick, Co. Dublin, by Sitric.
- 983. Brian extends his rule over Leinster.
- 997. Struggle between Brian and Malachy.
- 1000. The famous men of Ireland who flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries were Albin, Clement, Claude, Donough, Andrew, Patrick, Johannes Scotus, Suibny, Probus, Cele, etc.
- 1001. Seizure of the throne of Tara by Brian.
- 1013. Rebellion of Leinster in conjunction with the Northmen.
- 1014. April 23. Battle of Clontarf, near Dublin between the Irish, commanded by Brian Boroimhe, Monarch of Ireland, and the Danes, commanded by Sitric. The Danes were defeated after 11,000 of them were killed, and thenceforth their power in Ireland was broken. Brian was killed on the field of battle.
- 1016. Malachy defeats the Northmen.
- 1022. Death of Malachy.
- 1023. Teige and Donchad, sons of Brian, joint rulers of Munster. Murder of Teige by Donchad.
- 1038. The priory of Christ church, Dublin, founded by Sitric, Danish Prince of Dublin.
- 1049. The cathedral of Kilkenny supposed to have been built about this time by St. Canice.
- 1051. Harold takes refuge with Donchad after his rebellion against Edward the Confessor.
- 1058. Donchad becomes titular king of all Ireland.
- 1063. Donchad defeated by Turlough, son of Teige.
- 1064. Turlough titular king of all Ireland.
- 1084. Dublin erected into a bishopric, whose first bishop was one Patrick, an Easterling, and chosen by the city, who sent him to England, to be con-



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- separated by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; and in 1152 had the archiepiscopal dignity added to it, as well as to Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, by Pope Eugene the Third.
1086. Death of Turlough. He is succeeded by his son Murkertach.
1088. Tigernach, abbot of Clonmacnoise, writer of the "Annals of Tigernach," dies.
1089. A university at Armagh of considerable splendor erected.
1096. The cathedral of Waterford, built by the Ostmen, and Malchus its first bishop.
1106. Foundation of a monastery at Lispool by McNoel McKenless.
1111. Synod of Rath Bresail.
1119. Death of Murkertach.
1121. Death of Donald O'Loghlin.
1130. St. Mary's church built on the island of Devenish, near Silver hill, in the county of Fermanagh.
1132. Struggle between Connor O'Brien of Munster and Turlough O'Connor of Connaught.
1142. Abbey of Mellifont founded by O'Carroll of Argiel.
1148. Abbey of Bective founded by O'Malachlin of Meath. Abbey of Baltinglass founded by Dermot McMurrrough. Abbey of Monasternenagh, Limerick founded by O'Brien.
1150. In the twelfth century Ireland was divided into five kingdoms, viz.: Ulster, Leinster, Meath, Connaught, and Munster, besides a number of petty principalities, whose sovereigns continually warred with each other.
1151. Four archbishops constituted, viz.: Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam; and twenty-three other bishops. Foundation of a nunnery at Killeecheen, Co. Kilkenny, by Dermot McMurrrough. Battle of Moimor. Turlough O'Connor titular king of all Ireland.

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- 1152. Abduction of the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke Prince Breffny by Dermott McMurrough, King of Leinster. Synod of Kells. A Cistercian monastery founded at Athlone.
- 1153. A Cistercian monastery founded at Newry by O'Lochlin
- 1154. Henry II. of England 1154 to 1189 Pope Adrian IV. grants Ireland to Henry II. of England by a bull the existence of which is disputed. Conflict of Turlough O'Connor with O'Lochlin of Ulster. Foundation of a monastery at Odorney in Kerry.
- 1156. Adrian IV. permitted Henry II. to invade Ireland, on condition that he compelled every Irish family to pay a carolus to the Holy See and to hold it as a fief of the church. Death of Turlough O'Connor.
- 1159. Foundation of the monastery of Inis Connagh, Tipperary, by Donnell O'Brien.
- 1161. O'Lochlin titular king of all Ireland.
- 1162. Waterford built.
- 1164. The cathedral of Derry was built by Flathbert O'Brolcan, its first bishop; in this he was assisted by Maurice M'Loughlan, king of Ireland. Foundation of the abbey of Boyle, Roscommon, by Maurice O'Dubhay.
- 1166. Death of O'Lochlin. Rory O'Connor titular king of all Ireland. Foundation of the priory of All-Saints, Dublin, by Dermot McMurrough. Dermot McMurrough, King of Leinster, driven from his throne.
- 1167. First landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland.
- 1168. Flight of Dermot McMurrough. He takes refuge in England, where he takes an oath of fidelity to Henry II. who promises to restore him.
- 1169. His bargain with Strongbow. Invasion of the English under FitzStephen. Landing of Strongbow at Waterford. Arrival of FitzStephen. Capture of Wexford. Invasion of Ossory. Arrival of



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- Raymond le Gros. Capture of Waterford. Arrival of Strongbow. His marriage with Eva McMurrough. Capture of Dublin.
1170. Synod of Armagh and manumission of English slaves. Death of Dermot McMurrough. Siege of Dublin. Strongbow returns to England and makes his peace with Henry. Monastery founded at Fermoy. The city of Cork built.
1171. Dublin is besieged and taken by Raymond le Gros; Waterford also surrenders to him and William FitzGerald. Henry II. arrives. He receives the submission of the chieftains.
1172. Synod of Cashel. Government organized by Henry at Dublin. He returns to England. Foundation of the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, by William FitzAldelm. Henry II. built a pavilion of platted twigs, near St. Andrew's church, city of Dublin, where he entertained several Irish princes.
1173. He by a grant of divers privileges, encouraged a colony from Bristol to settle in Dublin.
1174. Capture of Limerick. Foundation of the priory of Kilmainham by Strongbow. Richard Earl Strongbow erected the order of knights templars, at Kilmainham, near Dublin. Richard Earl Strongbow died of a mortification in his foot, and was buried in Christ church, Dublin.
1175. Treaty between Henry and Rory O'Connor.
1177. Henry II. lands near Waterford, and receives the submission of the princes of the country, settles the government, and makes his son Prince John Lord of Ireland.
1178. Foundation of an abbey at Astrath, Co. Donegal, by Roderick O'Cananan. Foundation of an abbey at Dunbrody, Co. Wexford, by Hervey Mountmorres.
1180. Foundation of an abbey at Jerpoint, Kilkenny, by McGilapatrik of Upper Ossory. Foundation of

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- an abbey at Middleton, Cork, by the Barrys. Foundation of an abbey at Inniscourcy, Down, by Sir John De Courcy. St. Laurence O'Toole, Patron of Dublin, died in the Monastery of Augum (now Eu), France.
1181. Foundation of Holy Cross Abbey by Donnell O'Brien.
1183. Foundation of an abbey at Abbeyleix by Cuchry O'Moore.
1184. Prince John lands at Waterford. Mutiny of the chieftans.
1185. Foundation of the priory of St. John at Waterford by Prince John.
1189. Foundation of a monastery at Monasterevan, Kildare, by O'Dempsy. Death of Henry II.
1189. Richard I., 1189-1199.
1190. Patrick's church built, and Christ church, Dublin, rebuilt.
1190. Foundation of a monastery at Knockmoy, Galway, by Cathal O'Connor. Foundation of the nunnery of Grace-Dieu, Co. Dublin, by John Comin, Archbishop of Dublin.
1193. Foundation of the priory of Kells, Co. Meath, by Walter De Lacy. Foundation of the priory at Kells, Co. Kilkenny, by Geoffrey FitzRobert. Foundation of the Gray Abbey, Down, by Africa De Courcy. Foundation of the monastery of Corcumroe, Co. Clare, by Donogh O'Brien. Death of Rory O'Connor.
1195. Limerick obtained its charter and John Stafford was made first provost. Foundation of the abbey of Clare by Donald O'Brien.
1198. Roderick O'Connor, last King of Ireland, died in the 82d year of his age. Adam Servant was made first Mayor of Limerick.
1200. Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick founded a Cathedral in Limerick. The abbey of St. Peter and Paul in the county of Clare, built. Foundation



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- of Tintern Abbey, Wexford, by William, Earl Marshal. Foundation of a monastery at Kilcooly, Tipperary, by Donogh O'Brien. Foundation of a monastery at Kilbeggan by the Daltons. Foundation of the Commandery of St. John for Hospitallers, at Wexford, by William, Earl Marshal.
1202. Foundation of a priory of Great Connall, Kildare, by Meyler FitzHenry. Foundation of the priory of St. Wolstans, Naas, by Adam de Hereford.
1205. Foundation of the abbey of Abingdon, Limerick, by Theobald Walter. Surrender of two-thirds of Connaught by Cathal O'Connor to King John. Disgrace of De Courcy. Foundation of Dublin Castle laid.
1206. Foundation of the priory at Newtown by Simon Rochford. Foundation of the priory for Crouched Friars at Castle Dermot by Walter de Riddlesford.
1207. Foundation of the Commandery of St. John for Hospitallers at Any, Co. Limerick, by Geoffrey De Marisco. Foundation of the Crouched Friary at Ardee by Roger de Pinard.
1207. King John granted a charter to Dublin.
1208. Foundation of the friary of St. Saviour's, Dublin, by William, Earl Marshal.
1209. *Black Monday*, so called on account of the slaughter committed by the Irish on a great number of the Bristol people, who inhabited Dublin, and went out to divert themselves in Cullens' Wood, on Easter Monday, when the Mountain enemies fell upon them and destroyed 500 men, besides women and children.
1210. English laws and customs introduced into Ireland. King John in Ireland. He divides it into counties. Court of Justice first erected in Ireland. Pence and farthings were coined in Ireland, by order of King John.

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1211. Foundation of St. John's Abbey, Kilkenny, by William, Earl Marshal.
1213. Foundation of the monastery at Tralee by Lord John FitzThomas FitzGerald.
1214. Foundation of the Gray Friary, Cork, by Dermot McCarthy Reagh.
1216. The privileges of the Great Chharer extended to Irish subjects.
1217. Henry III. granted the city of Dublin to the citizens, in fee-farm, at 200 marks per annum.
1220. Foundation of the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Tuam by the De Burghs.
1221. Grant of Connaught to De Burgh by Henry III.
1224. Foundation of the abbey of Tracton by Maurice McCarthy. Foundation of the Dominican friary at Drogheda by Luke Netterville, Archbishop of Armagh. Foundation of the priory of Aughrim by Theobald Butler. Foundation of the priory of Ballybeg, Cork, by Philip de Barry. Foundation of the priory of Athassal, Tipperary, by William FitzAldelm. Foundation of the priory of Nenagh, Tipperary, by the Butlers. Foundation of a Franciscan friary at Youghal by Maurice FitzGerald.
1225. Foundation of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, by William, Earl Marshal.
1226. Foundation of the convent of St. Saviour's, Waterford, by the citizens.
1227. Foundation of the priory of Mullingar by Ralph le Petit, Bishop of Meath. The priory of St. Mary and Edward, at Limerick, founded by Simon Minor, a citizen of Limerick, in the reign of John.
1229. Foundation of St. Mary's Convent, Cork, by Philip Barry.
1232. Fall of Hubert de Burgh. Foundation of a convent at Carrickfergus by Hugh De Lacy.
1234. Foundation of the Franciscan friary at Kilkenny



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- by Richard, Earl Marshal. Richard, Earl Marshal, declared a traitor and treacherously killed.
1235. Foundation of the monastery of St. Francis, Dublin, by Ralph le Porter.
1236. Foundation of the monastery of Multifarnam, Westmeath, by William Delamare.
1237. Foundation of the monastery at Mullingar by the Nugents.
1240. Foundation of the Gray priory at Drogheda by the Plunkets. Foundation of the Franciscan friary at Waterford by Sir Hugh Purcell. Foundation of the Cistercian monastery at Ennis by Donough Carbreach O'Brien. Foundation of a convent at Lismullen, Co. Meath, by Alicia de la Corner.
1241. Foundation of a convent at Athlone by Cathal O'Conner. Foundation of the Dominican friary at Athenry by Meyler de Bermingham.
1244. Foundation of the Dominican friary at Coleraine by the McEvelins.
1252. Foundation of the Dominican friary at Sligo by Maurice FitzGerald.
1253. Foundation of the Dominican friary of St. Mary, Roscommon, by Felim O'Connor. Foundation of the Dominican friary at Athy by the Hogans. Foundation of a monastery at Limerick by O'Brien. Foundation of Hacket's Abbey, Cashel, by William Hacket. Foundation of the Gray friary, Dundalk, by De Verdon. Foundation of the Franciscan friary at Ardfert by Thomas, Lord of Kerry.
1257. Foundation of a monastery at Athy by the Hogans.
1259. Rising of the McCarthys of Desmond. Massacre of the Geraldines. Foundation of monastery of Holy Trinity, Dublin, by the Talbots.
1260. Foundation of the Gray Abbey at Kildare by De Vesci.
1263. Foundation of the abbey of St. Mary, Trim, by

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- Geoffrey de Genneville. Foundation of a monastery at Armagh by Archbishop Scanlen.
1264. Foundation of a monastery at Arklow by Theobald FitzWalter. Contest between the Geraldines and the De Burghs.
1268. Foundation of a monastery at Rossibercan, Kilkenny, by the Graces and Walshes. Foundation of a monastery at Youghal by the Baron of Offaly.
1269. Foundation of a monastery at Leighlin Bridge by the Carews. Foundation of a monastery at Lorrha, Tipperary, by Walter de Burgh.
1272. The Irish petition for the extension to them of the English laws. Foundation of Hore Abbey, Cashel, by Archbishop McCarvill. Edward I. 1272-1307.
1274. Foundation of the abbey of Rathbran, Mayo, by the Dexters.
1277. De Clare invades Thomond.
1280. Feuds between the Geraldines and De Burghs.
1290. Quarrel between De Vesci and the Baron of Offaly. Foundation of a monastery at Clare-Galway by John de Cogan. Foundation of a monastery at Buttevant by David Oge Barry. Foundation of a monastery at Galbally, Limerick, by O'Brien. Foundation of a monastery at Ross, Wexford, by Sir John Devereux. Foundation of a monastery at Clonmines by the McMurroughs. Foundation of a monastery at Dungarven by John FitzThomas FitzGerald. Foundation of the Carmelite convent at Dublin by Sir Richard Bagot. Foundation of the Carmelite convent at Ardee by Ralph Pppard.
1291. Foundation of a Dominican friary at Kilmallock by Gilbert FitzGerald.
1296. Foundation of the Franciscan friary at Galway by Sir William de Burgh.
1300. Foundation of a monastery at Cavan by O'Reilly.



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1302. Foundation of a Franciscan friary at Castle Dermot by Lord Offaly,
- 1307-27. Edward II.
1307. Foundation of the Gray friary at Castle Lyons, Cork, by John de Barry.
1308. Piers Gaveston lord lieutenant.
1310. The bakers of Dublin drawn on hurdles through the streets, tied at horses' tails, for using false weights.
1312. Foundation of monastery at Tullow, Carlow, by Simon Lombard and Hugh Tallon.
1314. Edward Bruce landed in Ireland at Oldfleet, in the Bay of Larne, on the Antrim coast. Robert Bruce takes refuge in Ireland.
1315. Foundation of an Augustinian friary at Adare, Limerick, by Earl of Kildare. Rising of the Ulster Irish and the discontented English of Meath. Bruce's successes. Rising in Connaught. Bruce is crowned King of Ireland. at Dundalk.
1316. Battle of Athenry.
1317. Foundation of a Carmelite convent at Athboy by William de Londres.
1318. Battle of Dundalk. Death of Edward Bruce.
1320. Foundation of a monastery at Bantry by C'Sullivan. A university at Dublin projected by Archbishop Bicknor.
1324. Richard II. landed in Ireland.
1327. Civil war between the De Burghs and the Butlers and the Fitzgeralds of Desmond. Rising of the McMurrroughs.
1329. Unsuccessful petition by the Irish for recognition by English laws. Rising in Thomond, Westmeath, and the south.
1330. Maurice FitzThomas Fitzgerald created Earl of Desmond and granted the palatinate of Kerry. He renders assistance to the lords justices against the Irish. Rising in Leinster.

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- 1333. Arrest of Desmond, De Birmingham, and Mandeville.
- 1334. Murder of the Earl of Ulster. Partition of his estates.
- 1336. Release of the Earl of Desmond.
- 1339. Risings in Munster subdued by Desmond.
- 1341. The king proposes to resume the estates of the great landowners.
- 1342. Parliament summoned to meet at Dublin. Convention held at Kilkenny. Petition to the king, who gives way. .
- 1344. Sir Ralph Ufford seizes some of Desmond's estates. Desmond surrenders, and is bailed. Kildare is arrested.
- 1348. Kildare and Desmond pardoned.
- 1349. The black death.
- 1356. Foundation of a friary at Knocktopher by James, second Earl of Ormonde.
- 1361. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, lord-lieutenant, third son of Edward 3d marries Elizabeth De Burgh heiress of Ulster, which had not hitherto submitted to the English authority.
- 1361. Rising in Munster.
- 1362. St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, burned.
- 1367. Statute of Kilkenny.
- 1369. Risings in Wicklow and Limerick. Richard II., 1377-1399.
- 1379. Ordinance against absentees.
- 1385. Robert De Vere, the king's favorite, made Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland.
- 1387. The king comes of age.
- 1392. Rising of Art McMurrough in Leinster.
- 1394. Richard II. Lands at Waterford with a train of nobles 4,000 men at arms and 30,000 archers and gains the affection of the people by his munificence and confers the honor of Knights on their chiefs.



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- 1395. Richard at Dublin. Reforms the judicial bench. Returns to England, leaving to the Earl of March lord-lieutenant. Rising of McMorrough and the O'Byrnes of Wicklow. Defeat and death of the Earl of March.
- 1399. Richard's second expedition to Ireland. The king embarks for Milford Haven. Henry IV., 1399-1413.
- 1400. Immigration of Scots into Antrim, Foundation of an abbey at Longford by O'Farrell.
- 1401. Risings in Wicklow. Henry V. 1413-1422.
- 1413. Henry V. landed at Clontarf. Fresh struggles between the English and the natives.
- 1415. An Irish contingent with the king in Normandy.
- 1418. Art McMurrough captured.
- 1421. Risings in Leix. Henry VI., 1422-1461.
- 1433. Wars between the O'Neils and O'Donnells.
- 1438. Statutes against absentees. The sixth Earl of Desmond marries Catharine McCormac, and is expelled from his estates by his uncle.
- 1439. Fitzstephen's moiety of the kingdom of Cork granted to the seventh Earl of Desmond.
- 1449. Richard, Duke of York, lord-lieutenant.
- 1450. Rising in Westmeath.
- 1459. Duke of York takes refuge in Ireland.
- 1461. Foundation of New Abbey, Naas, by Sir Rowland Eustace. Foundation of the Franciscan friary, Enniscorthy, by Donald Kavenagh. The eighth Earl of Desmond founds the College of Youghal.
- 1462. Mints established in Dublin for coining groats, two-penny pieces, pence, half-pence, and farthings.
- 1464. Desmond, Earl of Kildare, founded Gray Friary, Adare, Limerick.
- 1465. Foundation of a monastery at Glenarm, Co. Antrim, by Robert Bissit. The sanguinary Head Act passed at Trim by the Earl of Desmond deputy. Apparel and surname act, the Irish to dress like the English

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- 1465 and to adopt surnames. Foundation of a Franciscan monastery at Kilcrea, Co. Cork, by McCarthy Mor.
- 1467 The Earl of Desmond is charged with treason and executed.
1472. Institution of the Brotherhood of St. George.
1478. Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, lord-deputy for fourteen years.
1482. Edward IV. granted the charter of Kinsale, which was called in Irish *Cean Taile*, i. e., the head of the sea; alluding to the promontory called the Old Head. The Corporation forfeited their charter upon the Spaniards landing in this town, anno 1600, together with all their privileges; for on the 14th of October, 1601, the burgesses came to Sir George Carew, and requested him to restore their charter, seal, mace, and royal standard, which, upon the arrival of the Spaniards, they had delivered him to keep, the president said he could not return them without directions from England, but promised to write to the queen in their favor, which he did, and soon after had an order to restore them, on condition that they should at their own charges repair their walls.
1484. Foundation of the Augustinian friary at Naas.
1487. Lambert Simnel crowned in Dublin. Kildare suspected of treason.
1488. Kildare is pardoned.
1489. Fighting in Desmond. Fighting in Ulster. This year a great rarity was sent to the Earl of Kildare, viz., six hand-guns or muskets, out of Germany, which his guards, during the time that they stood sentinels before his house in Thomas Court, bore on their shoulders, the Earl being at this time lord-deputy of Ireland.
1490. Perkin Warbeck arrives in Cork.
1492. Fall of Kildare.



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1494. Poynings law, subjecting the Irish Parliament to the English Council. Sir Edward Poynings lord-deputy. Crushes the adherents of Warbeck. Parliament at Drogheda, Poynings's Act.
1496. Arrest of Kildare. He is pardoned and made lord-deputy, and governs Ireland till 1513.
1497. Warbeck again in Ireland. Fighting between the natives and the Bourkes of Connaught. Battle of Knocktow.
1499. Irish Parliament held at castle Dermot, in the county Kildare.
1505. Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Prince of Tyrconnell, died.
1506. Town of Trim burnt by lightning.
1513. Death of Kildare. His son is elected lord-justice in his room.
1516. Feuds in Desmond. Feuds in the Ormonde family. Feuds between Ormonde and Kildare, and Ormonde and Desmond.
1519. Kildare summoned to London.
1521. Rising in Leix and Offaly.
1523. Kildare returns.
1524. Desmond holds a treasonable correspondence with Francis I. of France. Kildare lord-deputy. He is ordered to arrest Desmond, and fails to do so.
1526. Kildare again summoned to England, and lodged in the Tower. He is released on bail.
1528. Rising of O'Connor of Offaly. He captures Lord Delvin, the lord-deputy.
1529. Desmond's treasonable correspondence with Charles V. His death. Fall of Wolsey.
1530. Kildare sent back to suppress O'Connor's rising.
1531. O'Sullivan tells the following story:—that an English ship took a Spanish vessel that was fishing near the Durseys. Upon which his grandfather, Dermot O'Sullivan, prince of Bear and Bantry, having notice of it, manned out a small squadron of ships and brought in both the Englishman and the Span-

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- ish vessel to Bearhaven. The English captain he hanged and set the other at liberty.
1532. Kildare made lord-deputy. He makes a treaty with O'Connor and O'Carrol.
1534. He is summoned to England, and lodged in the Tower. His son, Lord Thomas, rebels. Besieges Dublin Castle. Kildare dies in the Tower. Great rebellion of the FitzGerald's subdued.
1535. Maynooth besieged. Skeffington captures Maynooth. Flight of Lord Thomas. Submission of O'Connor. Lord Thomas surrenders. Act of Supremacy. (English.) Thomas Cromwell appointed vicar-general.
1536. Lord Leonard Gray lord-deputy. Suppression of the lesser monasteries (English.) Five uncles of Silken Thomas executed for High Treason in London.
1537. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and his five uncles executed. Lord Leonard Gray's campaign in Limerick. He destroys O'Brien's Bridge. The supremacy supported in Ireland by Archbishop Brown, and opposed by Archbishop Cromer. The Proctors are expelled from Parliament. Act of Supremacy (Irish). Act of Suppressions of Religious Houses (Irish).
1538. Destruction of Relics, etc.
1539. Dissolution of the greater monasteries. Lord Leonard Gray's expedition into Ulster. Battle of Belahoe. His campaign in Munster. Commission for the suppression of religious houses. This summer was so dry in Ireland, that the Lee at Cork was almost dried up, and several other rivers also, for want of rain.
1540. Henry VIII. assumes the title of "King of Ireland." Sir Anthony St. Leger negotiates with the chieftains. Submission of the Irish chieftains and Anglo-Irish lords. Distribution of Church lands.
1541. Title of King of Ireland conferred on Henry.



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1542. Submission of O'Neil and O'Donnell.
1544. Irish contingent present at the siege of Boulogne. General peace in Ireland. Edward VI., 1547-1553.
1547. Duke of Somerset Protector. Disturbances in Leix and Offaly. The reformed religion embraced by the English settlers in the reign of Edward VI.
1548. O'Moore and O'Connor sent to England as prisoners. Civil war between the chieftains and the Tanists in Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Clanricarde.
1549. First prayer-book of Edward VI. Introduction of the new liturgy. Conference with the clergy in St. Mary's Abbey. Pillage of Clonmacnoise. Dermot O'Sullivan, of Bearhaven, was this year blown up in his castle with gunpowder by accident; and his brother Amlavus, who succeeded him, was killed soon after.
1552. Books of geography and astronomy destroyed in England, as being infected with magic. Arrest of the Earl of Tyrone (Con Mor.) War between the Baron of Dungannon and Shane O'Neil. Mary, 1553-1558.
1553. Archbishop Dowal recalled. Dismissal of the Conforming bishops. Operations against Leix and Offaly. Restoration of the young Earl of Kildare. Same price set by act of parliament on the head of a priest, and on that of a wolf.
1555. Fighting in Thomond for the succession. Continued immigrations of Scots into Antrim.
1556. Act in explanation of Poyning's Act.
1558. Death of the Baron of Dungannon. Reduction and Plantation of Leix and Offaly.
1559. Death of Con Mor, Earl of Tyrone. Shane O'Neil assumes the sovereignty of Ulster. Sir Henry Sidney marches against him. Negotiations ensue.
1560. Act of Uniformity (Irish.) Continued strife in Thomond. Shane captures O'Donnell and his wife.
1561. Sussex is defeated by Shane. Plots to secure his

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murder, Shane goes to England. Death of second Baron of Dungannon. Elizabeth and Shane come to terms.

1562. Shane returns to Ireland. On the 3d of April, the roof and part of the body of Christ church fell, by which the ancient monument of Strongbow was broke.
1563. The Irish from their peculiar customs, their appearance and dress, were, in regard to the English, a foreign, we might say, a remote nation. When the chieftain O'Neil went upon his visit and interview with Queen Elizabeth, he was accompanied, and continued to be attended in England by a guard of Gallowglasses, armed with the battle-axe, after the manner of their country, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, and their linen vests with large sleeves, dyed with saffron. He was received and treated as an independent chief. Peace signed between Elizabeth and Shane. Shane massacres the Scots of Antrim. Struggle between Desmond and Ormonde. Desmond is taken prisoner.
1565. Potatoes first brought to Ireland from New Spain. St. Augustine, Fla., founded by Pedro Melendez.
1566. Renewal of the war with Shane. Hugh O'Donnell joins the English.
1567. Shane defeated at Letterkenny. Is murdered by the McDonnells. Turlough Luinagh becomes "the O'Neil." The rebellion of Shane O'Neill, when O'Neill was betrayed and slain: this rebellion cost England £237,407 3s. 9d., over and above the cess on the country, with the loss of 3,500 soldiers. Sidney makes a progress through Munster and Connaught. He arrests Desmond and his brother Sir John, and the sons of the Earl of Clanricarde. Battle of Lough Swilly. Murder of Darnley;



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- Mary Queen of Scots marries Bothwell. She is compelled to abdicate.
1568. She takes refuge in England. Scheme for planting Desmond. Sir Peter Carew claims estates in Cork and Carlow. Insurrection in the Netherlands begins. Rising of Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald; Lord Clancarty; and Sir Edmund, Sir Piers, and Sir Edward Butler in Munster.
1569. Attainder of O'Neill and confiscation of his Ulster territory. Ormonde detaches his brothers from the Munster insurgents. Sir Edward Fitton President of Connaught.
1570. Rising of the Bourkes. Sir James Fitzmaurice captures Kilmallock. Ormonde reduces Munster. Pope Pius V. releases Elizabeth's subjects from their allegiance. Sir Thomas Smith endeavors to make a plantation in Down.
1571. Sir John Perrot hunts Fitzmaurice into the vale of Aberlow. The first printing in Irish characters brought into Ireland by Nicholas Walsh, chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin.
1572. Clanricarde is liberated and Connaught pacified. Surrender of Sir James Fitzmaurice.
1573. Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, obtains a grant of territory in Ulster, and endeavors to make a plantation.
1574. Massacre of Rathlin Island. Escape of the Earl of Desmond from Dublin.
1575. Christmas Day Con O'Donnell and Con, son of Niall Oge O'Neill, escaped from Dublin Castle.
1576. Sir William Drury President of Munster. Sir Nicholas Malley President of Connaught.
1577. Sidney levies illegal taxes on the Pale. Remonstrance of the loyal English. Rory O'Moore, the outlaw, in Leix and Kildare. Massacre of Mullaghmast.
1579. Sir James Fitzmaurice lands at Smerwick. Rising of the southern Geraldines. Death of Sir James

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Fitzmaurice. Successes of the rebels. Death of Sir William Drury. Desmond joins the rebels. Youghal suffered much in the wars of the Earl of Desmond; it was taken and sacked by him in this year; and being regained by Captain White, it was again retaken by the seneschal of Imokilly, White and most of his men being slain; by this means Youghal was left quite desolate, not a man staying in it, except one poor friar; but the old inhabitants were invited to return, a garrison of 300 men being left for their protection. The mayor, who had refused a garrison, and had perfidiously yielded the town to Desmond, was taken and hanged at his own door.

- 1580. Italians headed by Fitzmaurice land in Kerry, they are treacherously butchered by the Earl of Ormonde. Campaign of Ormonde and Sir William Pelham in Munster. Rising in Wicklow. Lord Gray de Wilton defeated at Glenmalure. The Spaniards land at Smerwick. Lord Gray's campaign in Munster. Massacre of the Spaniards. Rising in the Pale. Executions in Dublin.
- 1581. Death of Dr. Saunders, the Pope's legate. Donagh O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, perfidiously hung at Limerick by the English, though previously "pardoned."
- 1582. Death of Sir John and Sir James of Desmond. Suppression of the Munster rebellion.
- 1583. Death of Desmond.
- 1584. By an inquisition taken at Cork.
- 1586. Attainder of the Munster rebels and confiscation of their estates. Plantation of Munster. Seizure of Red Hugh. Attainder of the Earl of Desmond and his followers.
- 1588. Arrest of Sir John O'Dogherty and Sir Owen McToole.
- 1589. Confiscation of Monaghan. Sir Francis Drake, with



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five ships of the line, chased into Crosshaven by the Spaniards in a much larger fleet, and moored his ships under shelter of Corribiny-hill; the Spaniards sailed up the harbor of Cork, and were surprised at not seeing the ships they had been in chase of; thus having missed their prey, they sailed out again. Essex landed with 20,000 men at Dublin.

1591. First stone of Trinity College, Dublin, laid. Queen Elizabeth erected a university in Dublin, dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, on the foundation of an old monastery called All Saints; the first stone was laid by Thomas Smith, Esq., mayor of the city, attended with the regalia, March 13th. Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, was the first provost; Lucas Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullerton, and James Hamilton, were the first fellows; Abel Welsh, James Usher, and James Lee, the first scholars. Earl of Tyrone. Hugh O'Neill married to the sister of Sir Henry Bagnal.
1592. Escape of Red Hugh. Red Hugh O'Donnell inaugurated and proclaimed "The O'Donnell."
1593. Trinity College, Dublin, opened.
1595. Confederation of the Ulster chieftains. Death of Turlough Luinagh. Tyrone assumes the title of The O'Neil.
1597. Fighting on the Blackwater. Anarchy in Connaught. Death of Lord Burgh.
1598. Blockade of the Blackwater fort. Battle of the Yellow Ford. General rising. The Sungan Earl in Munster. Tyrone defeats the English forces under Sir Henry Bagnell at Blackwater who is killed. Great battle and glorious victory of the Irish forces at Beal-an-athbuidhe.
1599. O'Donnell routed the English forces at Sligo. The Earl of Essex, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, lands at Dublin the 15th of April, to make war on Hugh

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O'Neill, he makes a bad truce with Tyrone, and returns to England, for which he was imprisoned by the queen.

1600.

Mountjoy lord-deputy. He reforms the army. Sir George Carew President of Munster. Sir Henry Docra occupies Derry. The Earl of Ormond made prisoner by the Irish. Ballincolly, a large castle, was an ancient seat of the Barrets; this castle was garrisoned by Cromwell, and in the late wars for King James, William Barret was created a baronet. The insurrection of Tyrone who invites over the Spaniards and settles them in Kinsale, defeated by the lord-deputy Mountjoy.

1601.

Capture of the Sagan Earl. Commission granted to Captain Roger Harvey to cut off and spoil the rebels of Carberry. Redmond O'Gallagher, Bishop of Derry, butchered by English soldiers in his 80th year. July 12th, Battle of Aughrim. Arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale. Battle of Kinsale. Lord-deputy Mountjoy built the fort at Hawlbolin.

1602.

Flight of O'Donnel. Carew reduces Munster. Famine brought on by the wholesale destruction of the crops. Kinalmeaky (formerly part of Carbery) forfeited by O'Mahony in the Earl of Desmond's rebellion; was by Queen Elizabeth granted to Greenville and Beecher, English undertakers, by whom it was first planted and got the name of a barony. It afterward gave title to the noble Lewis Boyle, Lord Viscount Kinalmeaky, and Baron of Bandonbridge, who was slain at the fight of Liscarrol. It was formerly a mere fastness, being all wood and bog, so that the army could not pass it, being obliged to go round by Kinsale, in their march from Cork to the siege of Dunboy, in Bearhaven; but it is now as well improved as any part of the country. June, 18, The O'Sullivan's Castle of Dunboy, in Bearhaven, after a gallant defence, taken by



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- the English and the garrison executed. James I. 1603–1625.
1603. Red Hugh O'Donnell died in Spain. Don Juan, Spanish commander, left Ireland. Hugh O'Neill submitted finally to the Lord-Deputy at Mellifont. The Popish clergy ordered to leave Ireland. Sir James Fullerton obtained a patent from King James I. for several concealed church lands; by virtue of which patent he laid claim to the college of Youghal; but Sir Richard Boyle gave him a sum of money for his title.
1604. Sir Richard Boyle, in consideration of £1,000 paid to the king, obtained a patent for all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Ireland, in which the college of Youghal is particularly mentioned.
1605. A proclamation published in Ireland, commanding the popish clergy to depart the kingdom. The city of Cork and its liberties were separated from the county of Cork, and made a distinct county. The same year, the corporations of Bandon, Cloghnakilty, etc., began to settle their future form of government. Anti-Popery declaration of James I. Abolition of the laws of Tanistry and Gavelkind.
1607. Flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. O'Neill and the O'Donnells, with their households and families sailed from Lough Swilly.
1608. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's rising. Donal O'Sullivan, the hero of Dunboy assassinated by an Englishman in Spain. Confiscation of six counties in Ulster. King James, by his charter, dated at Westminster, Jan. 20, and reign 6, 1608, confirms all the privileges, subsidy and poundage excepted; and incorporates them by the name of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonality of Youghal. Grants to the mayor the office of admiral, and its perquisites, from Ardmorehead, and Cable Island, up to Tooreen; as also the custom of murage, cranage, keyage, and

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anchorage of all goods imported and exported. The mayor, bailiffs, etc., to be exempted from all juries held out of the town, except the suit concerns the king. All causes to be tried by the townsmen.

1609. The cities of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Tredagh, Galway, Ross, Wexford, Youghal, Kinsale, and Knockfergus, had their charters renewed by the lord-deputy. In consequence of repeated rebellions and forfeitures, 514,465 acres of land in the province of Ulster, became vested in the crown, and James I. after removing the Irish from their hills and fastnesses divides the land among such of his English and Scottish protestant subjects as choose to settle there. English fleet beaten by the French in Bantry Bay.

1610. Abolition of the Brehon law.

1611. Connor O'Duvany, Bishop of Down and Connor beheaded and quartered in Dublin, by order of Sir Charles Chichester. Persecution of Roman Catholics. The plantation of Ulster. The tranquility of Ireland was so well established, that King James reduced the army to 176 horses, and 1,450 foot; additional judges were appointed, circuits established throughout the kingdom, and Sir John Davies observes that no nation under the sun loves equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish.

1612. The plantation of Wexford. King James I. on the 13th of April directed a letter to Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, in behalf of Owen MacSwiney, alias Owen Hoky of Mashanaglass, to accept the surrender of his lands, and to grant a patent to restore them to him. Owen MacSwiney, son to the above Owen, was attainted anno 1642, for being concerned in the Irish rebellion, and forfeited his estate.—Mashanaglass signifies a stronghold or fortress. The castle of Dundaneere, built by Barry-Oge, stands near the confluence of



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the Brinny and Bandon rivers. The East-India Company of England had a settlement here for carrying on iron-works, and building large ships; for which uses they purchased the woods and lands for £7,000. The following year two ships of 500 tons were launched, and a dock was erected for building more; they kept a garrison in the castle.

1613. King James I. in a letter to Sir Arthur Chichester proposes that Cork should be divided into two counties; but the project was for that time opposed by the first Earl of Cork. Parliament summoned. Creation of boroughs.
1614. Attainder of Tyrone and the Ulster chieftains. Repeal of the old statutes against the Irish. William Molyneux, author of "Case of Ireland stated." born.
1615. Directions given by the Irish society, "in order that Derry might not in future be peopled with Irish," that the inhabitants should not keep servants or Irish apprentices.
1616. Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, died at Rome. Sir Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, created Baron Boyle of Youghal. It was in this town that the first potatoes were landed in Ireland by Sir Walter Raleigh. The person who planted them, imagining that the apple which grows on the stalk was the part to be used, gathered them; but not liking their taste, neglected the roots, till the ground being dug afterward to sow some other grain, the potatoes were discovered therein; and, to the great surprise of the planter, vastly increased; from those few, this country was furnished with seed. It is said Sir Walter brought them, together with tobacco, into Ireland, from Virginia. He also brought the celebrated Assane cherry, at the same time, from the Canary Islands.

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1617. August 9th, Sir Walter Raleigh sailed from the harbor of Cork, on his last unfortunate expedition to the West Indies. The son and heir of Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, assassinated at Brussels.
1619. The order of Baronets first instituted in Ireland, September 30th, by James I. Plantation of Longford and Ely O'Carroll. Plantation of Westmeath.
1621. Carver, first Governor of Massachusetts, died. Sir Fitzgerald Aylmer of Donedea, in the county of Kildare, was the first baronet in Ireland; he was created the 25th of January, by letters patent of James I.
1622. A dreadful fire happened in Cork, which consumed the greatest part of the city. The shoemakers received a new charter, from King James I. Plantation of Leitrim and parts of King's and Queen's counties.
1623. Proclamation requiring all Catholic clergymen to quit Great Britain and Ireland in forty days.
1624. Transplantation of native septs to Kerry. Confiscation in Wicklow. Projected planting of Connaught. Charles I. 1625-1649.
1625. Christ Church in Bandon built; the oldest gravestone in this church is dated 1629, over one Mr. Crofts, one of the first burgesses of this corporation. The forts of Cork and Waterford having been quite neglected, the Earl of Cork lent £500 to the Lord-President Villers, with which these forts were made defensible. When Lord Wimbleton arrived at Kinsale, with the king's forces, Lord Cork took ten companies of foot, many of them being weak, and wounded, and lodged and dieted them near three months upon his tenants; he supplied the general with £500, and entertained him and all his officers nobly, at Lismore.
1626. Composition made by the Connaught land-owners. "The Graces" promised.



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1627. Sir Dominick Sarsfield was created Lord Viscount Kinsale, to the great prejudice of this ancient and noble family, and set up his arms in the town; but upon a fair hearing before the Earl Marshal of England, he was obliged to renounce the title of Kinsale, and take that of Kilmallock.
1629. Florence Conroy died. This year, an unusual appearance happened at Cork; for notwithstanding the sun shone out very bright, the sky was darkened all of a sudden by an infinite multitude of stairs, which seemed like a black dense cloud, to hang over the city. When they had passed the town, they were observed by the citizens to fight furiously for several hours with a great noise, picking and wounding each other with their bills, whereby great numbers of them fell down to the earth, and were slain; many of which, with the wounded, were taken up by the citizens and country people.
1631. The western coast of Ireland was infested by a dangerous pirate, Nut, who not only robbed on the seas, but also made several descents on the coast. In the letter from the Lord-President St. Leger, to the Government, he informs them that Nut had three ships under his command, his own being a twenty-gun ship of 300 tons burden; a ship which he took belonging to St. Maloes, of 160 tons, was his vice-admiral; and the third which he had taken, belonging to Dieppe, also mounted fifteen guns. In May, Nut lay with his fleet at Crookhaven, where he victualed, watered, and took his wife on board. Soon after, the Government sent him a pardon, which he at first refused; but in a little time he accepted it. June 30th, two Algerine rovers landed their men in the dead of the night at Baltimore, and having plundered the place, they made a great number of the inhabitants prisoners,

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with 100 of the English, and carried them all to Algiers. The Earl of Stafford, in his letters, mentions the insolency of these rovers, who again infested the coast in 1636, being assisted by the French, whom he calls most Christian Turks; for they frequently landed their captives in France, and drove them in chains to Marseilles, whence they shipped them to Algiers. The earl proposed to lay out 40,000*l.* of the country's money, in order to attack them, even to their own ports. In a letter of his to Mr. Secretary Cook, 15th of September, 1636, he tells him,—the Turks still annoy this coast; they came of late into Cork harbor, took a boat which had eight fishermen in her, and gave chase to two more who saved themselves among the rocks, the townsmen looking on, at the same time, without means or power to assist them.

1632. Jun<sup>d</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, the lord-deputy Wentworth sent an ingot of silver of 300 ounces, to the king, being the first fruits of his majesty's mines in Munster. Compilation of the "Annals of Ireland" by the Four Masters.
1633. Catholic emigrants, under Leonard Calvert, sailed for Maryland. There was this winter a prodigious flood in the river Lee; which, among other damages done to the city of Cork, carried away both the north and south bridges, and the castles erected thereon. Wentworth is appointed lord-deputy.
1634. Wentworth dragoons the Irish Parliament. This year, Sir Roger Coppinger, major of Cork, carried away the city charter, and also the sword and mace.
1635. Province of Maryland planted by lord Baltimore. Hugh Ward died. Commission of "defective titles" in Connaught. Sentence on Lord Mountmorris.
1636. Introduction of the linen manufacture.



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1640. Wentworth created Earl of Strafford and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Augmentation of the Irish army. Castle-Magner, the seat of Richard Magner, agent for the Irish inhabitants of Orrery and Kilmore. When Cromwell was at Clonmell, he went to pay his court to him; but being represented as a very troublesome person, and one who had been very active in the rebellion, Cromwell sent him with a letter to Colonel Phaire, then governor of Cork, in which was an order to execute the bearer. Magner, who suspected foul play, had scarce left Clonmell, when he opened the letter, read the contents, and sealed it up, instead of proceeding towards Cork, turned off to Mallow, and delivered it to the officer who commanded there, telling him Cromwell had ordered him to carry it to Colonel Phaire. This officer had often preyed upon Magner's lands, for which he was resolved to be revenged. The officer, suspecting no deceit, went with the letter, which greatly surprised the governor of Cork, who knew him to be an honest man, and immediately sent an express to Cromwell for further directions. Cromwell being extremely chagrined to be so served, sent orders to let the officer have his liberty, and to apprehend Magner, who took care to get out of his reach. This castle and lands were granted to the family of Bertridge for 49 arrears; it is now the estate of Sir Standish Hartstonge.

1641. Ormonde and Antrim plot to seize the Irish government in support of Charles. Rory O'Moore's plot to seize the Castle. Rising and massacres in Ulster. The Roman Catholic Anglo-Irish join the rebels. Siege of Drogheda. The castle of Dundareek (which signifies Mount Prespect) forfeited by Dermot MacCarthy, in the rebellion. On Saturday, the 23d of October (a day dedicated to St. Ignatius)

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broke out the dreadful rebellion, and general defection of the Irish 23d Oct., More and Maguires rebellion. The Catholics enter into a conspiracy to expel the English. Sir Phelim O'Neill, having taken Dundalk, marched with 4,000 men to Lissengarvy. Drogheda besieged by 14,000 rebels. The forfeited estates in Ireland sold, amounting to two millions and a half of acres. In the rebellion of 1641, the Earl of Cork shut himself up in the town of Youghal, in which he suffered very great hardships, and died in it during those troubles. Massacre of the entire population (3,000) of Island Magee by the garrison of Carrickfergus. Arras surrendered after a brave defence, by Owen Roe. Insurrection of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow. First regiment Dublin Volunteers, formed under the command of the Duke of Leinster. Rising of O'Tooles and O'Kavanaghs. Great Rebellion commenced by Sir Phelim O'Neill in the North. Dec. 15, the village of Clontarf burned, and its inhabitants put to the sword, by order of the Lords-justices.

1642. The castle of poulne-long, i. e., Ship-pool, built by the Roaches (as appears from their arms over the chimney-piece) was taken by the Bandonians, whereby they gained a correspondence to and from Kinsale. The castle of Limerick surrendered to the Irish. The battles of Kilruth, Tymachoo, Raconnel, Ross, and Ballintober. A reward of £1,000 offered for the head of Sir Phelim O'Neill. Battle of Ross. Synod of Catholic Bishops at Kells declared the Irish war just and lawful. The Castle of Ardmore, county Waterford, yielded on condition of mercy, nevertheless one hundred and forty men were put to the sword. First meeting of the General Assembly at Kilkenny. Risings in Connaught and Munster. Charles raises his standard



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at Nottingham. Arrival of Colonel Owen O'Neil and Colonel Preston. Synod at Kells. Battle of Kilrush. Confederation of Kilkenny.

1643. June 4th. The battle of Castle Lyons. June 13th, Battle of Clones. Truce with Ormonde by the Irish Confederates. July 21st, arrival of Father P. Scarampi, Commissioner from the Holy See to the Irish Confederation. Galway surrendered to the Irish, August 6th, Charter and other records of Cloughnakilty saved by Mr. Walter Bird, who at the hazard of his life escaped with them to Bandon, in the Irish rebellion. Two full companies of Lord Forbe's regiment were slain in the town, 1642; the third company being Bandonians, made good their retreat a full mile, to an old fort on the highway to Ross, which they maintained till the rest of the regiment came to their relief. Ballingcarrigg castle built by Randel-Oge. Hurley, or, as some say, by his wife. Battle of Ross. Ormonde made a marquis. Cessation agreed upon between Ormonde and the rebels. The war continued on behalf of the Parliament by the Scots in Ulster, by Broghill and Inchiquin in the south, and by Sir Charles Coote in Sligo.
1644. Ormonde lord-lieutenant. The Irish contingent cut off at Nantwich.
1645. April 5th, Battle of Cappoquin. Arrival of Rinucini, the Pope's legate.
1646. June 6th, Battle of Benburb, between O'Neill and Monroe, glorious victory of the Irish. July 25th, peace made by the Irish Confederates with the English. Capitulation of Ballynakill. Peace concluded with the Irish Catholics. Divisions among the Confederates. A treaty signed between Ormonde and the Confederates. Rinucini and Owen Roe seize the government at Kilkenny.

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1647. Ormonde surrenders Dublin to the Parliament. Battle of Dungan Hill. Inchiquin takes Cashel. Battle of Knocknanoss. Owen Roe burns the country about Dublin, so that 200 fires were seen from a steeple there. February 15th the Earl of Desmond beheaded at Drogheda.

1648. Inchiquin deserts to the Confederates. Rinucini takes refuge with Owen Roe's army. Strife among the Confederates. Royalist risings in Kent, Essex, and South Wales. Return of Ormonde. August 2d, battle of Rathmines. Rupert and his fleet arrive at Kinsale.

1649. Oliver Cromwell voted general of all the parliament forces in Ireland. The British army, under the Lord of Ardes, joined the king's party and soon after besieged Londonderry. The king's army, under Ormonde; encamped at Finglass, near Dublin. Tredagh surrendered to the Lord Inchiquin; who, having soon after taken Dundalk and other garrisons, returned to the camp at Finglass. August 14th, Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin with 9,000 foot, and 4,000 horse; began his battery next day, and took Drogheda by storm, after being twice repulsed. Dundalk immediately submitted. Massacre at Drogheda by the troops under Oliver Cromwell. The English House of Commons appoint a day of thanksgiving for the massacre at the town of Drogheda. Peace published between the king and the confederates. Death of the king. The Republic, 1649-1653. Prince Charles proclaimed at Cork. Flight of Rinucini. Ormonde besieges Dublin. Battle of Rathmines. Cromwell came before Wexford, and summoned the town, which he took in three days by storm, putting 2,000 to the sword. After the taking of Ross, Cromwell besieged Waterford, but drew off again. The garrisons in the county of Cork revolt to him.—He



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marched out of winter quarters, and took many small places in Munster. The lady of Lord Roche defended the castle of Castle-town Roche, in a most gallant manner for several days, against the parliament forces, who besieged the castle with a battery erected for that purpose. When Cromwell was preparing to invest Kinsale, the mayor of the town delivered up the keys to him; which, instead of returning (as customary) to the magistrate, he handed them to Colonel Stubber, the governor; it was whispered to Cromwell, that Stubber was not over-strict in any religion; may be not, replied Cromwell, but as he is a soldier he has honor, and therefore we will let his religion alone at this time.

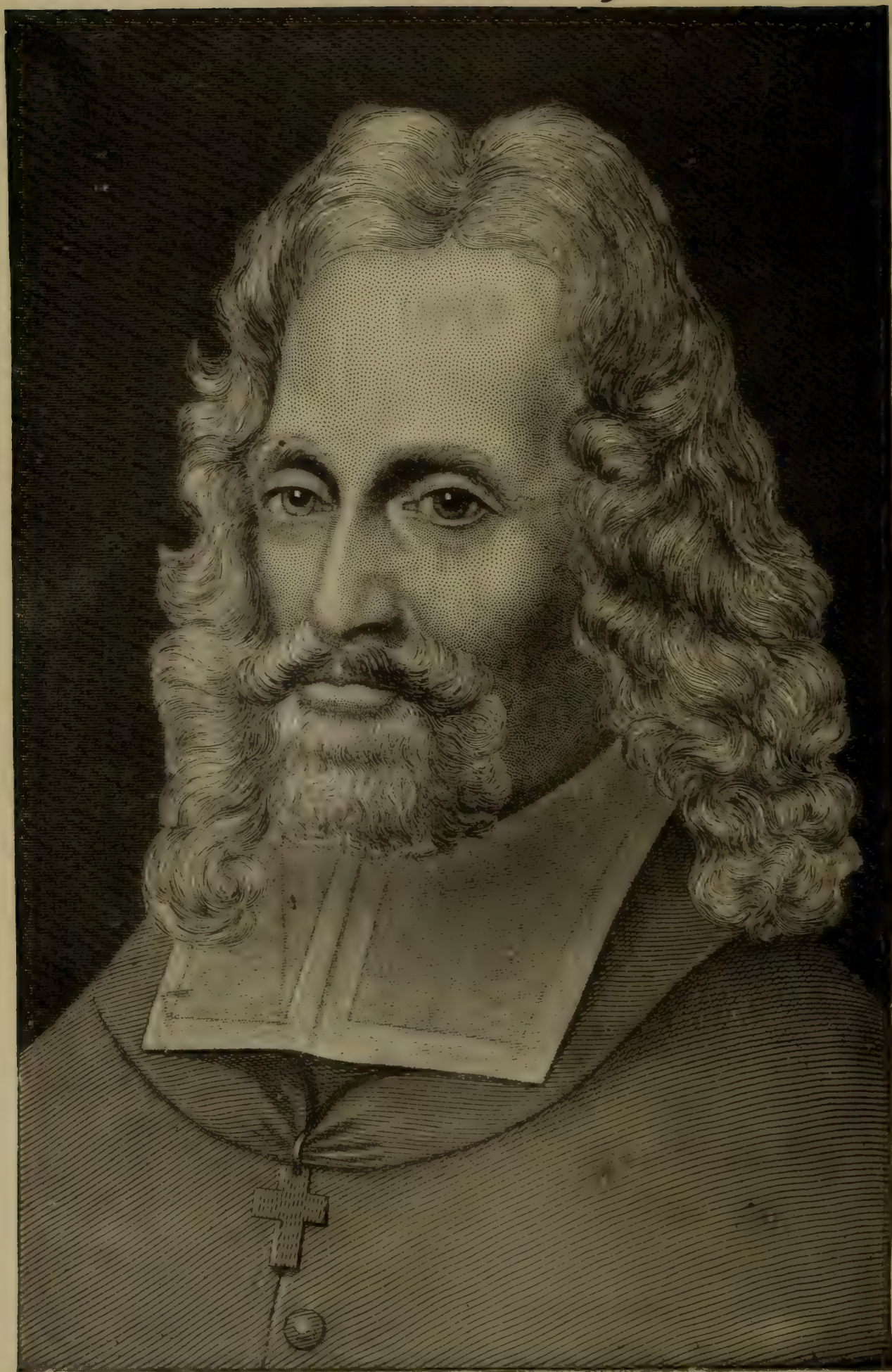
1650. Kilkenny surrendered to Cromwell. Clonmel besieged and surrendered after a vigorous defence which cost Cromwell 2000 men. Ormonde sent to treat with Cromwell about the terms on which the Protestants of his party might be relieved. Cromwell embarked for England at Youghal, and left the command to Ireton, his son-in-law. Flight of Ormonde and Inchiquin. Death of David Rothe, the celebrated Bishop of Ossory. June 21st, defeat of the Irish forces, near Lough Swilly, under Heber MacMahon.
1651. Capture of Athlone. Capture of Limerick by Ireton after a six months siege. November 30th, Right Rev. Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, executed by Ireton. Death of Ireton by the Plague.
1652. Surrender of Galway. Act for the Settlement of Ireland. Survey of Ireland. Banishment of the Irish soldiery. Ross, in the county of Kerry (a castle in an island), yielded up to Ludlow, after he had caused a small ship to be carried over the mountains, and set afloat in the lough, which terrified the enemy. At Kilkenny was held the first high court of justice, for trial of such as were ac-

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- cused of barbarous murders in the rebellion. Another was held in Dublin, where Sir Phelim O'Neill was condemned and executed. Galway surrendered to Coote on terms.
1653. Transplantation of the Irish beyond the Shannon. Two sons of Feagh M'Hugh O'Byrne committed to Dublin Castle. The "rebellion" of 1641 declared at an end. The Protectorate, 1653-1660.
1654. July 14th, the "transplanting" of Irish families of the Pale to Connaught, "all must be gone before March next." The first Protectorate Parliament. Thirty members sit representing Ireland.
1655. Act of explanation. The Five Mile Act.
1656. The second Protectorate Parliament. Henry Cromwell lord-lieutenant.
1658. The third Protectorate Parliament. Death of Cromwell. He is succeeded by Richard Cromwell.
1660. Coote and Broghill seize the commissioners in Dublin Castle. Charles II., 1660-1685. Re-establishment of the Church. The king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland. Synod at Dublin dispersed by government. The body of Oliver Cromwell hanged at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows.
1663. Court of Claims opens in Dublin. Blood's plot. Ireland excluded from the Navigation Act.
1664. The Conventicle Act. A Protestant militia raised in Ireland, Sept. 16th.
1665. This year, the magistracy of Dublin was honored with the title of lord-mayor; Sir Daniel Bellingham being the first that bore that title; £500 per annum being allowed by the crown to support that honor.
1666. Prohibition of export to England of Irish cattle and provisions.
1667. November 30th, Dean Swift born.
1670. The wooden bridge over the Liffey, commonly called the Bloody Bridge, built. Charles Fort at Kinsale, began and received that name by the Duke of









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Ormonde, who came to review it; it cost £73,000 on the works to the sea, 100 pieces of brass cannon were mounted, carrying from 24 to 42 lb. ball.

1671. The apprentices in Dublin assembled with the intent to break down the wooden bridge; twenty of whom were seized and committed to the castle, but afterwards as they were carrying to Bridewell, under a guard of soldiers, they were rescued, and four of them killed in the fray; hence it was called Bloody Bridge. The occasion of this riot was on account of a ferry belonging to the city, which the building of this bridge affected. Petition to review the Act of Settlement.

1672. Declaration of Indulgence.

1673. The English Parliament condemn the Irish petition.

1674. Murrough O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin died.

1676. Essex Bridge in Dublin, built by Sir Humphry Jarvis. The South bridge of the city of Cork, built by the corporation.

1678. Drawbridges made on the north and south bridges of the city of Cork, by order of Lord Shannon, the governor. Ormonde issued a proclamation that all who exercise spiritual jurisdiction under the Pope should on this date quit Ireland. Arrest of Archbishop Talbot.

1679. Arrest of Archbishop Plunkett.

1680. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty beheaded.

1681. Archbishop Plunkett executed by the English.

1683. Kilmainham hospital built at the charge of the army, by the Duke of Ormonde.

1685. Richard Talbot made lieutenant-general, James II. 1685-1691. Reconstruction of the army. First Newspaper published in Dublin. James II. proclaimed in Dublin.

1686. The Earl of Tyrconnel, sworn lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who, not being able to prevail on the magistracy of the city of Dublin to admit Roman Catho-

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lies to their freedom, had a *quo warranto* brought against the city charter, and appointed Catholic judges in every court.

1687. Reconstruction of the corporations. Tyrconnel lord-lieutenant.

1688. Acquittal of the seven bishops. Flight of James. Closing of the gates of Derry and Enniskillen. King James landed at Kinsale. King James heard mass in a chapel belonging to a monastery, on the north side of the city of Cork; he was supported through the streets of the city by two Franciscan friars, and attended by many others of the same order in their habits. The possessions of this house were originally granted to Andrew Skiddy, by Queen Elizabeth, who assigned them to the Earl of Cork, and by him given to his son, the Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery. This house is now entirely demolished. James II. abdicated. November 4th, William III. landed. Dec., the gates of Londonderry shut against the Earl of Antrim's regiment.

1689. March 12th, landing of James II., at Cork. An Irish Parliament summoned by James II., at Dublin. Carrickfergus surrendered on articles. Ulster Williamites beaten at "break of Dromore." Six thousand French, under Lauzane, entered Kinsale. March 14th, James II., entered Dublin. Bishop John England born in Cork. Tyrconnel raises regiments for James. William proclaimed at Derry. Siege of Derry and Enniskillen. Siege of Derry raised. Battle of Newtown Butler. Arrival of Schomberg. He is besieged at Dundalk. Rout of the Williamites from Lifford to Derry. The English fleet under Herbert beaten by the French under Chateaurenaud in Bantry Bay, bringing supplies to James II. June 21st, Williamites beaten at Donegal. Schomberg landed at Bangor, in the county



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Down, with 10,000 Dutch invaders to help the Protestant rebels in the North of Ireland.

1690. Charlemont captured. William lands at Carrickfergus. Battle of Beachy head. Abortive siege of Limerick. William returns to England. Capture of Cork and Kinsale by Marlborough. The Irish burnt Edenderry. June 1st, King William III. landed at Carrickfergus. June 18th, Battle of Athlone. The Duke of Grafton mortally wounded at Cork. July 1st, battle of the Boyne. King William in viewing the Irish army by the Boyne, narrowly escaped being killed by a cannon ball which grazed his right shoulder. July 2d, King James fled to Waterford, from thence to France. July 17th, Athlone besieged by Lieutenant-General Douglas. July 25th, City of Limerick besieged. August 9th, battle of Ardnocner, 3,500 of the English slain. Prince of Orange appeared before Limerick. August 11th, William III. opens trenches before Limerick. August 14th English camp surprised and cannon blown up by Sarsfield. August 27th, the English driven from the walls of Limerick, the Irish women fighting in the breach. Cork surrendered to the Earl of Marlborough. November 15th, surrender of Kinsale.

1691. February 20th, William of Orange proclaimed king within the walls of Derry. Execution of Conor Lord Maguire at Tyburn. Battle of Aughrim. Surrender of Galway. Second siege of Limerick. Limerick surrendered to De Ginckle, general terms of treaty being agreed upon. On the 12th of October, the Breda frigate, lying at anchor in Cork Harbor, with a number of Irish on board, took fire and blew up. Treaty of Limerick ("The Violated Treaty") signed, November 1st. The last of the Irish army march out. Sarsfield, with 4,500 men, landed at Brest, after the capitulation of Limerick.

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October 18th, the French fleet, consisting of 18 men-of-war, 4 fire-ships, and twenty ships of burden, arrived in the Shannon, with ammunition and provisions for the relief of Limerick; in two days after the articles were signed, there was news of their being come to Dingle Bay. The English and Dutch Symran fleets anchored in the port of Kinsale, and the grand fleets of both nations at the mouth of the harbor, extending from the Old-head to Youghal. Thus, the importance of Kinsale was again known to England, when upon a false alarm, that the French fleet was approaching, the men of war could draw into a line of battle, without any trouble or concern for the merchant ships, which were secured in the harbor; nor was this the only benefit England received from Kinsale this summer, for the Virginia and Barbadoes fleets likewise took sanctuary there, till an opportunity presented to convey them safe to their respective ports. The city of Cork made a resistance for five days against a regular army, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough; the garrison, consisting of 4,500 men, surrendered on Michaelmas Day, and were made prisoners of war. MacElligot, the governor, took £500 from the inhabitants to save it from fire, and the next day set fire to it at both ends. June 28th, bridge of Athlone valiantly defended by the Irish against an overwhelming force of English. General Ginckle departs for England.

1692. Emigration of Irish Roman Catholics. Exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament. The House of Commons resist the initiation of Money Bills by the Privy Council.

1693. The flesh-shambles of Cork erected by the corporation in the center of the city, at the expense of £481 5s. Patrick Sarsfield fatally wounded at the battle of Landen.



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1694. The tower of Limerick fell suddenly; it contained 218 barrels of powder, which by the striking of the stones, took fire, and blew up; it greatly shattered the town, killing about 100 persons, and wounding many others.
1695. In the winter of this year, and a good part of the following spring, there fell in several places in Ireland a kind of thick dew, which the country people called butter, from its color and consistence, being soft, clammy, and of a dark yellow, as Doctor St. George Ashe, then lord bishop of Cloyne, has recorded in the Philosophical Transactions.
1696. Act for disarming the Roman Catholics. Penal act against foreign education. English act amending the Navigation Act unfavorably to Ireland. Oct. Linen manufacture encouraged. The town of Youghal having manned out a boat, with about 40 seamen and soldiers, took a French privateer that lay at anchor under Cable Island. The privateer had seized on some boats belonging to the town, and sent in one of them for provisions, keeping the rest as hostages. The French lost five men in the engagement, and Patrick Comerford their captain, with the lieutenant and sixteen more, were wounded. Sept. 22d, the Duke of Grafton was mortally wounded by a musket ball: a blacksmith, who stood at the back of the old post-office, opposite Sullivan's Quay, taking aim at the duke when he was giving the word of command, shot him through the heart, of which he died in a few hours. He was killed on a piece of ground adjoining the south mall, which to this day is called Grafton's Alley.
1697. The magazine at Athlone blown up by lightning.

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1698. William Molyneux, author of Ireland's Case, died in Dublin, October 13th. The old barrack of Cork built. Trading people have ever aimed at exclusive privileges; of this there are two extraordinary instances: two petitions were this year presented from Folkstone and Aldborough, stating a singular grievance that they suffered from Ireland, by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford, and sending them to the Streights, and thereby forestalling and ruining petitioners' markets. In this year, according to Captain South's account, in the Phil. Transact., there were in the city of Cork 58 seamen, 34 fishermen, 91 boatmen, in all 183; whereof 111 were Papists; but the number is at present (1792) so great, they are not easily to be reckoned. The Lords and commons of England addressed King William to employ his influence in Ireland, to suppress the woollen manufacture therein; to which he answered the lords, that his majesty will take care to do what their lordships required; and to the commons he answered, I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen trade in Ireland. Molyneux's book on the independence of the Irish Parliament. Penal act against mixed marriages. Molyneux's "Case of Ireland" ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Act for the endowment of Maynooth College passed
1699. Tuckey's Bridge built, from Tuckey's quay to the East Marsh, by Captain Dunsecombe. An English law passed this year to prevent the Irish importing woollen goods, and for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom, etc. Irish act laying prohibitive tariff on the export of wool. An export duty upon Irish cloths, which destroyed that branch of Irish manufacture.
1700. The Resumption Act.
1701. Act disqualifying Roman Catholic solicitors. March



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- 8th, King William III. died. Dec. 26th, the "Play-House" in Smock Alley, now Essex street west, fell, and killed and wounded several of the persons assembled.
1702. Cremona saved by a portion of the Irish brigade.
1703. February 28th, Sir Toby Butler, Sir S. Rice, and Counsellor Malone heard in the Irish House of Lords against the "Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery." Anne, 1702-1714.
1704. Penal act against the Roman Catholics. The number of "Popish" clergy in each county in the kingdom of Ireland, returned to the clerk of the council, pursuant to an act of parliament for registering the Popish clergy; 1,080 in the whole kingdom, of which number 4 were in the city, and 58 in the county of Cork.
1706. A great part of the walls of the city of Cork being in a ruinous condition, there was an order of council to have several of the breaches stopped, and all the stairs leading thereto taken down; and the same year, a great part of the city wall facing the East Marsh was taken down accordingly.
1708. Further act against Roman Catholic solicitors.
1710. Penal act against the Roman Catholics. March 25th, an act obliging all registered priests to take the oath of abjuration (in which the Mass was declared idolatrous) took effect on this day. This year the last presentment for killing wolves, was made in the county of Cork.
1711. Duke of Ormonde made commander-in-chief.
1712. The wooden bridge at the north end of the city of Cork was taken down, and a fine bridge erected in its place; the piers, arches and abutments being faced with hewn stone.
1713. The wooden bridge at the south end of the city of Cork was taken down, and a handsome stone bridge erected at the corporation charge.

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- 1714. Fall of the Tory ministry. George I., 1714-1727.
- 1715. Flight of the Duke of Ormonde and Bolingbroke.  
They are attainted.
- 1716. The Septennial Act. The battle of Glanmire fought on Saturday the 16th of June, occasioned by the regiment who lay in the old barrack, having turned out for their arrears and pay, which being detained from them some time past, they marched out of the barrack, and went up to lower Glasheen, with drums beating and colors flying, crossed the Lee, went to the foot of Dublin Hill, and encamped themselves in a field belonging to Peter Healy, where they halted a few days, and then marched to Glanmire, at this time they were pursued by a regiment of soldiers (who landed that morning at the Cove of Cork) with two brass field-pieces, upon which the mutineers made a stand at the further side of the bridge, headed in particular by one of themselves, a Dutchman, named John Christopher Gurvy, and some others of their own regiment, who made a resolute defence; their ammunition having failed, they made use of their buttons as a substitute for bullets, when at last they gave way, and retreated in disorder; the Dutchman, together with Coffy and Holland, two of the ring-leaders, were taken, tried by a court-martial, and shot at Gallows-green; many others were severely whipped.
- 1717. Thomas Parnell, poet, died. Brigadier Henry Luttrell assassinated.
- 1718. William, Archbishop of Dublin, and W. Connolly, Esq., sworn Lords-Justices.
- 1719. The quay called Kyrle's Quay, on the east side of the North Jail, was built. Conflict between the English and Irish Houses of Lords. Act subjecting the Irish to the English legislature.
- 1721. Twenty persons killed in the Four Courts, Dublin, by the falling of a chimney which had taken fire.



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1722. Woods half-pence were coined to circulate in Ireland and America, but Dr. Jonathan Swift by his Drapier letters raised such a spirit of opposition, that nobody would take them and they never attained circulation in Ireland. Captain Henry Ward and Francis Fitzgerald, were hanged and quartered at Gallows-green, Cork, on Wednesday April 18th, for enlisting men for the service of the Pretender; they were prosecuted by Maurice Hayes. William Roe stood in the pillory on Saturday the 19th, and was severely whipped on Wednesday the 23d of May, for repeating the following seditious words: *May King James the Third enjoy his own again!* Daniel Murphy, on Saturday the 9th, and Patrick Sweeney, on Saturday the 16th of June, were executed at Gallows-green, Cork, for enlisting men for the service of the Pretender, at the prosecution of Maurice Hayes; they were tried by a special commission.
1724. The Drapier letters. Prosecution of Swift's printers. Excitement against Wood's half-pence.
1725. The patent cancelled. Potato famine. St. Finbarr's Church taken down, and rebuilt in 1735.
1726. The east end of Nicholas's Church in Cork, greatly damaged by thunder and lightning, on Monday, June 20th; some of the books and cushions were burnt. George II., 1727-1760.
1727. Act disfranchising the Roman Catholics. Pillage Act. November 10th, Friday, Oliver Goldsmith born.
1728. There being a great scarcity of provisions this year in the city of Cork, a desperate mob arose, and broke open the cellars of Hugh Millerd, Esq., mayor of Cork, and after doing a great deal of mischief, the army was called to suppress them, when a few shots were fired: Alice Murphy, who was looking

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- out of her window, was unfortunately shot dead, and not one guilty person hurt.
1729. Foundation of the parliament-house in College Green laid. The first burial with linen scarfs at Colonel Grove's funeral, in Dublin, October 15th. The North and South Chapels in Cork built; the South one was afterwards burnt.
1730. The dragon blown off the Exchange of Cork. January 2d, Edmund Burke born.
1731. The Dublin Society formed, and has continued to maintain the precedence of its merit unrivaled. This year there were 1,309,768 Roman Catholics, and 700,453 Protestants in Ireland. Timothy Croneen, for the murder and robbery of Andrew St. Leger, Esq., and his wife, was hanged quartered and beheaded, at Gallows-green, Cork, the 25th day of January; he was tried by a special commission, and immediately after his conviction, was put into a cart, and conveyed to the place of execution; his head was afterwards spiked on the South Jail. Joan Condon, for the same murder, was burnt the Saturday following.
1732. Captain Mooney and Captain Maguire executed for enlisting men for foreign service.
1734. Further stringent act against Roman Catholic solicitors.
1738. Carolan the Harper died. Gill-Abbey Castle fell down, after standing 980 years.
1739. The River Lee was frozen up toward the end of this year, after which a great scarcity followed; so that wheat sold the ensuing summer for £2 2s. the kilderkin; and in two years after was sold for 6s. 6d. the kilderkin.
1740. The summer after the hard frost, there was a large pit dug at the back of the green in Shandon churchyard, where several hundred indigent persons were



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- buried for want of money to purchase graves for themselves. The Kellymount gang outrages.
1742. First ships with Irish coals arrive in Dublin, from Newry.
1743. The exports from Cork were, 86,951 barrels of beef; 19,256 barrels of pork; 83,844 cwt. of butter; 8,586 tanned hides; 37,509 raw hides; 16,054 cwt. of tallow; and 420 stone of wool.
1744. Lord Chesterfield lord-lieutenant.
1745. The young Pretender in Scotland. The lord-lieutenant of Ireland issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £50,000 for the Pretender, dead or alive, if he landed, or attempted to land on the coast. Dean Swift died.
1746. Henry Grattan born in Dublin. The battle of Culloden.
1747. Death of Archbishop Hoadly. The town of Mullingar in the county of Westmeath, almost consumed by fire, July 29th.
1748. The jail of Kinsale took fire, and 54 prisoners (chiefly Spanish) perished. In the summer of this year, a shower fell in and about the town of Doneraile, of a yellowish substance, resembling brimstone, and had a sulphurous smell; it lay but thin on the ground, and soon dissolved. On Monday, June 18th, about four o'clock in the afternoon, happened the most violent storm of hail that was known in the memory of man, attended with lightning and thunder, which held above a quarter of an hour; several hailstones measured five inches square, and others had five or six forks from the main body, of an inch long each, which broke several windows, and did other considerable damages in and about Cork.
1749. Dublin Society incorporated. Spire erected on St. Patrick's steeple, Dublin. A general peace proclaimed at Dublin, Feb. 17th. Mr. Charles Lucas,

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- of the city of Dublin, apothecary, was voted an enemy to his country, by the Hon. House of Commons and to be committed to Newgate, Monday, Oct. 16. Dennis Dunn executed near Broad Lane, Cork, on Saturday, April 15th, for enlisting John M'Fall to be a sergeant in the French army. Lucas stands for Dublin. Threatened with prosecution, he flies to England. Contest in Parliament about the appropriation of surpluses.
1750. July, John Philpot Curran born. A bell was found in Killarney Lough, the circumference whereof is as big as a table that will hold eight people to dine at; the clapper was quite eaten with rust, it had been so long in the water; and they are now making a steeple for it in Killarney. Spanish gold prohibited in Ireland, October 10th.
1753. Bishop Berkley died. Petition of the Earl of Kildare. Death of Morty Oge O'Sullivan, the smuggler.
1755. Amethysts discovered at Kerry, in Ireland. Saturday, Nov. 1st. A violent shock of an earthquake felt in Cork, at 36 minutes past nine in the morning, but no damage happened.
1756. Henry Boyle created Earl Shannon. The Grand Canal commenced, under the direction of Parliament and the navigation board; but so little progress was made in it, that the legislature held out encouragement to private subscribers; and in 1772, £100,000 were subscribed towards the finishing of it, which was completed from Dublin to Monastereven, in 1786. A vein of coals was discovered at Ballintoy, which has been wrought with such effect as to supply the salt-works then at Portrush and Coleraine.
1757. Formation of the Roman Catholic Committee.
1758. The statue of George II. in brass erected in Stephen's Green, Dublin.



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1759. English defeated at Wandewash in India by French under MacGeoghegan, of Irish Brigade. Riots in Dublin on the rumor of a contemplated union.
1760. Thurst (whose real name was O'Farrell) a Commodore in the service of France landed 1000 mariners at Carrickfergus and plundered the town—shortly after his vessels were captured by Captain Elliot at the Isle of Man and himself killed, February 28th. George III. 1760–1820.
1761. Charles O'Brien, Lord Clare, Marshal of France, died, aged 66. Insurrection of the White-boys. Foundation of Poolbeg Light house, Dublin, laid. Finished in 1768. A violent shock of an earthquake at Cork and Kinsale, March 31st.
1762. Insurrection of the Oak-boys. A dreadful fire in Cat Lane, Cork, which consumed 150 houses.
1763. May 9th, the workmen began to clear the channel of the harbor of Cork, in order to build the New Wall; and on Monday the 30th, several hundred laborers paraded the city with spades and shovels on their shoulders, quitted their work at the New Wall, and turned out for eight pence per day, being then allowed but 6d. One side of the North Main Street flagged. The Red house Walk began to be improved. Lord Edward Fitzgerald born. Attacks on the pension list. Wolfe Tone born.
1764. Roman Catholic Relief Bill thrown out. Thomas Addis Emmet born.
1765. Grand Canal begun for making a navigation from Dublin on the south side to the Shannon; incorporated in 1772. Passage boats plied to Salins in 1783; to Monastereven 1786.
1766. James, Marquis of Kildare, created Duke of Leinster, Nov. 14th. In 1754 the return of houses in Dublin were 12,857. Patrick Redmond, tailor, was executed at Gallows Green, the 10th of September, for robbing the dwelling-house of John Griffin.

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- Execution of Father Sheehy for his opposition to British tyranny. Repeal of the Stamp Act.
1767. Lord Townshend lord-lieutenant. Henry Joy M' Cracken born. October 8th, a prodigious flood and spring-tide. A boat plied for some time in the North Main Street. Thomas Russell born at Bettsborough, in the county Cork.
1768. Duration of Irish parliaments limited for eight years. A bill passed to impose a tax on tea, paper, painters' colors, and glass, imported into America. Rising of the Steel-boys.
1769. Foundation of the Hibernian Hospital, for the reception of soldiers' children, Phœnix Park, Dublin, laid. Opened in 1770. The foundation stone of the royal exchange laid by Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. It was designed by Mr. Cooley, and opened for transacting business in 1779. The expense amounted to £40,000, was defrayed by lottery-schemes conducted by the merchants of Dublin.
1770. Foundation laid of the Hibernian Marine Nursery, Rogerson's Quay, Dublin. Opened 1773.
1771. Extensive emigration to America from Ulster. Charles Lucas died.
1773. The Irish national debt amounts to £1,000,000. The first stone of the Blue-Coat Hospital, in Dublin, laid by the lord-lieutenant.
1774. Stamp Act commenced in Ireland, March 25th. Goldsmith died.
1775. Continuation of the White-boy outrages. Irish troops are sent to America. Battle of Lexington, April 20th. Daniel O'Connell born. Nov. 13th, Montreal surrenders to General Montgomery.
1776. Edmund Sheehy the Irish patriot, tried, hanged.
1778. France forms an alliance with the United States. March 26th, first "Irish Volunteer" Company enrolled. Roman Catholics first permitted to take



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long leases; several of them attended at the city court-house, and testified their allegiance, Sept. 29th.

1779. Armed associations (to the number of 80,000) formed in every part of Ireland, under the denomination of *Volunteers*; which were clothed, armed, and disciplined at their own private expense, for the purpose of repelling any hostile attempt from a foreign enemy, and of preserving tranquility and a due observance of the laws within the kingdom. By the spirited applications of these associations, *Poyning's law*, and all the obnoxious acts declaring the supremacy of England over this kingdom, were repealed, and the Crown of Ireland rendered *independent of that of Great Britain*. The first fancy ball introduced in the city of Cork by Lady Fitzgerald, Jan. 1st. June 4th, the city of Cork was alarmed with the news of a French fleet having appeared off Bantry Bay; drums instantly began to beat to arms through every quarter of the city; the volunteers assembled on the Mall; the True-Blue Society took charge of the main-guard, the Highlanders quitted it and joined the remaining part of the regiment in the old barrack. Palms Westrop, Esq., mayor of Cork, summoned a council to consider what was necessary to be done on such an alarming occasion. Several Roman Catholics took up arms, offered their assistance to the volunteers, and distinguished themselves as loyal subjects in the defense of their country. About ten at night, the Highland regiment marched from the old barrack toward Bandon; they were met express on the road, countermanded, and returned next morning; upon the whole, it appeared to be an English fleet hovering off Cape Clear, who, on firing several guns in honor of his majesty's birthday, gave rise to the alarm and expected invasion.

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September 24th, another alarm took place; the army in camp at Ballinrea struck their tents, crossed the country near Kinsale, and returned the same evening; it proved to be the homeward-bound Jamaica fleet which appeared on the coast, that occasioned this alarm. Agitation in favor of freedom of trade. Efforts in the English Parliament to open Irish trade. Spain declares war against England. Ireland admitted to a free trade.

1780. Woolen goods first exported from Ireland to a foreign market. March 20th, Miles Byrne born at Monaseed, county Wexford. May 28th, Thomas Moore, the Poet, born in Dublin. Dec. 23d. Frederick Howard, Earle of Carlisle, landed and sworn Lord-lieutenant.

1781. The foundation of the Custom House of Dublin laid, and built from the designs of James Grandon. Shrove-Tuesday, February 27th, there was a violent hurricane in the city of Cork. March 18th, the 3d, 19th, and 30th regiments of foot embarked at Monkstown for America. The Volunteers of Ireland received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Agitation for legislative independence. Wall of Dublin, laid.

1782. Numerous meeting of the Ulster Volunteer Delegates held at Dungannon, who published a Declaration of Irish Rights, Feb. 15th. Parliament of Ireland voted its independence, and made a declaration of constitutional rights, August 16th. British parliament repealed the 6th George I., whereby it renounced legislation for Ireland, June 20th. Henry Grattan, Esq., made a speech in the Irish House of Commons relative to the rights and independence of Ireland; for which he was voted £50,000 by Parliament. Further Roman Catholic Relief Act. Meeting of the volunteers at Dungannon. February 15th, "the Irish Volunteers" at Dungannon



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resolved unanimously "That the claim of anybody of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance." Resolution of the Grand Jury of the county Cork—"That the claim of the British Parliament to bind this kingdom by laws is a claim disgraceful and unproductive; disgraceful to us because it is an infringement of our constitution; unproductive to Great Britian because the exercise of it will not be submitted to by the people of Ireland." Declaration of Irish right moved by Henry Grattan in the Irish House of Commons and carried unanimously, and Ireland's independence won—for a time!—

1783. The first dawn of Irish liberty broke out in 1779; Ireland obtained her legislative independence, with the consent of the British Senate, the 16th day of April. Declaratory Act. Peace of Versailles. Coalition Ministry formed between Fox and Lord North. Agitation for parliamentary reform. The Volunteer National Convention. Rejection of Flood's Reform Bill. Fall of the Coalition ministry. Pitt becomes prime-minister. February 10th, Grand National Convention of volunteers assembled at the Royal Exchange. Sept. 3d, England acknowledged the Independence of the United States. Nov. 25th, Evacuation of New York by the British army.

1784. Clodagh Castle, now in ruins, said to have been built by the Mac-Swineys, who were anciently famous for Irish hospitality. On the west side of the road near Dunusky there was a stone set up (which now lies in a ditch), signifying to all persons, to repair to the house of Edmond MacSwiney for entertainment. December 18th, At Heiro (one of the Canary Isles subject to Spain) thirty-seven convicts from Ireland were landed out of the ship *Dublin*, for

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mutiny; they were all immediately put to the sword, by order of the governor, on an idea that the plague raged among them.

1785. First air-balloon in Ireland ascended from Ranelagh Gardens, Dublin, Jan. 19th. On Callan Mountain there is a large stone or monument, with an inscription in *Ogham* characters, denoting it to be the burial-place of the famous *Conan*, one of the Connaught knights who fell in battle; the stone is eleven feet six inches long, three feet broad, and one foot thick; it lies on an eminence above a small lake facing the south, on a soft flat quarry, about eight miles from Ennis; it was discovered this year by the right honorable W. B. Conyngham in company with Mr. O'Flanagan; the latter gentleman being sent from Dublin for that purpose, by the Royal Irish Academy. The merchants of the city of Cork fitted out a vessel well supplied with bread, water, beef, etc., to cruise off Cape Clear, for the purpose of relieving any vessels which the long continuance of easterly winds might keep at sea, April 30th. Orde's commercial resolutions. Jealous opposition of the English manufacturers. James Duane, first Irish-American Mayor of New York installed. Rise of the Peep-o'-day Boys and Defenders. William Whipple died. John Adams, the first ambassador from the United States, received at the Court of St. James. Orde's Bill abandoned. Agitation for reform.

1786. Foundation of the New Four Courts and Public Offices, Dublin, laid. Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, incorporated January 28th. A Police established at Dublin, and other parts of Ireland. The Cork Society (one of the most useful charities in the city of Cork) commenced lending three guineas instead of two, *interest free*, once a fortnight, to fifteen poor tradesmen. George Robert



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Fitzgerald, the notorious duelist, executed for the murder of Patrick Randal MacDonald.

1787. Debates on the tithe question.

1788. March 27th, A large bog of 1,500 acres, lying between Dundrum and Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, began to be agitated in an extraordinary manner. The rumbling noise from the bog gave the alarm; and on the 30th it burst, and a kind of lava issued from it, which took its direction toward Ballygriffin and Golden, overspreading and laying waste a tract of fine fertile land, belonging to John Hyde, Esq., everything that opposed its course was buried in ruins. July 25th, The foundation-stone of St. Patrick's Bridge laid. Mr. Michael Shanahan, architect and contractor. The new Meat, Fish, Poultry, and Vegetable Markets, the most convenient of their kind in Europe, opened in the city of Cork, August 1st.

1789. The Regency question in the Irish Parliament. July 8th, His majesty's royal mail-coach (from Dublin to Cork) arrived this day for the first time, with his majesty's mail. Buck Whaley arrived in Dublin from his journey to Jerusalem, by which he gained a wager of £20,000. September 29th, The quay-stone of the last arch of the New Bridge was laid by Lord Donoughmore, in the city of Cork, at which time it got the name of St. Patrick's Bridge. Jan. 17th, The city of Cork exhibited a melancholy spectacle. A great fall of snow for some days, dissolved by a heavy fall of rain which continued twenty-four hours, swelled the river beyond anything hitherto known; it rushed through every avenue leading into the city, and by four o'clock in the evening all the flat part thereof was covered; it continued to rise until nine o'clock.

1790. March 20th, A very curious discovery in natural history took place at Blackwell. Mr. Perry, the

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ship-builder, planned and made one of the most extensive wet docks in the kingdom; for which great undertaking he appropriated seven acres of land. In digging the ground, regular strata of sand, clay, etc., were found, which afforded materials for bricks; and at the depth of 12 or 14 feet from the surface, under the above strata, numbers of very large trees were discovered; and what is most remarkable, a hazel-nut hedge, with considerable quantities of nuts as they grew on the trees. Nov. 10th, Father Matthew born.

1791. An Apothecaries' Hall established at Dublin. February 11th, First meeting of the "United Irishmen." March 6th, Most Rev. John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, born at Tubarnavine, in the parish of Adergoole, and diocese of Killala, county Mayo. Died Nov. 7th, 1881. July 5th, Banquet at Belfast, to celebrate the French Revolution. Oct. 26th, Formation of Society of United Irishmen. Nov. 7th, New Custom House, Dublin, opened for business. Nov. 9th, First meeting of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen, at the Eagle Tavern, Eustace street; Chairman, the Honorable Simeon Butler. Henry Flood died. Agitation for Roman Catholic emancipation. Formation of the Society of the United Irishmen.

1792. Roman Catholic Relief Act. Accidental burning of the House of Commons. Meeting of the Roman Catholic Convention. Jan. 4th, The *Northern Star*, the organ of the United Irishmen, first published. May 13th, Pope Pius IX. born. Died Feb. 7th, 1878. Nov. 18th, Banquet of Irish, English, and Scotch in Paris, to celebrate the victories of the Republicans, Lord Edward Fitzgerald present. The Catholic Relief Bill was passed in the Irish Parliament. Dec. 14th, Leaders of the



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United Irishmen publish a proclamation exhorting the Volunteers to resume their arms.

1793. Petition of the Roman Catholics presented to the king. Increase of Defenderism. Activity of the United Irishmen. Flight of Napper Tandy. Prosecution of Hamilton Rowan and imprisonment of Simon Butler and Oliver Bond. The Duke of Portland and some of the old Whigs join the ministry. Arrest of Jackson. March 11th, The "Irish Volunteers" suppressed by proclamation. The society is reconstructed as a secret association. Catholic Relief Bill became law. Nov. National Convention of Volunteers assemble in Royal Exchange, Dublin.

1794. May 2d, Archibald Hamilton Rowan escaped from prison. May 4th, Meeting of the United Irishmen in the Tailor's Hall, Dublin, dispersed and their papers seized.

1795. Arrival of Lord Fitzwilliam as Viceroy. Grattan's bill for complete emancipation of the Roman Catholics. Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. Trial and death of Jackson. Rejection of Grattan's Bill. April 30th, Rev. W. Jackson, having taken poison in order to avoid a public execution, died in the dock just as the judge was proceeding to pass sentence on him for high treason. Sept 21st, Battle of the Diamond between Peep-o-day boys and Defenders. To commemorate this conflict the First Orange Lodge in Ireland formed at Loughnagall. Dec. 21st, Meeting of the magistrates of the county of Armagh to protest against the illegal violence which the Catholics of that county were subjected to. Orange clubs etc., formed.

1796. The Insurrection Act. Extension of the United Irishmen to Leinster. French expedition to Bantry. Jan. 1st, Theobald Wolfe Tone sailed from New

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York for Paris to seek French aid for Ireland. Feb. 9th, William Carleton, the Irish Novelist, born. March 7th, *The Press*, "United Irish" organ seized, and its office destroyed by government. Dec. 16th, French Expedition, with Wolfe Tone on board sailed for Ireland, from Brest. Dec 24th, French fleet arrive in Bantry Bay. The *Northern Star*, organ of the United Irishmen, suppressed by military violence.

1797 Jan. 31st, Pitt introduced the "Union" resolutions into the English parliament. Lord Camden's Proclamation against the United Irishmen. Arthur O'Connor is arrested, and released on bail. Lord Moira attacks the government in the English House of Lords. Martial law in Ulster. Grattan's Reform Bill rejected. Secession of the opposition. Increase of the United Irishmen. Mutiny at the Nore and Spithead. Oct. 14th, Execution of William Orr at Carrickfergus.

1798. Feb. Killeveny Chapel, Wexford, burned by the military. March 12th, Oliver Bond and fourteen United Irish Delegates arrested in the house of Oliver Bond. March 30th, Martial law for Ireland proclaimed. April 9th, Thomas Addis Emmet imprisoned at Fort George, Scotland. April 27th, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, disgusted with the conduct of the troops in Ireland, resigned the command of the Army. May 19th, Lord Edward Fitzgerald arrested and mortally wounded, in a house in Thomas street, by Major Sirr, assisted by Majors Swan and Ryan. June 3d, He died in prison of his wounds. May, Henry and John Sheares arrested. May, Samuel Neilson arrested. May 24th, The "United Irishmen" took the town of Prosperous. Carlow taken by the insurgents. May 27th, Battle of Oulart Hill, county Wexford. May 28th, United Irish capture Enniscorthy. May 30th,



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1798

United Irish win the Battle at Three Rocks, county Wexford. May 31st, Massacre at the Curragh of Kildare of the Irish, after they had surrendered and laid down their arms. Martial law in Leinster. O'Connor is arrested at Margate. June 1st, Netownbarry taken by the insurgents. Insurrection Bill passed. June 4th, English under Colonel Walpole defeated, and the Colonel slain by Wexford Insurgents. June 5th, Battle of New Ross. June 7th, The Battle of Antrim; United Irish led by Henry Joy McCracken. June 8th, Rev. James Quigly executed. June 9th, Battle of Arklow, and death of Father Murphy. June 13th, Dr. Esmonde hung on Carlisle Bridge, Dublin. June 20th, Battle of Fook's Mill. United Irish victorious. June 21st, Battle of Vinegar Hill; defeat of the United Irishmen. June 26th, Massacre of rebels at Carlow. June 27th, Bagenal Harvey, leader of the rebels, hanged. June 28th, John H. Colclough hanged. July 9th, Edmund Burke died. July 14th, Henry and John Sheares executed. Oct. 11th, French Expedition under Hardy destroyed at Loch Swilly. Oct. 11th, Wolfe Tone captured. July 15th, Henry Joy M'Cracken, United Irish leader, and commander at the battle of Antrim, executed. July 28th, William Michael Byrne, executed. August 23d, French expedition under Humbert landed at Killybegs. August 26th, Battle of Castlebar, flight of the English. Sept. 7th, Oliver Bond died in Newgate (foul play suspected). Sept. 8th, Surrender of Humbert at the battle of Ballinamuck. Sept. 9th, Thomas Russell arrested by Major Sirr. Sept. 24th, Bartholomew Teeling, leader of the United Irishmen executed. Sept. 30th, Matthew Tone (the brother of Wolfe Tone) executed. Oct. 6th, Insurrection Bill passed. Oct. 27th, Last French invasion of Ireland. Nov.

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- 17th, Wolfe Tone died in prison. Nov. 24th, Napper Tandy arrested on neutral ground by order of the British Consul.
1799. Dec. 14th, Proposal of the Union. Opposition to the Union. Defeat of the government. The English Parliament agree to Pitt's resolutions on the Union. Jan. 13th. O'Connell's first public speech against the Union in Dublin. Jan. 15th, Last session of the Irish Parliament opened. Feb. 6th, The Act of Union carried by a purchased majority of 43 votes in the Commons, and 49 in the Lords.
1800. April 2d, Last session of the Irish Parliament closed.
1801. Jan. 1st, The Act of "Union" between England and Ireland came into operation. Jan. 25th, Daniel Maclise born.
1802. Jan. 10th, Father O'Leary died. Jan 28th, Lord Clare (the Fitzgibbon of '98) died.
1803. Feb. 10th, Colonel Despard executed. July 23d, Emmet's Insurrection. Sept. 20th, Robert Emmet hanged. William Smith O'Brien born. Dec. 12th, Gerald Griffin born.
1806. Barry, the painter died. Nov. 28th, Bedford Asylum for poor children founded by the Duke of Bedford in Brunswick street, Dublin.
1808. Irish Bishops resolve against the Veto.
1810. July 13th, First steam vessel (the *Sirius*) arrived in Cork harbor from America.
1811. Feb. 12th, Proclamation to put down Catholic Committee. Daniel Maclise the painter, born in Cork.
1812. August 19th, British frigate *Guerriere* surrenders to United States frigate *Constitution*. Oct. 25th, British frigate *Macedonian* surrenders to Com. Decatur. Dec. 26th, Capture of the British frigate *Java*, by the American frigate *Constitution*.
1813. Feb. Mr. Grattan's motion in the House of Commons



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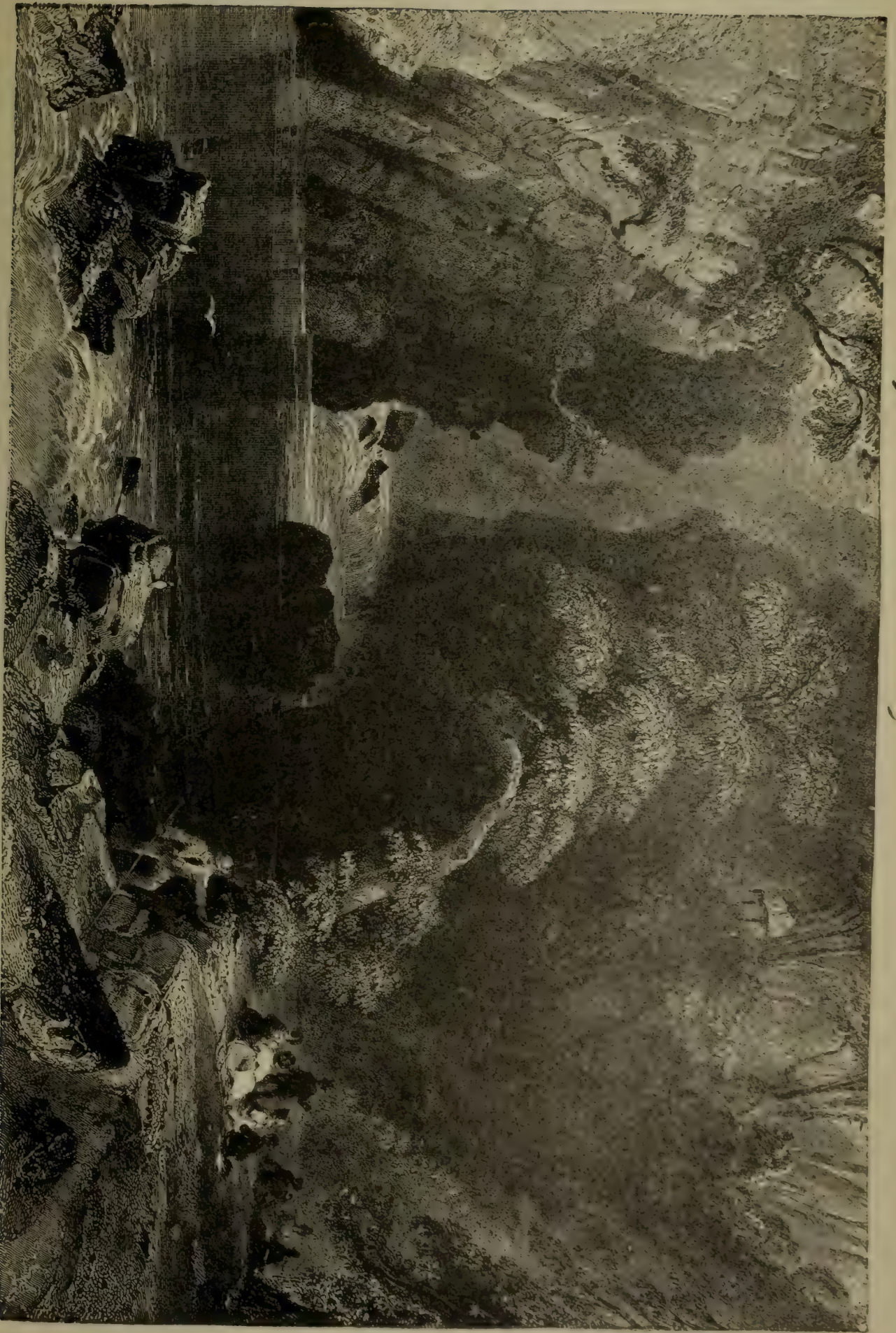
to take into consideration the laws affecting Catholics.

- 1816. July 7th, Richard Brinsley Sheridan died. Sept. 13th, Steam Packets first sailed from Dublin.
- 1817. Jan. 5th, English and Irish Exchequers consolidated.
- 1819. March 9th, Mr. Grattan in the English House of Commons, moved for a committee of the whole house on the Catholic question. July 13th, First steam vessel arrived at Cork from America on this day.
- 1820. Feb. 5th. Dr. Drennan, poet of the United Irishmen, author of "The Wake of William Orr," etc., died. May 14th, Henry Grattan died.
- 1821. Aug. Visit to Ireland of George IV.
- 1822. Orange riot in the Theatre Royal, Dublin—attack on the Lord-Lieutenant.
- 1825. Dublin lighted with gas.
- 1827. Thomas Addis Emmet died in New York.
- 1828. O'Connell declared elected for Clare.
- 1829. J. J. Callanan, poet, died, aged thirty-four years. Feb. 4th, Bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association received Royal Assent. March 5th, Act for the suppression of the Catholic Association passed both Houses. March 10th, Emancipation Bill read first time in House of Commons. April Emancipation Bill received Royal Assent. May 15th, O'Connell entered the House of Commons, and refused to take the Oaths.  
First stone of the Jesuit's Church, Dublin, laid.
- 1830. Dec. 29th, Volunteer Society and Anti-Union Society suppressed by Proclamation.
- 1831. True bills under the "Algerine Act" found against O'Connell for alleged illegal meetings in Dublin. Dr. Whately supporter of Irish National school system becomes Abp. of Dublin.
- 1832. Irish Reform Bill passed.

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- 1834. Repeal question introduced into the House of Commons by O'Connell. Dec 17th, Dublin and Kingstown Railway, being the first in Ireland, opened for traffic.
- 1836. August 18th, Reynolds, the '98 informer, died.
- 1837. Jan. 2d, An explosion of gunpower killed many people in Limerick.
- 1838. Poor laws introduced.
- 1839. Jan. 7th. An awful and destructive tempest visited Limerick, when the river Shannon overflowed and bursts its banks, and laid all the lowlands under about fifteen feet of water in Pallaskenry, and on both sides of the river Maigue. Repeal Association founded.
- 1840. June 12th, Gerald Griffin died.
- 1841. Sept. 25th, First election of reformed Municipal Council of Dublin. Daniel O'Connell, M. P., elected Lord Mayor.
- 1842. First number of the Dublin *Nation*, published.
- 1843. Monster meeting at Mullaghmast. Repeal banquet to O'Connell and other leading Repealers, at Newcastle, county Limerick. Monster meeting at the Curragh, 70,000 present. Monster Repeal meeting at Trim, 20,000 present. Monster Repeal meeting at Clones, 50,000 present. Repeal meeting at Charleville, 300,000 present. Repeal meeting at Cork, 500,000 present. Great monster meeting near Thurles, county Tipperary. June 4th, Monster meeting at Drogheda. June 8th, Monster meeting at Kilkenny. June 15th, Monster meeting at Clare. Monster meeting at Mallow. June 25th, Monster meeting at Galway. Oct. 7th, Monster Repeal meeting at Clontarf suppressed. Conciliation Hall opened, and the adhesion of William Smith O'Brien announced. Oct. 8th, Great display of military force at Clontarf to effect the massacre plotted by the Government. The people saved by the exer-





THE SHANNON ABOVE LIMERICK.





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1843. tions of the Repeal leaders in preventing their arrival on the ground. Oct. 14th, Informations sworn against O'Connell, Duffy and others. Nov. Repeal Trials begun.
1844. Formation of Cork City Repeal Club. Jan. 15th, Trial of O'Connell and other Repealers in Dublin. They are found guilty. Sept. 4th, Sentence against Repeal State Prisoners reversed in the House of Lords. Sept. 5th, O'Connell and Repeal prisoners liberated. March 23d, O'Connell presented a petition against the Union in the House of Commons. Dec. 18th, Appointment of new commissioners of Charitable bequests. Rank of the R. C. Bishops recognized.
1845. Sept. 16th, Thomas Davis Died. Sept. 23d, Irish National Educational Society incorporated.
1846. April 30th, Committal of William Smith O'Brien to the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms for contempt in not obeying an order of the House of Commons to attend a committee. July 29th, William Smith O'Brien and the Young Ireland, or Physical force Party secede from the Repeal Association. August 6th, The population of Ireland at this time was over nine millions.
1847. Jan. 13th, Opening of the Irish Confederation, composed of secessionists from the Repeal Association. Feb. 8th, O'Connell's last speech in the House of Commons. 1847-8. Failure of the potato crop throughout Ireland. March 28th, The American ship-of-war *Jamestown*, sailed from Boston with provisions for the starving Irish. May 15th, Death of O'Connell at Genoa on his way to Rome in his 73d year, he bequeathed his heart to Rome. August 5th, O'Connell's remains entombed at Glasnevin. Fearful famine in Ireland.
1848. Numerous deaths from starvation in Ireland reported an every day occurrence. Funeral service of Daniel

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1848. O'Connell in Paris. Treason Felony Bill introduced. April 3d, Deputation from the Irish people, Smith O'Brien, Meagher, O'Gorman, etc., to Lamartine, and other members of the provincial Government at Paris. April 4th, Great meeting of Young Irelanders at Dublin. May 13th, Arrest of Mitchel, Editor of the United Irishmen. May 26th, Mitchel found guilty and sentenced to transportation for 14 years. July 8th, Arrest of Gavan Duffy, Martin, Meagher, Doheny, etc., for felonious writings and speeches, etc. July 26th, Confederate clubs prohibited. The Habeas Corpus Act suspended. July 29th, O'Brien's Rebellion suppressed. August 5th, Arrest of Smith O'Brien at Thurles. He is conveyed to Kilmainham Gaol, Dublin. August 12th, Arrest of Meagher, O'Donoghue, etc. August 14th, Martin sentenced to transportation. Sept. Encumbered estates act passed. Oct. 9th, Smith O'Brien, Meagher and the other confederates tried and sentenced to death.
1849. Jan. 16th, The Irish court of Queen's Bench gives judgment on writs of error sued out by the prisoners convicted of high treason and confirms the judgment of the court below. July 9th, O'Brien, Meagher, McManus, and Donoghue transported. Jan. Bishop Maginn died. Feb. 7th, Charles Gavan Duffy tried for High Treason. April 14th, Gavan Duffy released on bail. July 12th, Orange and Catholic affray at Dollys Brae. August 5th, Queen Victoria visits Ireland and holds her court at Dublin Castle. Oct. 24th, First court under the encumbered estates act held in Dublin.
1850. May 5th, Great Tenant Right Meeting at Millstreet. August 15th, Queen's university in Ireland established. August 22d, A synod of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, presided over by Arch-



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1850. bishop Cullen, was held in Thurles. It condemned the Queen's colleges and resolved on founding a Roman Catholic University. Dec. 29th, James Fintan Lalor died.
1851. May 5th, Roman Catholic university originated and large sums subscribed. May 26th, Richard Lalor Shiel died. July, Ecclesiastical Titles Bill passed. August 1st, Midland Great Western Railway opened. August 19th, Great meeting in the Rotunda, Dublin, to protest against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. August, The Irish Tenant League Association formed.
1852. April 28th Great meeting of Catholics in Dublin to protest against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. May 24th, Meagher escapes from Van Diemens Land and arrives at New York. June 1st, Electric telegraph laid down between Holyhead and Dublin. June 10th, Cork National Exhibition. June 24th, Irish Industrial Exhibition set on foot. Mr. Darfau a railway contractor contributes towards it £26,000. June 29th, Henry Clay died in Washington. The Right Rev. Doctor Cullen enthroned Archbishop of Dublin. July 3d, Tenant-Right demonstrations dispersed by the magistrates. Feb. 5th, Charles Gavan Duffy elected member for New Ross. July 14th, Fierce religious riots at Belfast. July 22d, Fatal election riots at the 6 mile Bridge. Sept. 2d, Cork Industrial Exhibition closed. Sept. 10th, Irish members of parliament found a religious equality association. Sept. 16th, Thomas Moore died. Dec, 27th, Great storm in Dublin, which levelled several houses, tore up trees, and did considerable damage to house property in the city and suburbs.
1853. May, Income tax extended to Ireland. May 12th, Dublin Exhibition opens. Oct. 5th, Dreadful railway accident near Dublin. August 29th, Queen

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1853. Victoria, Prince Albert, and Prince of Wales arrive to see the Dublin exhibition. Oct. 4th, Tenant-Right League conference. Oct. 31st, Dublin Exhibition closed.
1854. Attempted abduction of Mrs. Pluthnot by John Carden of Barnane. Jan. 5th, Lord Plunket, the famous lawyer and opponent of the Legislative Union died. Sept. 15th, Trains wilfully upset after an Orange Demonstration at Londonderry; one person killed and many hurt.
1855. Feb. 11th, Tenant-Right Meeting in Clare. June 15th, Right Rev. Dr. Doyle (J. K. L.) died. Donnybrook Fair abolished.
1856. Feb. 16th, John Sadlier the destroyer of the Irish Independent Parliamentary Party, poisoned himself on Hampstead Heath, London.
1857. Feb. 18th, New writ ordered for Tipperary, in the room of James Sadlier, expelled the House of Commons. Sept. Religious riots at Belfast. Nov. 25th, Charles Gavan Duffy elected Member for Villers and Heytesbury, Colony of Victoria, Australia.
1858. March 27th, John Hogan, sculptor, died. Proclamation against Secret Societies issued by the Earl of Eglinton, Viceroy of Ireland. Father Theobald Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance died. Tenant League meeting and banquet at Mallow. August. 6th, First Atlantic Cable laid between Ireland and Newfoundland. August 17th, Dr. Cane of Kilkenny, died. August 25th, Consecration of new church, Ballinasloe, by Archbishop of Tuam; Sermon by Cardinal Wiseman. Sept. 5th, Cardinal Wiseman preached in the Metropolitan Church, Dublin. Sept. Progress of Cardinal Wiseman in Ireland. Sept. A packet from Galway reaches North America in six days. Nov. Proclamation against



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1858. secret societies. Dec. Sixteen persons arrested in Belfast, charged with being members of the "Phoenix Society."
1859. April 14th, Lady Morgan died. Sept. Agitation against the Irish National school system. Oct. Religious revival movement in the north, particularly at Belfast.
1860. June 29th, Visit of the Prince of Wales. Great emigration to America. July. Many Irishmen enlist in the service of the Pope, with Miles O'Reilly as their colonel. Battle of Castle Fildardo. The Irish contingent gloriously distinguish themselves. Sept. 17th, Heroic defence of Spoleto by a detachment of the Irish Pontifical Brigade, only 312 strong, against Fanti's Sardinian troops of 8,000 men. Nov. The Irish Pontifical Brigade, after service in the defence of the Papal territories, arrive at Queenstown. Nov. The remainder taken prisoners by the Sardinian's are released and return to Dublin, where they receive an ovation. Oct. 23d, Agrarian outrages. Alderman Sheehy murdered. Dec. Attempted revival of Repeal agitation.
1861. April 8th, Census of Ireland taken, population, 5,764,543. May 23d, Suspension of packet service between Galway and America through the company's breach of contract. August 24th-31st, Visit of the Queen and prince consort to Ireland. Nov. 10th, McManus' funeral in Dublin. John O'Donovan, LL.D., the celebrated Gaelic scholar and translator died. Dec. 13th, Irish law court commission appointed.
1862. Jan. 24th, Miles Byrne, a '98 hero, afterwards chef-de-bataillon in the French service, died at Paris. Feb. 16th, Fort Donelson captured by Union forces. June 30th, Battle of Malvern Hill. July 30th, Professor Eugene O'Curry, the Irish scholar died. Sept. 17th, An Orange demonstration at Belfast

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1862. leads to destructive riots. Dec. J. Sheridan Knowles died.
1863. Irish brigades, regiments, and companies, to the number of a quarter of a million soldiers, joining in the American army. Great emigration of able-bodied laborers from Ireland to the United States. August, Galway packet service restored by subsidy of 70,000. Great agricultural distress, many murders and outrages. Oct. 8th, Death of Archbishop Whately. Dec. 22d, Death of General Michael Corcoran in Virginia.
1864. The Fenians active at home and in America. Jan. Most Rev. John Hughes, Archbishop of New York died. May 5th, Battle of the Wilderness. June 15th, Battle between the Kearsarge and the Alabama, off Brest. June 17th, William Smith O'Brien, the illustrious Irish patriot, died at Bangor in Wales. June 23d, Smith O'Brien's funeral procession in Dublin. August 8th, First stone of the O'Connell Monument laid in Dublin; great public procession.
1865. Jan 12th, Address of the National Association to liberate tenant capital, and recover the property of the Catholic Church. May 9th, Opening of the International exhibition at Dublin by the Prince of Wales. June 27th, Banquet in Dublin to welcome the Hon. C. G. Duffy. Seizure of the office of the *Irish People* Newspaper, and arrests of Fenian leaders. O'Connell's Statue erected in Ennis, county Clare. July, General election favorable to the government and liberal party. August 25th, Importation of cattle from England prohibited on account of the plague. Sept. 15-17, Oct. 14th, Seizure of the newspaper "Irish people" and 30 Fenians. Nov. 9th, International exhibition closed. Capture of James Stephens, Charles J. Kickham, H. Brophy, and Edward Duffy, at Fairfield House,



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1865. near Dublin, Nov. 27th, Opening of the Special Commission in Dublin for trial of Fenian prisoners. Escape of James Stephens, Fenian "Head-Centre," from Richmond Prison, Dublin. Dec. 1st, Thomas Clarke Luby convicted of treason felony, and sentenced to 20 year's penal servitude. Dec. 6th, John O'Leary, Editor of the *Irish People* newspaper, sentenced to penal servitude for twenty years. Dec. 13th, O'Donovan Rossa sentenced to imprisonment for life.
1866. Jan. 11th, Discovery of an arms manufactory at Dublin, the city and county proclaimed and put under the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act. Jan. 16th, County and City of Dublin proclaimed. Jan. 28th, Reward of £1,000 offered for the arrest of James Stephens, Fenian Head-Centre. Feb. 2d, Special Commission for trial of Fenian prisoners closed, after conviction of 36 prisoners and acquittal of three. Feb. 17th, Habeas Corpus Act suspended. Generals Denis F. Burke, Michael Kerwin, Charles Halpin, and about 150 other American officers of various grades, who were in Ireland awaiting the rising, arrested under the Habeas Corpus suspension Act and thrown into prison. Habeas Corpus suspended for Ireland by forced "readings" in the English Parliament. Arrests wholesale in anticipation in Ireland sixteen hours before bill passed. More Fenians arrested and convicted at Cork and Dublin. Agitation respecting Irish church debates in Parliament. May 20th, Rev. Francis Mahony ("Father Prout") died. The American "Fenians" invaded Canada. June 2d, Battle of Ridgeway: rout of the "Queen's Own" Canadian Volunteers by the Irish under O'Neil. Capture of a British flag. President Johnson's proclamation against the Fenian invasion of Canada. Return of the Irish expedition from Canada.

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1866. July, Lord Abercorn made lord-lieutenant. August 3d, Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Sept. 1st, About 320 suspected Fenians remain in prison. Oct. 20th, Public demonstration in honor of Cardinal Cullen, in Dublin. Death of John B. Dillon. Dec. 16th, Great seizure of fire arms. Clare and other counties proclaimed under Peace Preservation Act. Fenian rising threatened in Ireland. Dec. 18th, Riots in Dungannon. Captain Bart Kelly killed. A large number of Irish officers who had served in the American war in Ireland awaiting the rising, most of whom were arrested under the Habeas Corpus Act. Extensive seizure of Fenian arms in Belfast.
1867. Feb. William Dargan, the great railroad contractor, died. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act. March 12th, Fenian rising in Kerry, Tipperary, Limerick, Dublin, and elsewhere. March 31st, Peter O'Neill Crowley shot in Kilklooney wood. The Fenian rising suppressed and arrest of numerous prisoners. April 8th, Commission to try Fenian prisoners opened in Dublin. Several found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and a few to death, but their sentences were commuted to imprisonment. July 1st, General Thomas Francis Meagher accidentally drowned in the Missouri river. Sept. 18th, Rescue of Kelly and Deasy at Manchester. Officer Brett shot. Nov. 23d, Execution of William P. Allen, Michael O'Brien, and Michael Larkin, for the murder of Officer Brett while rescuing Deasy and Kelly. Dec. 8th, Monster Fenian procession in Dublin, in honor of the patriots, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien.
1868. Jan. 10th, Prosecution of the *Irishman* newspaper. Feb. 6th, Great Protestant defence meeting in Dublin. March 1st, Habeas Corpus Act suspended



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1868. Messrs. Sullivan and Pigot convicted for libelous articles in *The Nation* and *Irishman*. March 19th, Irish Reform Bill introduced into the Commons. April 15th, Mr. Featherstonehaugh, I. C., shot dead while returning from Dublin after raising the rent on his tenants. Visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland. May 26th, Michael Barrett hanged in London for being concerned in the Clerkenwell explosion.
1869. Jan. 30th, William Carleton, the Irish novelist, died. May 15th, O'Connell's remains deposited under the Round tower in Glasnevin. May 31st, The Irish Church Disestablishment Bill passed the House by a vote of 361 to 247. July 26th, The Irish Church Bill receives the royal assent. Nov. 9th, Proclamation issued against an amnesty meeting at Cabra. Nov. 25th, O'Donovan Rossa, though in prison, elected a member for Tipperary.
1870. May 19th, Great Home Rule Convention held in Dublin, at which the Home Rule League was organized. The meeting was attended by persons of all religious denominations. May 26th, Several Fenian raids on Canada. General O'Neill arrested by the United States authorities. Father McMahon arrested by the English and sentenced to death, which sentence was commuted. July 18th, Michael Davitt convicted of being a Fenian agent, and of supplying arms to the men at home, sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude.
1871. Jan. 5th, O'Donovan Rossa and the other Fenian prisoners released. Jan. 19th, Their arrival and reception in New York.
1875. John Mitchel elected member for Tipperary. His election opposed by the government. March 20th, John Mitchel died at Dromalane, near Newry. March 29th, John Martin died in Newry. Charles Kickham, the Irish patriot, poet, and novelist, who

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1875. died in 1882, was ran for Tipperary and beaten by government tactics only by a majority of four.
1877. Charles Stewart Parnell a member of the Home Rule League elected member for Meath, a vacancy having been caused by the death of John Martin. Mr. Parnell makes his first mark in Parliament in opposition to the Irish Prison Bill and the Mutiny Bill. Wholesale evictions in Ireland. General failure of the crops. Dec. 19th, Michael Davitt and Charles McCarthy released on "Ticket-of-leave" from Dartmoor prison. Dec. 22d, Death of McCarthy in Dublin.
1878. Ireland threatened with another famine. A wet season and general failure of the crops again. The peasantry in several parts of Ireland suffering from want. April 2d, Lord Leitrim assassinated. Mr. Davitt in America. In a lecture in Boston he outlined the programme of the Land League organization.
1879. Oct. 21st, Great convention in Dublin and formation of the Irish Land League, with Mr. Parnell President. Famine reported from the west and south-west of Ireland. Davitt advises the tenants not to pay their rents if it were necessary to keep them from starvation. In December of this year Parnell and Dillon sailed for America where they arrive Jan. 2d, 1880.
1880. Feb. 2d, Mr. Parnell received by the American Congress and addressed the Houses. Some £70,000 were forwarded to the Land League from America through the influence of Messrs Parnell and Dillon. Land League Branches established throughout America.
1880. The system of Boycotting which was called after its first victim, captain Boycott, adopted in Ireland. The famine wide-spread in Ireland. The Mansion House Committee, the Duchess of Marlborough's



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1880. Committee, the Land League Association and their Committees come to the aid of the starving people. A dissolution of Parliament occurs in the spring of this year. Several members of the Land League party including Mr. Parnell, elected. April. The New Parliament assembled with Mr. Gladstone Prime-Minister. Land League meeting held throughout Ireland. The tenants continue in their opposition to the landlords. Prosecution of Parnell, Dillon, Sexton and other members in Dublin. Disagreement of the Jury and discharges of the traversers.
1881. Jan. 6th, Parliament opens: Gladstone foreshadows a Land Bill and a Coercion Bill for Ireland. Obstruction in the House by the Irish Members. Feb. 2d, The speaker declared that obstruction should be stopped. Feb. 3d, Michael Davitt arrested again. Feb. 4th, Thirty-six Irish Members expelled the House. The Coercion Bill introduced and rushed through. Arrest of John Dillon followed by that of Parnell, Sexton, and about six hundred prominent Land Leaguers in Ireland who were imprisoned as suspects. Nov. 7th, Archbishop McHale died at Tuam. Ireland stood before the world as one vast prison and Poor House.
1882. Jan. 1st, Meeting of the central body of the Ladies' Land League in Dublin, Miss Anna Parnell presiding, in defiance of the orders of the government. Jan. 2nd, Charles Dawson, M. P., inaugurated Lord-Mayor of Dublin, and the freedom of the city voted to Charles Stewart Parnell and John Dillon. Jan. 7th, A "People's Hunt," which had been established under the name of the "National Hunting Association," held near Maryborough, Queen's Co. Over one hundred horsemen collected, and accompanied by dogs, bearing on their collars such names as "Buckshot," "Revolver," "Dynamite," "Rack-

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rent." Jan. 11th, Michael Davitt visited in Portland prison by Mrs. A. M. Sullivan, the first visitor he had been allowed to see in six months. Jan. 12th, The members of the Drumcollogher Ladies' Land League (arrested on January 2,) sentenced to one month's imprisonment at the Newcastle West Petty Sessions. Jan. 13th, King's County proclaimed under the Coercion Act. Jan. 16th, At the Roscommon Petty Sessions, Misses O'Carroll, M. Curtin and C. Hughes, of the Ladies' Land League, were committed to jail, T. P. O'Connor visits America in February also Father Sheehy and T. M. Healy. Jan. 25th, Meeting held in Dublin, at which it was resolved to hold an Irish National Industrial Exhibition. January, 28th, A. M. Sullivan resigned his seat in Parliament for Meath, on account of ill-health. Jan. 29th, a number of children, from seven to ten years old, arrested at Cappamore, County Kimerick, for whistling the tune of "Harvey Duff." Feb. 3d, The police seized 20,000 copies of the Land League organ, *United Ireland*, in Liverpool, England. Feb. 5th, Right Rev. Andrew Higgins solemnly consecrated, in the Cathedral, Killarney, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe. Feb. 8th, Dr. Kenny released from Kilmainham Jail. W. K. Redmond arrested as a suspect at Ballyragget. Feb. 14th, Five baronies of the county Roscommon and twelve baronies of the county Waterford were proclaimed. Feb. 16th, Several thousand tenant farmers from the various counties in Ireland assembled, and performed all the agricultural work necessary on Mr. Parnell's property at Avondale. Feb. 22d, Shots exchanged between the military and the people at Carrick-on-Suir, County Tipperary. Feb. 25th, Michael Davitt, in prison, elected member



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1882. for Meath, A. M. Sullivan having resigned the seat. Feb. 28th, The Meath election, at which Davitt was chosen, declared void. In Skipper-alley, Dublin, an informer named Bernard Bailey shot dead. March 8th, Archbishop McCabe, of Dublin, nominated a Cardinal by the Pope. March, 9th, James Bourke, business partner of Mr. Egan, Treasurer of the Land League, arrested under the "Coercion Act," in Dublin. March, 14th, The publication of *United Ireland*, the Land League organ, temporarily suspended on account of police persecution. March, 20th, The Most Rev. Thomas Nulty, D.D., Bishop of Meath, refused to attend the committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the workings of the Land Act. March, 25th, At Rathdowney, Queen's County, Rev. T. Feehan, was prosecuted under the Coercion Act, before Justices or to go to prison for six months. He refused to give bail and was taken to Maryborough Prison. March, 27th, Archbishop McCabe was solemnly created a Cardinal in Rome. March, 30th, Arthur Herbert, J. P., Killintieran, Farranfore, County Kerry, an active anti-Leaguer and rack-renting agent, shot dead while returning from the Castleisland Petty-Sessions. The official list of suspects detained in prison on April 1. numbered 511. April 2nd, As W. B. Smythe, of Barbavilla House, a landowner in Westmeath, of the most obnoxious evicting character, was returning from church, with Mrs. Smythe, his brother's wife, and Lady Harriet Moncke, they were fired at, a shot striking Mrs. Smythe, killing her instantly. April, 9th, Charles Stewart Parnell, released from Kilmainham jail on parole, to enable him to attend the funeral of his nephew in Paris. April, 10th, Conditional release was offered to American suspects, which was not accepted. The American Minister was instructed to demand their

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trial or release. April. 11th, Captain Dugmore, prosecuted at the Parsonstown sessions for posting "no rent" placards, was sentenced to imprisonment for six months. April 15th, An official report declared the number of evictions for the first quarter of the year to be 734. April 18th, Up to this date 918 "suspects" were arrested under the operations of the Coercion Act. April 20th, Miss Annie Kirke, of the Dublin Ladies' Land League, arrested at Tulla and sent to Limerick Jail. April 24th, Mr. Parnell surrendered his parole, and returned to Kilmainham Jail. April 25th, Miss Hannah Reynolds, of the Ladies' Land League, was arrested in Birr, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. April 28th, Earl Cowper resigned the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Earl Spencer succeeded him. April 30th, The number of evictions in April was 519; of persons evicted 2,734; of these 1,506 were ejected absolutely. The number of persons evicted in Connaught, 807; in Munster 740; in Ulster 612. May 2d, "Buckshot" Forster, Chief-Secretary for Ireland, resigned. Messrs. Parnell, Dillon and O'Kelley, released from Kilmainham. The police came into collision with the people at Belmullet, Mayo, and two women were killed. May 3d, Three ladies, members of the Tralce Land League, were arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment. Parnell and the other members of Parliament released from Kilmainham Jail. May, 4th, Lord Frederick Cavendish accepted the post of Chief-Secretary in place of Mr. Forster. Michael Davitt was unconditionally released from Portland prison. May, 5th, During the rejoicings at Ballina, County Mayo, over the release of the suspects, a collision took place between the police and the people. The police fired on the crowd, wounding a number of boys, two of them fatally. May, 6th, Lord Fred-



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1882. erick Cavendish, the new Chief-Secretary, and Mr. Thomas Henry Burke, the Under-Secretary, were assassinated while walking near the Viceregal Lodge, in the Phœnix Park, Dublin. May, 11th, Gladstone's infamous Repression Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. May, 17th, The Irish judges strenuously protested against the abolition of trial by jury under the proposed "Crimes Act." May, 22d, Rev. Eugene Sheehy, returned to Kilmallock, County Limerick, and received an ovation. May, 25th, Lord Cloncurry evicted 215 families on his estates in the County Limerick. June, 4th, The Hon. F. Fitzgerald, Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, resigned, as he was unwilling to administer the provisions of the Repression Act. June, 6th, The monument to the "Manchester Martyrs," Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, unveiled at Ennis, Clare. Michael Davitt delivered his famous "Nationalization of Land" speech, at a meeting in his honor at Liverpool. June, 8th, Walter M. Bourke, of Rahasane, Galway, an evicting landlord, shot near Castle Taylor, Athenry. June, 9th, The Irish Bishops issued an address promising the support of the clergy to the people for peaceful agitation for their rights. June 15th, Miss Anna Parnell applied to the Lord-Lieutenant for a hearing in aid of the evicted tenants. June, 16th, The Corporation of Limerick conferred the freedom of the city on Michael Davitt. June, 23d, The notorious Cork rack-renter, William Bence Jones, died in London. July 1st, All the Irish National members suspended in the House of Commons, for opposition to the Repression Bill. July 6th, John H. Blake, (agent of the estate of the Marquis of Clanricarde,) and his servant, Thady Kane, shot near Loughrea, County Galway. July 9th, At Listowel Kerry, the police fired on

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the crowd, injuring several persons. July 13th, The Repression Bill passed the House of Lords, and became a law. July 19th, The Arrears of Rent Bill passed the House of Commons. Miss Fanny Parnell died suddenly at Bordentown, N. J. August 2d, An official return showed that 170 suspects were in prison in Ireland. August 9th, Henry George arrested at Loughrea. August 10th, The Irish Constabulary "strike." The Ladies' Land League dissolved at a special meeting, held in Dublin. Aug. 15th, The Irish National Exhibition was opened by Lord Mayor Dawson, and the statue of O'Connell was unveiled in Dublin, in presence of 100,000 people. Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, Sullivan, and Davitt were present. August 16th, E. Dwyer Gray, M. P., High-Sheriff of Dublin, and proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, sentenced by Judge Lawson to three months, imprisonment and to pay a fine of £500 for criticising the jury and the court which convicted Francis Hynes of murder. The freedom of the city of Dublin was presented to Messrs. Parnell and Dillon, nearly every Mayor in Ireland being present. August 18th, The Joyce family of six persons were murdered by a party of men at Maamtrasna, near Cong. Aug. 22nd, Charles J. Kickham, the patriot poet and writer, died in Dublin, aged 53 years. Sept. 11th, Francis Hynes, a respectable young resident of the County Clare, who was convicted of a murder he did not commit by a drunken jury at the Dublin "Special Commission," and sentenced to death by Judge Lawson, was hanged in Limerick Jail, protesting his innocence to the last. Sept. 20th, A woman named McCormick was shot by a process-server, near Glenties, in Donegal, while resisting the seizure of her cattle. Sept. 22nd, Patrick Walsh, convicted by the same tribunal that con-



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demned Francis Hynes, was hanged at Galway, for the murder of Martin Lyden. He protested his innocence to the last. Sept. 27th, The military and police evicted fifty families in the barony of Erris, Mayo, and the people were ordered not to shelter them. Sept. 30th, Gladstone's Coercion Law expired by limitation in Ireland, only to be succeeded by the enactment of the equally barbaric "Repression Bill." E. Dwyer Gray, M. P., High Sheriff of Dublin, released from prison by Judge Lawson, but had to pay the fine of £500. October. 1st, A fierce storm swept over Ireland, doing great damage to property, and bringing ruin to the crops throughout all the agricultural districts in the South and West. Oct. 8th, Father Eugene Sheehy, Kilmallock, the ex-suspect, was presented by his parishioners with an address and a testimonial worth £2,500. Oct. 17th, The National Conference was held in Dublin and was attended by over a thousand delegates. The Land League funds were all accounted for, and the National League was established. Oct. 27th, Three hundred people on Tory Island were declared to be without food, and that other portions of the population on the Western coast of Ireland were threatened with starvation. Nov. 10th, thirty families, comprising 160 persons, were evicted on the estate of Isidore Burke, at Curraleigh, Mayo. Nov. 14th, M. J. Kenny was elected by the Nationalists of Ennis to the seat in Parliament, vacant through the resignation of J. Lysaght Finigan. Nov. 25th, During a street row in Dublin a detective named Cox was shot, and an emeute took place between the police and a party of men. Nov. 28th, The City of Dublin, the capital of Ireland, containing over 300,000 inhabitants, was "proclaimed" and placed under the operation of the "Curfew" section of the "Repression Act," which

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authorizes the police "to arrest all suspicious persons found out of doors between an hour after sunset and an hour before sunrise." December 1st, The Right Honorable Charles Dawson, M. P., was re-elected Lord-Mayor of Dublin. Up to this date 60,000 applications were received from Irish tenants wishing to take the benefit of the "Arrears of Rent Act." December 15th, Patrick Joyce, Milus Joyce, and Patrick Casey executed at Galway for the murder of the Joyce family at Maamtrasna. Prosecutions commenced against Mr. Biggar, Mr. Harrington and the proprietors of several provincial Journals for speeches and articles "inciting to crime." Dec. 20th, General arrests in Dublin under the Curfew law. Dublin Castle barred and bolted every night after dark. Michael Flynn, the last of the men arraigned for the murder of the Huddys at Lough Mask, found guilty and sentenced to be hanged January 17th. December 23d, Poff and Barrett, two men accused of the murder of a farmer named Brown, near Cartlin's land, found guilty and sentenced to be hanged January 23d. Forty young farmers arrested at Ballymena as Suspects. Dec. 31st, The year closed with disaffection and famine widespread over Ireland.

1883. January 1st, Great distress prevailing in portions of Galway, Mayo, and Donegal. The publication of the *United Ireland* which had been seized resumed. Jan. 3d, John Sheridan an ex-suspect, murdered near Ballinamore. Delaney who was charged with an attempt to murder Judge Lawson, found guilty and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. A National League meeting at Ballinahown dispersed by the police. A man named Gleason was shot at Upper Cross, County Tipperary by Emergency men. Mr. Trevelyan, Chief-Secretary for Ireland,



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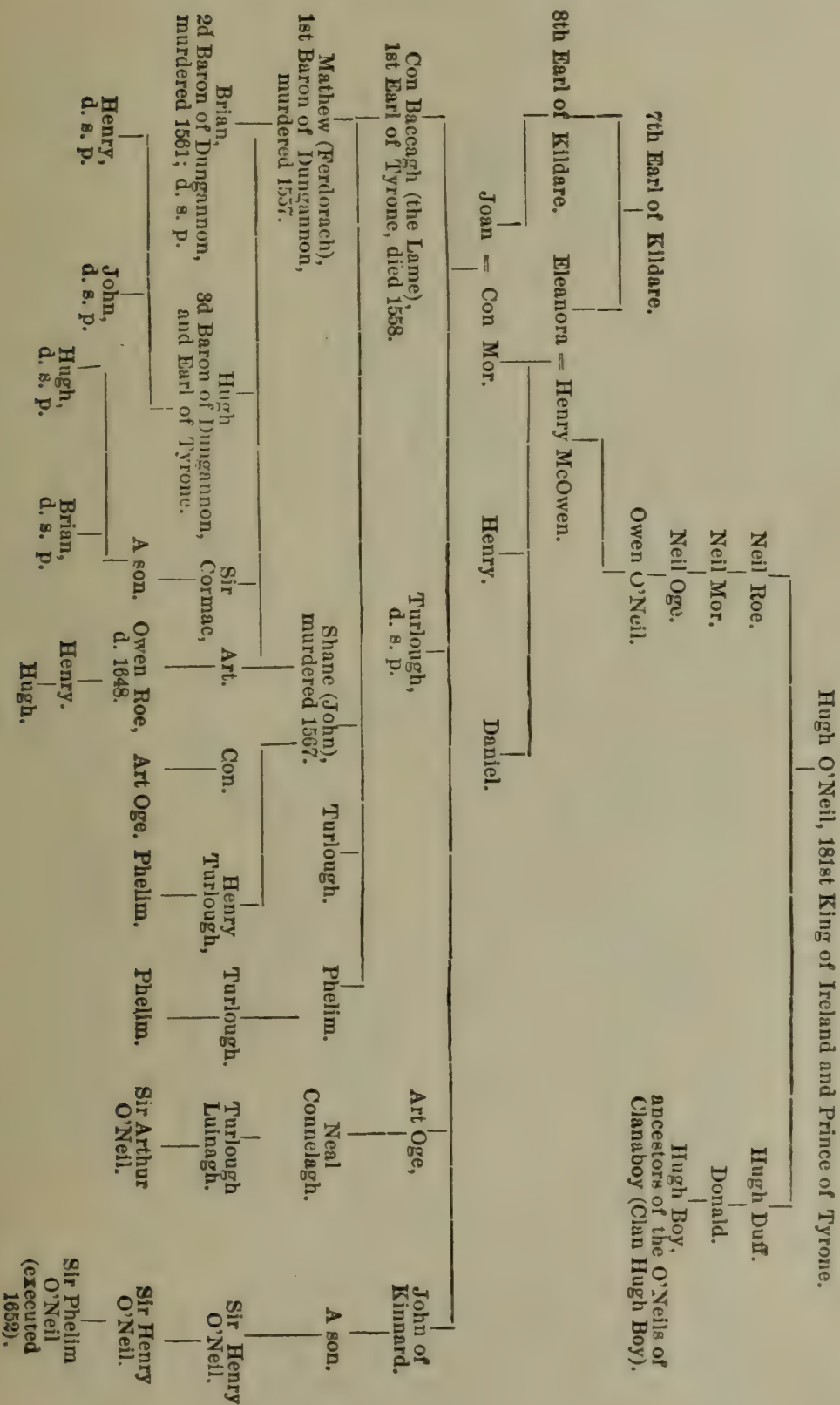
visited the famine districts in Donegal and recommends as a remedy the Poor-house and emigration. Jan. 10th, Earl Spencer wages bitter war against the National League. Jan. 11th, Mr. Davitt in speaking of the famine, said: "The people of Ireland have had enough of futile agitation and semi-insurrections; they were going to fight it out this time." Jan. 15th, Patrick Higgins executed in Galway for the murder of the Huddys. He declared his innocence. Several arrests made in Dublin, of persons accused of participation in the murder of Lord Cavendish and Secretary Burke. Jan. 17th, Thomas Higgins and Michael Flynn hanged in Galway for the murder of the Huddys. Jan. 18th, Michael Davitt appears before the Queen's Bench and justifies the speech for which he was indicted. Jan. 20th, Twenty-one persons charged with conspiracy to murder government officials, arraigned in the Police Courts for trial. Jan. 23d, Poff and Barrett hanged at Tralee for the murder of Thomas Browne at Castle Island. They declared their innocence to the last moment. Jan. 24th, Davitt, Healy, and Quinn sentenced to find securities for good behavior or go to jail for six months. Mr. O'Brien editor of the *United Ireland*, elected member for Mallow over the Government Candidate. Jan. 27th, Examination of the prisoners charged with murder and conspiracy; a man named Farrell turned informer. February, 3d, James Carey a member of the Corporation, Joseph Brady, Edward O'Brien, Edward McCaffery, Peter Carey, Peter Doyle and Timothy Kelly were arraigned, charged with the Murder of Lord Cavendish and Mr. Burke. Feb. 7th, Earl Spencer, the Lord-Lieutenant arrived in Dublin from London. He was escorted from the railway station by a troop of huzzars and was followed by cars laden with detectives. Mr.

A. D.

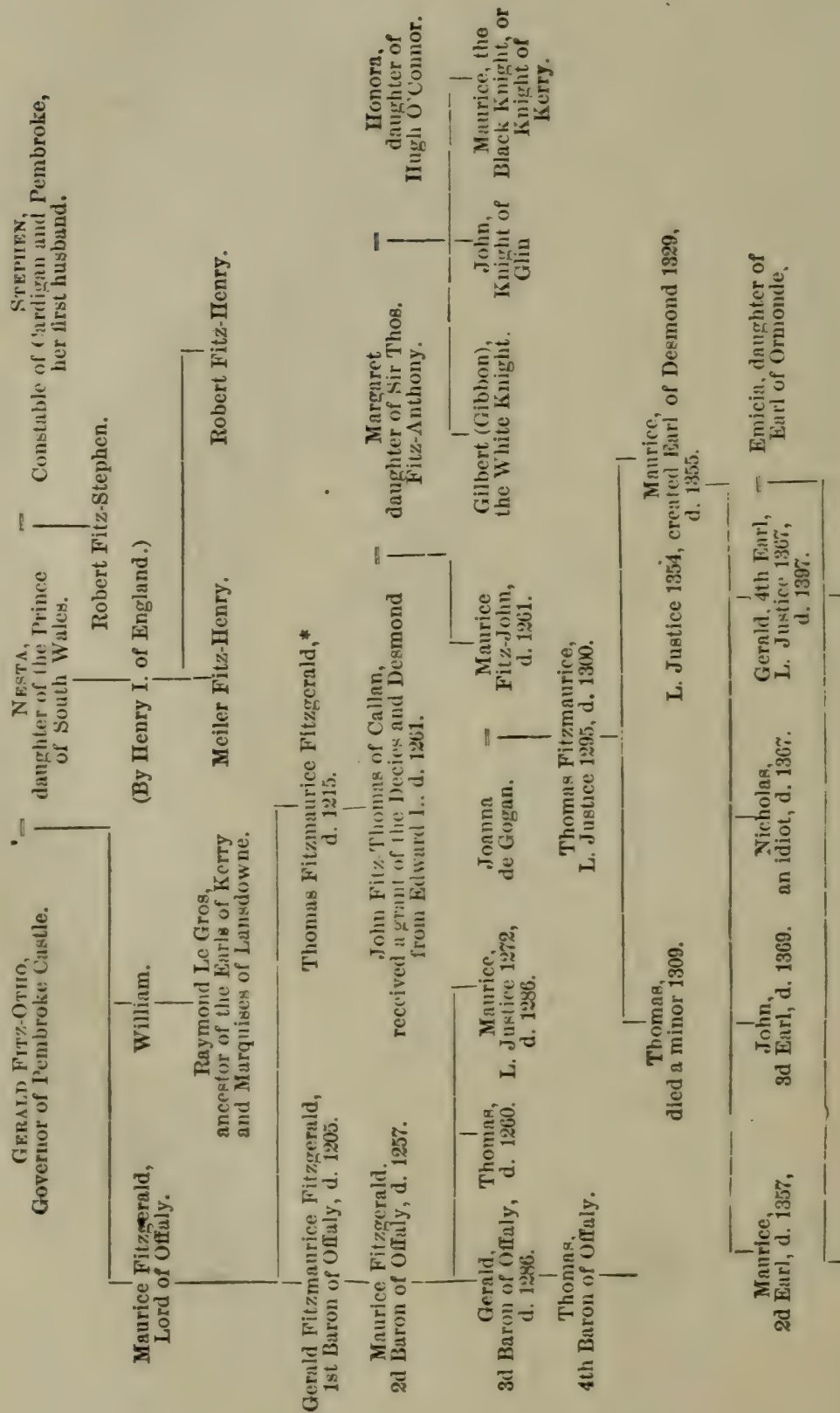
1883. Trevelyan, Chief-Secretary for Ireland, escorted by a squad of detectives. Despite this the Queen in her speech, a few days afterwards, said that peace and tranquillity were restored in Ireland. Feb. 8th, Messrs. Davitt, Healy, and Quinn, having refused to give bail, were arrested and conveyed to Kilmainham jail. Dowling, who was accused of shooting Policeman Cox, found guilty, and sentenced to penal servitude for life. Feb. 10th, James Carey, the town councillor, turned informer. Feb. 19th, Twenty-one prisoners committed for trial to answer the charge of murdering Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke. Carey identified the prisoners, and also implicated a man named Frank Byrne, who had fled to France, and P. J. Sheridan, who had gone to America. Their extradition refused. March 12th, Patrick Egan, Treasurer of the Irish Land League, arrived in New York. March 15th, James Mooney, President of the Irish Land League, has issued a call for a convention to be held in Philadelphia, April 25th and 26th, at which C. S. Parnell signified his intention of being present. March 16th, great scare caused in London by the blowing up of Government offices by dynamite last night. March 17th, St. Patrick's day was celebrated throughout the world with the usual rejoicing.



ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE O'NEIL FAMILY  
DURING THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.



## ILLUSTRATING THE PEDIGREE OF THE FITZGERALDS.





James, 6th Earl, d. 1462.  
(In 1438 Robert Fitzseoffrey de Cozar granted him his moiety of the Kingdom of Cork.)

John, d. 1399.  
5th Earl.

**Catherine McCormac.**

Thomas, 6th Earl,  
expelled by his uncle,  
died in Normandy 1420.

Thomas, 8th Earl, founded the college of Youghal, L. Deputy 1463, executed 1467.

James, 9th Earl, murdered 1487. = Margaret O'Brien, daughter of O'Brien of Thomond

Maurice, 10th Earl, conspired with Warbeck, pardoned 1467, d. 1520.

Thomas, 12th Earl, d. 1534.

John, 14th Earl, d. 1536.

Johanna = Maurice Roche, Lord Fermoy, 11th Earl, d. 1529.

James, 15th Earl, married her cousin, the 9th Earl of Ormonde = Johanna.

Thomas (the Red), d. 1575. (Held to be illegitimate by reason of the consanguinity of his parents, the 15th Earl's first wife having been a daughter of Lord Fermoy, and divorced.)

Gerald, 16th and last Earl, son of the Earl's second wife, Dame Katherine Butler, rebelled, murdered 1584.

Sir John, killed 1581.

Sir James, executed 1580.

James, 15th Earl, rebelled and submitted in 1536 to L. Deputy Gray, d. 1538

Thomas, Two daughters

Maurice, James, 15th Earl, rebelled and submitted in 1536 to L. Deputy Gray, d. 1538

Sir James Fitzmaurice, killed 1579.

James, 13th Earl, d. 1535.

James, 9th Earl of Ormonde = Johanna.

The White Knight

Ellen = James, the Sagan Earl, died in the Tower 1608.

• The authority for this portion of the pedigree is Mr. William Lynch's interesting and exhaustive chapter on the Desmond family.

John, 5th Baron of Offaly, created Earl of Kildare, 1316.—Blanche, daughter of Lord Fernoy.

Joan, — Thomas, 2d Earl,  
daughter of L. Justice 1320,  
Richard, Earl 1326.  
of Ulster.

Richard, 3d Earl. Maurice, 4th Earl, = Elizabeth Burghersh.  
L. Justice 1360,  
1371, 1375

Gerald, 5th Earl, = Margaret Rochford,  
L. Justice 1405,

Margaret De la Herne = John, 6th Earl.

Thomas, 7th Earl, = Joan, daughter of  
L. Deputy 1454-1459. 7th Earl of Desmond.

Alison,  
daughter  
of Sir R.  
Eustace,  
first wife.

— Gerald,  
8th Earl  
(the Great  
Earl). — Elizabeth,  
daughter of  
Sir Oliver  
St. John,  
second wife.

Thomas,  
L. Chancellor 1484,  
killed at Stoke  
1487.

James,  
seized Carlow  
Castle 1494

Eleanor — Henry O'Neil.

Elizabeth,  
daughter  
of Lord  
Zouch.

— Gerald,  
9th  
Earl. — Elizabeth,  
daughter  
of Marquis  
of Dorset.

— Gerald, Elinor = McCarthy Joan = Con  
Reagh. O'Neil.

Sir  
James,  
executed  
1537.

Oliver, = Daughter Richard, John, Walter,  
executed 1537. executed 1537. executed 1537.  
of O'Con- executed 1537. executed 1537.  
nor of 1537. Offaly.

Lord Thomas,  
executed 1537.

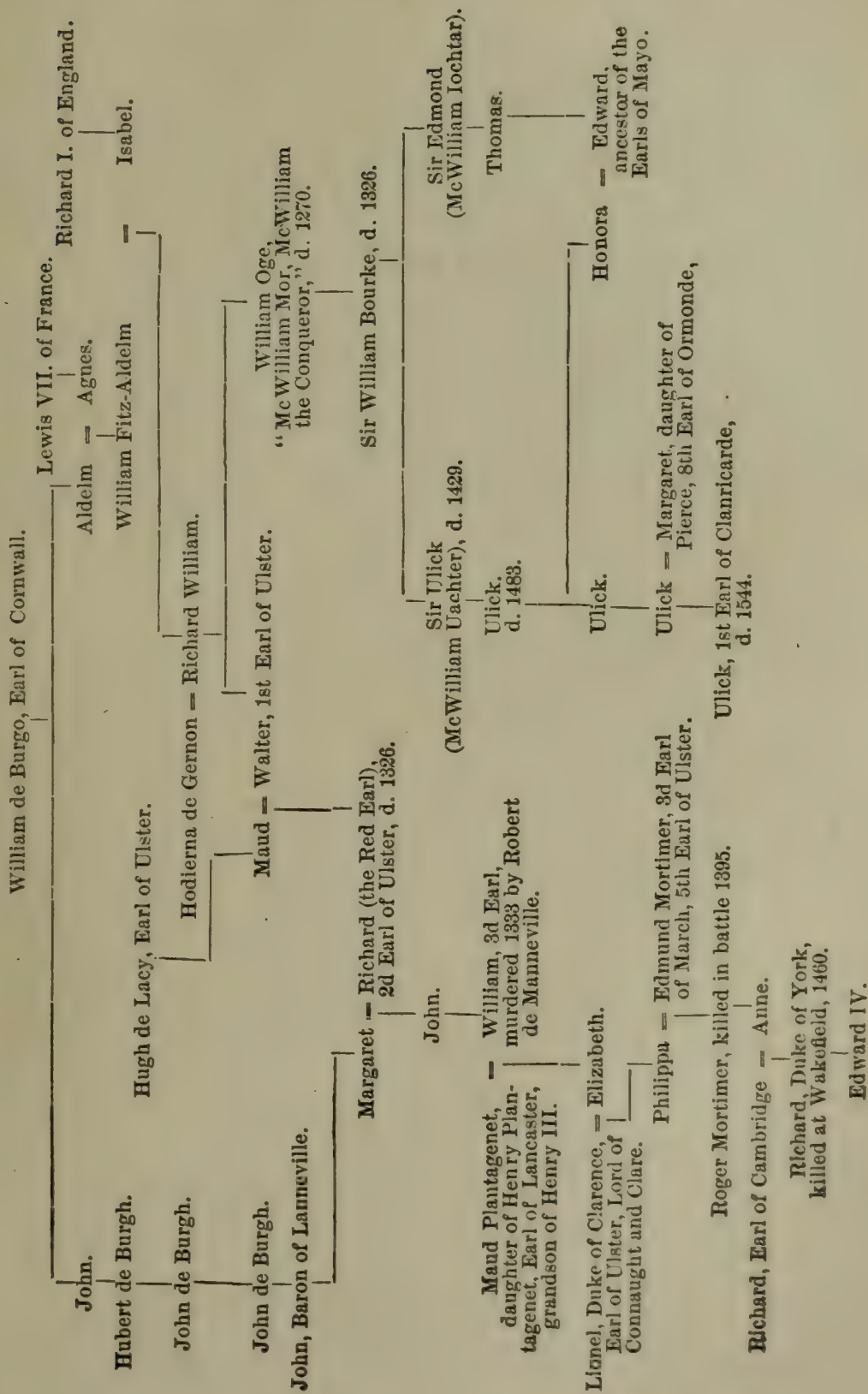
Mary — Bryan O'Connor  
of Offaly.

A daughter — O'Carrol of Ely.

Gerald, 11th Earl,  
restored 1554, ancestor  
of the present Duke of Leinster.



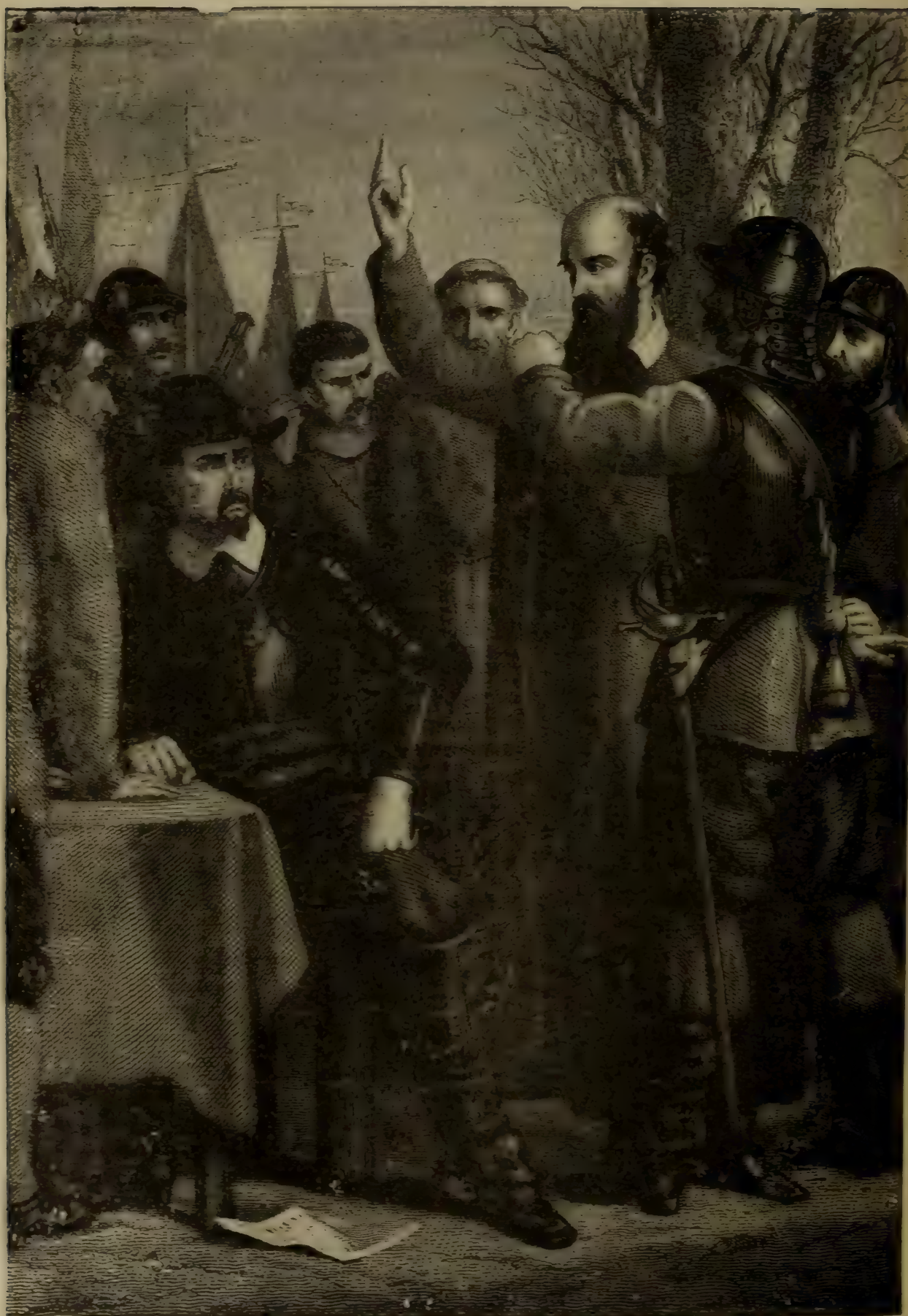
## ILLUSTRATING THE PEDIGREE OF THE DEBURGHs.



The great old Irish houses, the proud old Irish names,  
Like stars upon the midnight to-day their lustre gleams;  
Gone are the great old houses, the proud old names are low  
That shed a glory o'er the land a thousand years ago;  
But wheresoe'er a scion of these great old houses be,  
In the country of his fathers, or the land beyond the sea,  
In city, or in hamlet, by the valley, on the hill,  
The spirits of his brave old sires are watching o'er him still!







IRETON CONDEMNING THE BISHOP OF LIMERICK.



# PARNELL'S HISTORY

OF THE

## PENAL LAWS

IN THE

### REIGN OF ANNE.

1701-1714.

ON the 4th of March, 1704, the royal assent was given to the act to prevent the further growth of Popery, being the first of those two famous acts which have, most deservedly, been termed by Mr. Burke "the ferocious acts of Anne."

By the third clause of this act, the Popish father, though he may have acquired his estate by descent from a long line of ancestors, or by his own purchase, is deprived of the power,—in case his eldest son, or any son, become a Protestant,—to sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of it, or to leave out of it any portion of legacies.

By the fourth clause, the Popish father is debarred, under a penalty of £500, from being a guardian, or from having the custody of his own children; but if the child, though ever so young, pretend to be a Protestant, it is to be taken from its own father, and put into the hands of a Protestant relation.

The fifth clause provides that no Protestant shall marry a Papist having an estate in Ireland, either in or out of the kingdom.

The sixth clause renders Papists incapable of purchasing any manors, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents

or profits arising from out of the same, or of holding any lease of lives, or other lease whatever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years. Even with respect to this advantage, restrictions are imposed on them: one of which is, that, if a farm produced a profit greater than one-third of the amount of the rent, the right of holding it was immediately to cease, and to pass over entirely to the first Protestant who should discover the rate of profit.

The seventh clause deprives Papists of such inheritance, devise, gift, remainder, or trust, of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of which any Protestant was or should be seized in fee simple, absolute, or fee-tail, which, by the death of such Protestant or his wife, ought to have descended to his son or other issue in tail, being Papists, and makes them descend to the nearest Protestant relation, as if the Popish heir and other Popish relations were dead.

By the tenth clause, the estate of a Papist, for want of a Protestant heir, is to be divided, share and share alike, among all his sons; for want of sons, among his daughters; and for want of daughters, among the collateral kindred of the father.

By the fifteenth clause, no person shall be exempt from the penalties of this act that shall not take and subscribe the oath and declaration required by this act to be taken.

By the sixteenth clause, any persons whatsoever who shall receive any office, civil or military, shall take and subscribe the oath and declaration required to be taken by the English act of 3d William and Mary, and also the oath and declaration required to be taken by another English act of 1st Anne; also, shall receive the sacrament.\*

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\* Upon this clause of the bill, the Protestant Bishop Burnett makes the following observations: "A clause was added (in England) which they (the Roman Catholics) hoped would hinder its being accepted in Ireland. The matter was carried on so secretly that it was known to none but those who were at the council, till the news of it came from Ireland, upon its being sent



The twenty-third clause provides that no Papist, except under certain conditions, shall dwell in Limerick or Galway.

The twenty-fourth clause, that no persons shall vote at elections without taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

And the twenty-fifth clause, that all advowsons possessed by Papists shall be vested in her majesty.

The Catholics, who had submitted in silence to all the unjust transgressions of the last reign, felt it necessary, when this act was first brought before parliament, to use their utmost exertions to prevent it from passing into a law. They, however, appealed in vain to the English cabinet to respect the solemn engagements of the Treaty of Limerick, and were obliged to have recourse to a petition to the Irish parliament.

Sir Theobald Butler was heard as counsel for the petitioners, at the bar of the House of Commons, on the 22d February, 1703. He stated "that the bill would render null and void the articles of Limerick; that those articles had been granted for the valuable consideration of the surrender of the garrison at a time when the Catholics had the sword in their hand, and were in a condition to hold out much longer, and when they had it in their power to demand and make such terms as might be for their own future liberty, safety, and security that the allowing of the terms contained in these article. was highly advantageous to the government to which they submitted, as well for uniting the people who were then divided, quieting and settling the distractions and disorders of this miserable kingdom, as for the other

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thither. It was hoped, by those who got this clause added to the bill, that those in Ireland who promoted it would be less fond of it when it had such a weight hung to it."—Hist. v, ii, p. 24.

This clause has since been called the Sacramental Test, the first imposed on Dissenters in Ireland. It was repealed without any opposition in the Sessions of 1782.

advantages which the government would thereby reap in its own affairs, both at home and abroad, when its enemies were so powerful, both by sea and land, as to render the peace and settlement of these countries a circumstance of great uncertainty; that these articles were ratified by their late majesties for themselves, their heirs, and successors, and the public faith thereby plighted to all those comprised in these articles, in the most binding manner it was possible for faith to be plighted, and than which nothing could be more sacred and solemn; that, therefore, to violate and break those articles would, on the contrary, be the greatest injustice possible for any one people of the whole world to inflict upon another, and contrary to both the laws of God and man.'

He then proceeded to show that the clauses of the bill which take away from Catholics the right to purchase, bequeath, sell, and inherit estates, were infringements of the second article of the treaty; that the ninth clause of the bill, imposing upon Catholics new oaths, was another manifest breach of the articles; for that, by the ninth article, no oath is to be administered to, nor imposed upon, such Catholics as should submit to government, but the oath of allegiance, appointed by an act made in England in the first year of the reign of their late majesties, that the clauses for prohibiting Catholics from residing in Limerick or Galway, from voting at elections without taking certain new oaths, and from possessing advowsons, were likewise infringements on the treaty: "For, if," concludes Sir Theobald Butler, "there were no law in force in the reign of Charles II against these things, as there certainly was not, and if the Roman Catholics of this kingdom have not since forfeited their right to the laws that then were in force, as for certain they have not, then, with humble submission, all the aforesaid clauses and matters contained in this bill, entitled 'An act to prevent the further growth of Popery,' are directly



against the plain words and true interest and meaning of the said articles, and a violation of the public faith." \*

In consequence of the passing of this act, and of those other acts of a similar tendency which were passed in the last reign, the Catholics were deprived of all those privileges and immunities which, they trusted, had been secured in consequence of a king of England having bound himself, his heirs, and successors, to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Limerick. In place of being the free subjects of a prince, from whom they were taught to expect nothing but justice and mercy, they were made the slaves of every one, even of the very meanest of their Protestant countrymen. They saw the English government, on whom they had claims for protection, directing, against their own parliament, its fanatic counsels, and confirming its crimes. By the Treaty of Limerick, they were left at liberty to educate and to act as guardians of their own children; by the penal laws, they can neither send them to be educated abroad, nor have them educated at home, nor can they be guardians of their own, nor of the children of any other persons.

By the Treaty of Limerick, the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to them; by the penal laws, their chapels are shut up, their priests are banished, and hanged if they return home.

By the Treaty of Limerick, their noblemen and gentlemen were especially allowed the privilege of wearing arms, and the whole body were equally entitled to the same privilege, because, when it was executed, no law existed to the contrary; by the penal laws, no Catholic is permitted to have the use of arms, even of those who were specially comprised in the treaty, except a very few.

By the Treaty of Limerick, Catholics might inter-

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\* Curry's "Civil Wars of Ireland," vol. ii, p. 387, App. xvi, wherein the speech of Sir T. Butler is given at length.

marry with Protestants; by the penal laws, this privilege is removed.

By the Treaty of Limerick, the profession of the law was open to them; by these laws, it is taken from them.

By the Treaty of Limerick, the Catholics could purchase, sell, bequeath, and inherit landed property; by the penal laws, they can neither purchase, sell, bequeath, nor inherit landed property, take annuities for lives secured on lands, or any lease of land for more than thirty-one years; nor can they lend money on mortgage,\* or invest it in public securities.

By the Treaty of Limerick, the Catholics were left in full enjoyment of every political franchise, except that of holding offices under government, and of becoming members of corporation; by the penal laws, they cannot vote at vestries, serve on grand juries, act as constables, or as sheriffs, or under-sheriffs, be magistrates, vote at elections, or sit in parliament.†

By the Treaty of Limerick, they were protected from being called upon to take any other oaths besides the oath of allegiance of the 1st William and Mary; by the penal laws, they are required to take the oaths of abjuration and supremacy, and to subscribe declarations against the principal tenets of their religious faith.

By the Treaty of Limerick, they were acknowledged as the free subjects of a British king; by the penal laws,

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\* By a construction of Lord Hardwicke.

† "The exclusion from the law, from grand juries, from sheriffships and under-sheriffships, as well as from freedom in any corporation, may subject them to dreadful hardships, as it may exclude them wholly from all that is beneficial, and expose them to all that is mischievous, in a trial by jury. This was manifested within my own observation, for I was three times in Ireland, from the year 1760 to the year 1767, where I had sufficient means of information concerning the inhuman proceedings (among which were many cruel murders, besides an infinity of outrages and oppressions, unknown before in a civilized age) which prevailed during that period, in consequence of a pretended conspiracy among Roman Catholics against the king's government."—Burke's Letter to a Peer of Ireland.





PATRICK SARSFIELD.





they are placed in the double capacity of slaves and enemies of their Protestant countrymen.

Had they become mere slaves, they might have expected some degree of humane treatment; but, as the policy which made them slaves held them out at the same time as the natural and interested enemies of their masters, they were doomed to experience all the oppression of tyranny, without any of the chances, that other slaves enjoy, of their tyrants being merciful from feeling their tyranny secure.

This statement will be sufficient to convince those who really form their political opinions upon principles of justice, that the penal laws never should have been enacted, and that it is the duty of every upright statesman to promote the instant repeal of the whole of them, because it proves a solemn compact entered into between the Catholics and the English government, and the breach of that contract by the English government, notwithstanding the Catholics fulfilled their part of the agreement. How can men gravely and zealously contribute to make perpetual the political disabilities of the Catholics, which were the base and perfidious means adopted by a wicked legislature to influence men's consciences by corrupt motives, and tempt and bribe them to apostasy?

As there are, however, no small number of politicians who, though they would think it praiseworthy to keep a Catholic in a state of slavery, yet would be scandalized at the bare idea of breaking faith with him in any affairs of barter, particularly if they had already received from him their consideration, and that a valuable one, it will be necessary to make some further observations upon the violation of the Treaty of Limerick, in order that no one may have a pretext on which he can escape the fair conclusion that ought to be drawn from what has been advanced, that the English government and nation are, at

this day, bound to make good to the Catholics of Ireland the stipulations contained in that treaty. For, if ever there was an instance in which the consideration that formed the basis of a treaty should have secured a liberal and a just fulfilment, it was the instance of this Treaty of Limerick.

In the course of the three campaigns during which the war lasted in Ireland, the English army had been defeated on several occasions: in the North, under Schomberg; before Athlone, under Douglass; and before Limerick, under William himself.

The victory of the Boyne was the result of the personal failings of James, not of any deficiency in the number of his army, nor of any want of courage on their part. "Exchange kings," said the Irish officers, "and we will once more fight the battle." St. Ruth had won the battle of Aughrim, and had exclaimed, in an ecstasy of joy, "Now will I drive the English to the walls of Dublin," at the moment the fatal ball struck him.\* And at the time the garrison of Limerick capitulated, the Irish army was in a condition to hold out at least another campaign, with a good prospect of being able to restore the fallen fortunes of James. The besieging army had made no impression on the principal part of the city; it was inferior in numbers to that of the garrison; winter was fast approaching, and it so happened that French succors were at this very moment on the coast: yet all these advantages did the Irish army forego, in consideration of the terms which were granted them by the Treaty of Limerick.

On the other hand, in granting these terms, the English government and nation obtained advantages of the utmost importance to themselves; for, as long as James had a powerful army in Ireland,† and nearly one half of the

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\* Leland, b. vi, cap. 7.

† 6,000 soldiers actually embarked for France after the surrender of Limerick. See Dr. Duigenan's "Demands of Romanists," p. 60.



kingdom under his dominion, the great work of the Revolution was neither accomplished nor secured. The fair way, therefore, of judging of the value of the Treaty of Limerick to England is to consider how far it contributed to promote this object. If the Treaty of Limerick in any degree led to the establishment of the Revolution, the vast importance of this event should incline the people of England to act with justice, at least, toward the Catholics; but if their submission contributed essentially to crown the brilliant efforts of the friends of liberty with success, then, indeed, the people of England should feel zealous to act toward the Catholics, not on a cold calculation of what was merely just on their part, but with that kindness with which we always regard those who have promoted our prosperity, whether intentionally or not. That the submission of the Irish Catholics did so contribute to complete the Revolution is plain, from the means which they possessed of continuing the war, from the opportunity it afforded William to bring his whole forces to bear against Louis, and from the termination it fixed to the hopes and the conspiracies of the adherents of James of England. Yet, notwithstanding the great concessions which the Catholics on their part made, by their submission, in order to obtain the terms of the Treaty of Limerick, and the great advantages which the English nation, on the other hand, acquired by it, twelve years only elapsed before the Catholics were deprived of every right and privilege which was solemnly guaranteed to them by that treaty.

The only species of justification that could, under any circumstances, have been brought forward for acting in this manner toward the Catholics, would have been the proof of the forfeiture, by misconduct, of their right to the fulfilment of the treaty. That anything which they did prior to the treaty could have, in justice, any influence on measures passed subsequent to its taking

place, is quite impossible, because the treaty admitted their acts to be those of open and honorable enemies, and specifically pardoned them.\*

As to their conduct afterward, even their most inveterate and most unprincipled enemies did not charge them with a single transgression against the state from the year 1691 to the year 1704, when the "act to prevent the further growth of Popery" was passed. And it is very plain that no such charge could be maintained, from the paltry attempt that was made in parliament to justify this act. It was said "that the Papists had demonstrated how and where, since the making of the articles of Limerick, they had addressed the queen or government, when all other subjects were so doing; and that any right which they pretended was to be taken from them by the bill, was in their own power to remedy, by conforming, as in prudence they ought to do, and that they ought not to blame any but themselves."†

No circumstance can possibly illustrate more clearly the innocence of the Catholics and their loyalty and good conduct, from the Treaty of Limerick to the passing of this act, than this mockery of justification; nor could anything bring to our understanding an accurate comprehension of the perfidy and baseness of that government

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\* "The peculiar situation of that country," (Ireland), says Macpherson, 'seems to have been overlooked in the contest. The desertion, upon which the deprivation of James had been founded in England, had not existed in Ireland. The lord-lieutenant had retained his allegiance; the government was uniformly continued under the name of the prince from whom the servants of the crown had derived their commissions; James himself had, for more than seventeen months, exercised the royal function in Ireland. He was certainly *de facto*, if not *de jure*, king. The rebellion of the Irish must, therefore, be founded on the supposition that their allegiance is transferable by the parliament of England. A speculative opinion can scarcely justify the punishment of a great majority of a people. The Irish ought to have been considered as enemies, rather than rebels."—"Hist. Great Britain."

† Curry, "Debates on the Popery Laws," vol. ii. p. 397.



and of that parliament more distinctly than so silly an excuse for such stern and crafty oppression.

Though the Treaty of Limerick was now violated in every point, the spirit of persecution was still restless and unsatisfied. However great was the ingenuity of the legislators who produced the masterpiece of oppression, the "act to prevent the further growth of Popery," it was found that another act was still wanting to explain and amend it. Such an act was passed in the year 1709.\*

The first clause provides that no Papist shall be allowed to take any annuity for life.

The following is the third clause, every word of which is of value, in order to show the vexations to which the unfortunate Catholics of Ireland have been exposed:—

"And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that where and as often as any child or children of any Popish parent or parents hath or have heretofore possessed or conformed him, her, or themselves to the Protestant religion as by law established, and enrolled in the High Court of Chancery a certificate of the bishop of the diocese in which he, she, or they shall inhabit or reside, testifying his, her, or their being a Protestant, and conforming him, her, or themselves to the Church of Ireland as by law established, it shall and may be lawful for the High Court of Chancery, upon a bill founded upon this act, to oblige the said Papists, parent or parents, to discover upon oath the full value of all his, her, or their estate, as well personal as real, clear, over and above all real incumbrances and debts, contracted *bona fide*, for value or consideration, before the enrolment of such certificate, and thereupon to make such order for the support and maintenance of such Protestant child or children, by the distribution of the said real and personal estate to and among such Protestant child or children, for the present support of such Protestant child or children; and also to

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\* 8 Anne, c. 3.

and for the portion or portions, and future maintenance or maintenances, of such Protestant child or children after the decease of such Popish parent or parents, as the said court shall judge fit."

The twelfth clause provides that all converts in public employments, members of parliament, barristers, attorneys, or officers of any court of law, shall educate their children Protestants.

By the fourteenth clause, the Popish wife of a Papist, having power to make a jointure, conforming, shall, if she survive her husband, have such provision, not exceeding the power of her husband, to make a jointure, as the chancellor shall adjudge.

By the fifteenth clause, the Popish wife of a Papist, not being otherwise provided for, conforming, shall have a proportion out of his chattels, notwithstanding any will or voluntary disposition, and the statute 7 William III, 6.

The sixteenth clause provides that a Papist teaching school publicly, or in a private house, or as usher to a Protestant, shall be deemed and prosecuted as a Popish regular convict.

The eighteenth clause provides that Popish priests who shall be converted shall receive £30 per annum, to be levied and paid by grand juries.

The twentieth clause provides, whimsically enough, for the reward of discovering Popish clergy and schoolmasters, viz. :—

For discovering an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, £50.

For discovering each regular clergyman not registered, £20.

For discovering each Popish schoolmaster or usher, £10.\*

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\* "The average annual amount of premiums for transporting priests, for sixteen years preceding 1745, was £127 17s. 4d. The premium ceased after 1745." Newenham's "View of Ireland," p. 195.



The twenty-first clause empowers two justices to summon any Papist of eighteen years of age, and, if he shall refuse to give testimony where and when he heard Mass celebrated, and who and what persons were present at the celebration of it, and likewise touching the residence and abode of any priest or Popish schoolmaster, to commit him to jail, without bail, for twelve months, or until he shall pay £20.

By the twenty-fifth clause, no priest can officiate except in the parish for which he is registered by 2 Anne, c. 7.

The thirtieth clause provides for the discovery of all trusts to be undertaken in favor of Papists, and enables any Protestant to file a bill in chancery against any person concerned in any sale, lease, mortgage, or encumbrance, in trust for Papists, and to compel him to discover the same; and it further provides that all issues to be tried in any action founded upon this act shall be tried by none but known Protestants.

The thirty-seventh clause provides that no Papist in trade, except in the linen trade, shall take more than two apprentices.

The following are the other acts passed in this reign concerning Catholics:—

“An act to prevent Popish clergy from coming into the kingdom.”\*

“An act for registering Popish clergy,” by which all the Catholic clergy then in the kingdom were required to give in their names and places of abode at the next quarter-sessions. By this act they are prohibited from employing curates.†

“An act to amend this act.”‡

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\* 2 Anne, c. 3.

† 2 Anne, c. 7.

‡ 4 Anne, c. 2. See also 6 Anne, c. 16, sec. 6; and 8 Anne, c. 3, sec. 26, concerning priests marrying Protestants.

“An act to explain and amend an act to prevent Papists being solicitors or sheriffs,” etc.\*

Clauses are introduced into this act, by which Catholics are prevented from serving on grand juries, and by which, in trials upon any statute for strengthening the Protestant interest, the plaintiff might challenge a Papist: which challenge the judge was to allow.

During all Queen Anne's reign the inferior civil officers, by order of government, were incessantly harassing the Catholics with oaths, imprisonments and forfeitures, without any visible cause but hatred of their religious profession. In the year 1708, on the bare rumor of an intended invasion of Scotland by the Pretender, forty-one Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen were imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin; and when they were afterward set at liberty, the government was so sensible of the wrong done to them, that it remitted their fees, amounting to £800. A custom that had existed from time immemorial, for infirm men, women and children to make a pilgrimage every summer to a place called St. John's Well, in the county of Meath, in hopes of obtaining relief from their several infirmities, by performing at it certain acts of penance and devotion, was deemed an object worthy of the serious consideration of the House of Commons, who accordingly passed a vote that these sickly devotees “were assembled in that place to the great hazard and danger of the public peace and safety of the kingdom.” They also passed a vote on the 17th March, 1705, “that all magistrates, and other persons whosoever, who neglected or omitted to put them [the penal laws] in due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom;”† and in June, 1705, they resolved “that the saying and hearing of Mass by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration, tended to advance the interest of the Pretender; and

\* 6 Anne, c. 1.

† “Com. Jour.,” 3, 289.



that such judges and magistrates as wilfully neglected to make diligent inquiry into and discover such wicked practices, ought to be looked upon as enemies to her majesty's government;"\* and upon another occasion they resolved "that the prosecuting and informing against Papists were an honorable service to the government"†

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\* "Com Jour" 3, 319.

† *Ib.*

# PENAL LAWS

## IN THE

### REIGN OF GEORGE I.

1714-1727.

THE following acts of parliament were passed in this reign, for the purpose of strengthening the system which had been adopted by William and Anne for preventing the growth of Popery.

“An act to make the militia of this kingdom more useful.”\*

By the eleventh and twelfth clauses of this act, the horses of the Papists may be seized for the militia.

By the fourth and eighteenth clauses, Papists are to pay double toward raising the militia.

By the sixteenth clause, Popish housekeepers in a city are to find Protestant substitutes.

“An act to restrain Papists from being high or petty constables, and for better regulating the parish watches.”†

“An act for the more effectual prevention of fraudulent conveyances, in order to multiply votes for electing members to serve in parliament,” etc.‡

By the seventh clause of this act, no Papist can vote at an election unless he takes the oath of allegiance and abjuration.

“An act for better regulating the town of Galway, and for strengthening the Protestant interest therein.”§

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\* 2 George I, c. 9.

† *Ib.*, c. 19. This act expired in three years, and was not renewed.

‡ *Ib.*

§ 4 George I, c. 15.



“An act for better regulating the corporation of the city of Kilkenny, and strengthening the Protestant interest therein.” \*

“An act by which Papists, resident in towns, who shall not provide a Protestant watchman to watch in their room, shall be subject to certain penalties.” †

By 12 George I, c. 9, sec. 7, no Papist can vote at any vestry, held for the purpose of levying or assessing money for rebuilding or repairing parish churches.

These acts of parliament originated in the same spirit of persecution which disgraced the reigns of William and Anne, and were, like the penal laws against the Catholics of those reigns, palpable violations of the Treaty of Limerick.

Though a glimmering of toleration had found its way into the councils of England, and given rise to “an act for exempting Protestant dissenters of this country [Ireland] from certain penalties to which they were subject,” the Catholics were excluded, by a particular clause, from any benefit of it. And though it was in this reign that the first act ‡ passed “for discharging all persons in offices and employments from all penalties which they had incurred by not qualifying themselves pursuant to ‘an act to prevent the further growth of Popery,’” the favor conferred by it was a favor conferred on Protestant dissenters only, as no Catholic had been placed in any public office since the passing of that penal law.

The loyalty of the Catholics was in this reign put to a complete trial by the Scotch rebellion of 1715. If, after having fought three campaigns in support of James’s pretensions to the throne of Ireland; after having experienced the infractions of every part of the Treaty of Limerick, and been exposed to a code of statutes by which they were totally excluded from the privileges of

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\* 4 George I, c. 16.

† 6 George I, c. 10

‡ Ib., c. 9.

the constitution; and if, after they had become subject "to the worst of all oppressions, the persecution of private society and private manners,"\* they had embarked in the cause of the invader, their conduct would have been that of a high-spirited nation, goaded into a state of desperation by their relentless tormentors; and, if their resistance had been successful, their leaders would have ranked among the Tells and Washingtons of modern history.

But so far from yielding to the natural dictates of revenge, or attempting to take advantage of what was passing in Scotland to regain their rights, they did not follow the example of their rulers, in violating, upon the first favorable opportunity, a sacred and solemn compact; and thus they gave the strongest testimony that they had wholly given up their former hopes of establishing a Catholic prince upon the throne. Their loyalty was not, however, a protection to them against the oppressions of their Protestant countrymen. The penalties for the exercise of their religion were generally and rigidly inflicted. Their chapels were shut up, their priests dragged from their hiding-places, hurried into prisons, and from thence sent into banishment. †

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\* Burke's Letter to a Peer of Ireland.

† "In 1732 a proclamation was issued against the Roman Catholic clergy, and the degree of violence with which it was enforced made many of the old natives look seriously, as a last resource, to emigration. Bishop O'Rorke retired from Bailinagare, and the gentlemen of that neighborhood had no clergyman for a considerable time to give them Mass, but a poor old man, one Pendergast, who, before day-dawn on Sunday, crept into a cave in the parish of Baslick, and waited there for his congregation, in cold and wet weather, hunger and thirst, to preach to them patience under their afflictions, and perseverance in their principles, to offer up prayers for their persecutors, and to arm them with resignation to the will of heaven in their misfortunes. The cave is called Poll-an-Aifrin, or Mass-cave, to this day, and is a melancholy monument of the piety of our ancestors."—"Mem. of the Life and Writings of the late Charles O'Connor," vol. i, p. 179.



# PENAL LAWS

## IN THE

# REIGN OF GEORGE II.

1727-1760.

IN this reign the following disabilities were imposed upon the Catholics :—

By the 1 George II, c. 9, sec. 7, no Papist can vote at an election without taking the oath of supremacy. However great the oppression which the Catholics had experienced during former reigns, this measure completed their entire exclusion from the benefits of the constitution, and from the opportunity of regaining their former just rights.

It was because this privilege had begun to operate amongst Protestants in a manner very favorable to the Catholics, and to bring about a feeling of regret for their sufferings, and a coalition between the two parties to oppose the influence of the English government, as a common cause of grievances, that Primate Boulter advised the ministers to pass this law.

His principle of government for Ireland was to uphold the English interest by the divisions of the inhabitants; and on this occasion it induced him to adopt the desperate resolution of disfranchising, at one stroke above five-sixths of its population.\*

By the first clause of 1 George II, c. 30, clerks, bar-

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\* Primate Boulter, in his letter of this year to the Archbishop of Canterbury (vol. i, p. 210), says: "There are probably in this kingdom five Papists, at least, to one Protestant." See note B, Appendix, upon the present amount of the population, and the proportion of Catholics to Protestants.

risters and citizens occupying other stations in life, are required to take the oath of supremacy.

By the second clause, all converts are bound to educate their children as Protestants.

By 7 George II, c. 5, sec. 12, barristers or solicitors, marrying Papists, are deemed Papists, and made subject to all penalties as such.

By 7 George II, c. 6, no convert can act as a justice of the peace whose wife, or children under sixteen years of age, are educated Papists.

The 13 George II, c. 6, is an act to amend former acts for disarming Papists.

By the sixth clause of this act, Protestants educating their children as Papists are made subject to the same disabilities as Papists are.

By 9 George II, c. 3, no person can serve on a petty jury, unless seized of a freehold of £5 per annum, or, being a Protestant, unless possessed of a profit rent of £15 per annum, under a lease for years.

By 9 George II, c. 6, sec. 5, persons robbed by privateers, during war with a Popish prince, shall be reimbursed by grand jury presentment, and the money levied upon the goods and lands of Popish inhabitants only.

The 19 George II, c. 5, is an act for granting a duty on hawkers and peddlers to the Society of Protestant Charter Schools.\*

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\* The following is the preamble of the charter for erecting these schools: "George II by the grace of God, etc. Forasmuch as we have received information, by the petition of the lord primate, lord chancellor, archbishops, noblemen, bishops, judges, gentry and clergy, of our kingdom of Ireland, that in many parts of the said kingdom there are great tracts of land almost entirely inhabited by Papists, who are kept by their clergy in great ignorance of the true religion, and bred up in great dissatisfaction to the government; that the erecting of English Protestant schools in those places is absolutely necessary for their conversion; that the English parish schools already established are not sufficient for that purpose, nor can the residence of the parochial clergy only fully answer that end." Catholics are excluded by this charter from being subscribers to, or members of, this society.—See Report of



The 19 George II, c. 13, is an act to annul all marriages between Protestants and Papists, or celebrated by Popish priests.\*

By the 23 George II, c. 10, sec. 3, every Popish priest who shall celebrate any marriage contrary to 12 George I, c. 3, and be therefor convicted, shall be hanged.

Of these last acts, and of Lord Chesterfield's administration, Mr. Burke gives the following account: "This man, while he was duping the credulity of the Papists with fine words in private, and commending their good behavior during a rebellion in Great Britain, as it well deserved to be commended and rewarded, was capable of urging penal laws against them in a speech from the throne,† and

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Committee of Irish House of Commons, 14 Appendix, 1788 ; Ir. Com. Jour., 12 Appendix, p. 810.

The children admitted into the schools are orphans, or the children of Catholics, and other poor natives of Ireland, who, from their situation in life, are not likely to educate them as Protestants. They are apprenticed into Protestant families at the age of fourteen years, at a fee of seven guineas with each female, and five guineas with each male. The society gives a portion of five pounds to every person educated in these schools, upon his or her marrying a Protestant.

In September, 1806, the number of children in the schools was 2,130.

The funds of the society consist of lands, funded property, and an annual grant of parliament; they amount to about £34,000 per annum. From the year 1754, 31 George II, c. 1, to the 1st January, 1808, there has been granted by parliament to this society £491,326, besides certain duties on hawkers and pedlers, from 1754 to 1786.

By the 23 George II, c. 2, the society may appoint persons to take up beggar children, and send them to the charter schools, and, when old enough, bind them apprentices.

By the same act, sec. 8, a child received with the parents' consent is deemed a child of the public, and may be disposed of, though claimed by the parents.

\* The first acts on this head are 6 Anne c. 16, sec. 6, and 8 Anne, c. 3, sec. 26.

† "The measures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of Popery have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater effect; however, I leave it to your consideration whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws or by more effectual execution of those in being, to secure the nation against the greater number of Papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorize restraint."—Speech to both Houses of Parliament, October 8, 1745: Com. Jour., 7, 64.

of stimulating with provocatives the weary and half-exhausted bigotry of the parliament of Ireland. They set to work, but they were at a loss what to do, for they had already almost gone through every contrivance which could waste the vigor of their country; but, after much struggle, they produced a child of their old age, the shocking and unnatural act about marriages, which tended to finish the scheme for making the people not only two distinct parties forever, but keeping them as two distinct species in the same land. Mr. Gardiner's humanity was shocked at it, as one of the worst parts of that truly barbarous system, if one could well settle the preference, where almost all the parts were outrages on the rights of humanity and the laws of nations." \*

On the conduct of the Catholics during the Scotch rebellion of 1745, fortunately for them, but greatly to the shame of those who accuse them of being actuated by religious principles inconsistent with their duty to their sovereign, there is on record an irrefutable document. In the year 1762, upon a debate in the House of Lords about the expediency of raising five regiments of Catholics for the King of Portugal, the Primate, Doctor Stone, in answer to the usual objections that were urged on all occasions against the good faith and loyalty of that body, declared in his place, "that in the year 1747, after that rebellion was entirely suppressed, happening to be in England, he had an opportunity of perusing all the papers of the rebels and their correspondents, which were seized in the custody of Murray, the Pretender's secretary; and that, after having spent much time, and taken great pains in examining them, not without some share of the then common suspicion that there might be some private understanding and intercourse between them and the Irish Catholics, he could not discover the least trace, hint, or intimation of such intercourse or

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\* Letter to a Peer in Ireland.



correspondence in them, or of any of the latter's favoring or abetting, or having been so much as made acquainted with, the designs or proceedings of the rebels. And what," he said, "he wondered at most of all was, that in all his researches he had not met with any passage in any of the papers from which he could infer that either their Holy Father, the Pope, or any of his cardinals, bishops, or other dignitaries of that Church, or any of the Irish clergy, had, either directly or indirectly, encouraged, aided, or approved of the commencing or carrying on of that rebellion."\*

Those of the clergy of England who lately took so active a part in exciting and upholding the infamous outcry of "No Popery," will do well to compare this declaration of Primate Stone with the following statement of the conduct of the Irish clergy, immediately upon the breaking out of the Scotch rebellion. They will learn how easy it is, even for the grave profession of the Church, to commit errors, and to pollute its sacred character, by embarking in the controversy of party politics: "The bishops wrote pastoral letters to their respective diocesans, to excite the members of the Established Church to enforce all the penal statutes, and, with equal wisdom and charity and a ready obedience, did the clergy follow the example and directions of their superiors, and apply the whole power of their body to support the fanatic politics of the day. In their inflammatory sermons they excited religious animosity, by reviving the most shocking circumstances of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, and of the Gunpowder Plot in England, in 1605. These transactions were studiously aggravated, and the crimes, whether real or supposed, committed by Catholics, dead more than a century before, were imputed to all those who survived of the same religious persuasion."†

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\* Curry's "Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland," vol. ii, p. 261.

† *Ib.*, p. 259.

If the conduct of the bishops and clergy was improper, on account of its inconsistency with those principles of universal charity that the Gospel inculcated, it was still more so from there being no grounds, even of suspicion, that the Catholics were disloyal. Besides, it was indecent, in the last degree, for those who were endowed by the state for the purpose only of discharging the functions of a religious profession, to degrade their sacred character by assuming the duties of partisan magistrates, and embarking in all the tumult and passion of political persecution. The conduct of the Catholic priests at this period forms a contrast by no means creditable to those who teach the superior tolerance of the Protestant religion, and ground their animosities against the Catholics on the supposed illiberality which controls their principles. This oppressed and indigent body of men, instead of taking offence at the proceedings of the bishops and clergy of the Established Church, "co-operated with their Protestant brethren to maintain order and tranquillity. Their pastoral letters, public discourses from the pulpit, and private admonitions, were equally directed for the service of the government."\*

Yet these clergy were the members of that Church, the principles of which are stated to be of such a nature by many of the English clergy as to render it absolutely impossible for a Catholic to be a good subject.

On the 26th September, 1757, the Duke of Bedford was sworn in as lord-lieutenant. His open declarations of liberal sentiments toward the Catholics, and some communications, that were made for the first time since the passing of the "ferocious act of Anne" to prevent the growth of Popery, of an intention to repeal some part of the penal laws, encouraged them to hope for a change in the system of Irish government. Ten days after his arrival, the Catholic clergy of Dublin, influenced by these

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\* Chesterfield's Works, vol. i, p. 150. Ir. Ed.



communications, read the following to their respective congregations. It forms the first, and a very important, document, in proof of the sufferings, the resignation, and the loyalty of the Catholic body. It was one peculiarly deserving of attention, as being well calculated to remove the ignorance and prejudices of those who still persist in calumniating the Catholic clergy of Ireland, and representing them as enemies to the king and constitution:—

“Exhortation of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Dublin, read from their altars on the 2d October, 1757.

“It is now time, Christians, that you return your most grateful thanks to the Almighty God, who, after visiting you with a scarcity which approached near to a famine, has been graciously pleased, like a merciful father, to hear your prayers, and feed you with a plentiful harvest; nor ought you to forget those kind benefactors who, in the severest times, mindful only of the public good, generously bestowed, without any distinction of persons, those large charities by which thousands were preserved, who otherwise must have perished, the victims of hunger and poverty.

“We ought especially to be most earnest in our thanks to the chief governors and magistrates of the kingdom, and of this city in particular, who, on this occasion, proved the fathers and saviors of the nation.

“But as we have not a more effectual method of showing our acknowledgments to our temporal governors, than by an humble, peaceful, and obedient behavior as hitherto, we earnestly exhort you to continue in the same happy and Christian disposition, and thus, by degrees, you will entirely efface in their minds those evil impressions, which have been conceived so much to our prejudice, and industriously propagated by our enemies.

“A series of more than sixty years spent, with pious

resignation, under the hardships of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfulness for the lenity and moderation with which they were executed, ever since the accession of the present royal family, is certainly a fact which must outweigh, in the minds of all unbiassed persons, any misconceived opinions of the doctrines and tenets of our holy Church.

“ You know that it has always been our constant practice, as ministers of Jesus Christ, to inspire you with the greatest horror for thefts, frauds, murders, and the like abominable crimes, as being contrary to the laws of God and nature, destructive to civil society, condemned by our most holy Church, which, so far from justifying them on the score of religion, or any other pretext whatsoever, delivers the unrepenting authors of such criminal practices over to Satan.

“ We are no less zealous than ever in exhorting you to abstain from cursing, swearing, and blaspheming: detestable vices to which the poorest sort of our people are most unhappily addicted, and which must, at one time or another, bring down the vengeance of Him upon you in some visible punishment, unless you absolutely refrain from them.

“ It is probable that from hence some people have taken occasion to brand us with this infamous calumny, that we need not fear to take false oaths, and consequently to perjure ourselves. As if we believed that any power upon earth could authorize such damnable practices, or grant dispensations for this purpose!

“ How unjust and cruel this charge is, you know by our instruction to you both in public and private, in which we have ever condemned such doctrines as false and impious. Others, likewise, may easily know it from the constant behavior of numbers of Roman Catholics, who have given the strongest proofs of their abhorrence of those tenets, by refusing to take oaths, which, however



conducive to their temporal interest, appeared to them entirely repugnant to the principles of their religion.

“ We must now entreat you, dear Christians, to offer up your most fervent prayers to the Almighty God who holds in His hands the hearts of kings and princes: beseech Him to direct the counsels of our rulers, to inspire them with sentiments of moderation and compassion toward us.

“ We ought to be more earnest at this juncture in our supplications to heaven, as some very honorable persons have encouraged us to hope for a mitigation of the penal laws. Pray, then, the Almighty to give a blessing to these their generous designs, and to aid their counsels in such a manner that, whilst they intend to assist us, like kind benefactors, they may not, contrary to their intentions, by mistaking the means, most irretrievably destroy us.

“ To conclude: be just in your dealings, sober in your conduct, religious in your practices, avoid riots, quarrels, and tumults, and thus you will approve yourselves good citizens, peaceable subjects, and pious Christians.”

Instead, however, of a repeal taking place of any of the penal laws, rumors began very generally to prevail of its being the intention of the government to proceed to carry into effect a bill that had been prepared by the former administration for altering the law respecting the registry of the clergy. The existing law, which passed in the reign of Queen Anne, had been found too penal to admit of its being carried into execution, and thus, by an excess of tyranny, was the object of it wholly defeated. In the place of this law, it had been proposed to pass one with such provisions that it should, like the other penal laws, execute itself; and upon this project being now revived, the Catholics, for the first time since 1704, took measures, as a body, to indicate their religious and civil principles. Mr. Charles O'Connor, the celebrated Irish scholar and antiquarian, with the assistance

of Dr. Curry, author of the "Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland," and Mr. Wyse, of Waterford, exerted themselves with good effect in persuading their suffering countrymen of the necessity of coming forward to induce their rulers to admit them into a participation of the privileges of the constitution. As a groundwork of their future labor, Dr. O'Keefe, the titular Bishop of Kildare, proposed, at a meeting held at Lord Timbleton's, a declaration of the principles of their Church, as far as they could bear upon the civil duties, to be signed by the chiefs of their body, and published as an answer to the misrepresentations and calumnies they had labored under since the reformation of the national religion. This declaration was unanimously adopted; it was signed by many clergymen and gentlemen of rank and property and sent to Rome as the act and deed of the Irish Catholics. It is as follows:—

"Whereas, certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principles whatever, incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious:

"Now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration:—

"1. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any



other person. We hold such doctrine in detestation as wicked and impious, and we declare that we do not believe that either the pope, with or without a general council, or any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to His Majesty, King George III, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm.

“2. We abjure, condemn and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or anyways injure any persons whomsoever, for, or under, the pretence of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God that we believe that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can be justified or excused by, or under, pretence or color that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.

“3. We further declare that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics. The doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief that an oath made to any person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding as if it were made to any Catholic whomsoever.

“4. We have been charged with holding, as an article of our belief, that the pope, with, or without, the authority of a general council, or by certain ecclesiastical powers, can acquit and absolve us before God from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man.

“Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and, above all, repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion.

“5. We do further declare that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or preëminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

“6. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a political light, what may be our opinion of faith on other points respecting the pope; however, for greater satisfaction, we declare that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we hereby required to believe or profess, that the pope is infallible, or that we are bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order, but, on the contrary, we hold that it would be sinful in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

“7. We further declare that we do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whomsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbor's property or character, if we have trespassed, or unjustly injured either; a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

“8. We do hereby solemnly disclaim and forever renounce all interests in, and title to, all forfeited lands resulting from any rights, or supposed rights, of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein; nor do we admit any title as a foundation of right, which is not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm



as they now stand. We desire, further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice of our countrymen shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament until he shall previously take an oath to defend to the utmost of his power the arrangement of property in this country, as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement.

“9. It has been objected to us that we wish to subvert the present Church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead. Now, we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention; and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion or Protestant government in this country.”

Though this declaration did not produce any change of conduct on the part of the English government at that time, its failure can be attributed only to the obstinacy with which the principle of governing Ireland, upon the system of separate interests between the Protestants and Catholics, was adhered to. This declaration, though at first ineffectual, was republished in 1792, and may surely be expected at least to open the eyes of mankind to the true character of the Irish Catholics, and to secure to them the reward which it deserves: the unlimited confidence of their king and fellow-subjects, and the entire restoration of their constitutional rights.

In the year 1759, when it was known that a French force, under the command of Conflans, was collected to invade Ireland, the conduct of the Catholics on this, as it had uniformly been on similar occasions, was loyal in the extreme. Mr. O'Connor. Dr. Curry, and Mr. Wyse had,

some time before, in 1757, succeeded in establishing a general committee of the Catholic body, formed by delegates of parishes, and the principal Catholic nobility and gentry. As soon as this invasion was announced in parliament by a message from the Duke of Bedford, this committee was summoned to meet; and Mr. O'Connor having submitted to it the following address to the lord-lieutenant, it was unanimously approved of:—

“ May it please your grace :

“ We, his majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of Dublin, do, with the greatest respect, approach the illustrious representative of the best of kings with our hearty congratulations on those glorious successes, by sea and land, which have attended his majesty's arms, in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.

“ We gratefully acknowledge the lenity extended to us by his most sacred majesty, and by his royal father, of happy memory. Our allegiance, may it please your grace, is confirmed by affection and gratitude, our religion commands it, and it shall be our invariable rule firmly and *inviolably* to adhere to it.

“ We are called to this duty at the present time in particular, when a foreign enemy is meditating desperate attempts to interrupt the happiness and disturb the repose which these kingdoms have so long enjoyed under a monarch who places his chief glory in proving himself the common father of all his people; and we sincerely assure your grace that we are ready and willing, to the utmost of our abilities, to assist in supporting his majesty's government against all hostile attempts whatsoever.

“ Whenever, my lord, it shall please the Almighty that the legislative power of this realm shall deem the peaceable conduct of his majesty's Catholic subjects in



Ireland, for many years past, an object worthy of its favorable attention, we humbly hope means may be devised to render so numerous a body more useful members to the community, and more strengthening friends to the state, than they possibly could have hitherto been under the restraint of the many penal laws against them. We most humbly beseech your grace to represent to his majesty these sentiments and resolutions of his majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of this metropolis, who sincerely wish that a peace honorable to his majesty, and advantageous to his kingdom, may be the issue of the present war, and that the people of Ireland may be long governed by your grace, a viceroy in whom wisdom, moderation, and justice are so eminently conspicuous."

On that occasion, also, wealthy individual members of the Catholic body offered to accommodate the government with large sums of money in case of necessity, to support the Protestant Establishment against all its enemies; and the Catholics of the city of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the lord-lieutenant, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of assurance. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom by an enemy vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland from the former attachment of their predecessors. They assured his grace that such schemes were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions, and that they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever.\*

These circumstances are proof of no ordinary fidelity in the Irish Catholics to the house of Brunswick. They

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\* Smollett's "History of England," vol. iv, p. 69.

were, however, of no avail in mitigating the rigor of the magistracy in the execution of the penal laws, or in inducing the British government to repeal any part of them, for the reign of George II closed, without any grateful acknowledgments being made to them for the steadiness, the moderation, and the loyalty which they had displayed on so many trying occasions.



PENAL LAWS  
IN THE  
REIGN OF GEORGE III.  
1760-1820.

THOUGH the first measure of this reign, the royal recommendation to Parliament to make the judges independent of the crown, bespoke the determination of his majesty to respect the feelings and confirm the rights and liberties of his subjects, still the unfortunate Catholics of Ireland were doomed to suffer under new pains and penalties.

In the year 1776 an act of parliament was passed,\* by which one or more justices of the peace, and all sheriffs and chief magistrates of cities and towns corporate, within their respective jurisdictions may, from time to time, as well by night as by day, search for and seize all arms and ammunition belonging to any Papist not entitled to keep the same, or in the hands of any person in trust for a Papist; and for that purpose enter any dwelling-house, out-houses, office, field, or other place belonging to a Papist, or to any other person where such magistrate has reasonable cause to suspect any such arms or ammunition to be concealed, and on suspicion, after search, may summon and examine on oath the person suspected of such concealment.

By the seventeenth clause of this act, Papists refusing

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\* 15 and 16 George III, c. 11, sec. 15.

to deliver up or declare such arms as they, or any with their privity, have in their possession, or hindering their delivery, or refusing to discover on oath, or, without cause, neglecting to appear on summons to be examined before a magistrate concerning the same, shall, on conviction, be punished by fine and imprisonment, or such corporal punishment of pillory or whipping as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper.

In the year 1782 a clause was introduced into an act\* by which no person shall be admitted into the society of King's Inns as a student, who shall not, at the time of his admission, be a Protestant.

In the same year an act was passed, by the third clause of which all statutes in England or Great Britain, and all such clauses and provisions contained in any statute there made as relate to the taking of any oath or oaths, or making or subscribing any declaration in Ireland, or to any penalty or disability of omitting the same, shall be accepted, used, and executed in Ireland.

This act referred to: first, the English † act of 3 William and Mary, c. 2, secs. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, by which the oath of supremacy mentioned in 2 Elizabeth, 1, c. 1, is abrogated, and a new oath of supremacy is required to be taken by all persons admitted into Ireland to hold any civil or military office, and by members of both houses of parliament; second, to the English act of 1 Anne, stat. 2, c. 17, requiring all persons to take the oath of abjuration prescribed by the English acts of 13 William III, c. 6, and 1 Anne, stat. 1, c. 22; third, to the English act of 6 George III, c. 53, sec. 2, declaring that from the 1st August, 1776, the oath of abjuration, by this act appointed to be taken in Great Britain, shall be the oath of abjuration to be taken in Ireland.

Though this clause of the 21 and 22 George III,

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\* 21 and 22 George III, c. 32, sec. 2.

† *Ib.*, c. 48, sec. 3.



c. 48, has attracted very little public attention, it was of no less import than that of being the first legal exclusion of Catholics from sitting in the Irish parliament. They had been excluded *de facto* by their voluntary submission to the English act of 3 William and Mary, but not *de jure* till this act of 21 and 22 George III, which made the act of 3 William and Mary, just mentioned, binding in Ireland.\*

This circumstance, which has always been overlooked, even by the Catholics themselves, proves how readily they have been inclined, at all times, to submit to the authority of government; and it also proves how unfounded those arguments are which maintain that the exclusion of the Catholics of Ireland from parliament is a principle on which the family of his majesty was placed upon the throne. It completely overturns the system of erroneous reasoning concerning the coronation oath, which of late had been so common; it reduces the question to this simple point: whether the king can conscientiously place the Catholics of Ireland in the same condition, with respect to sitting in parliament, in which they had continued till the twenty-second year of his own reign.

In 1785 an act was passed\* for granting £4,000, to be expended in apprentice fees, to such tradesmen or manu-

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\* The first Irish parliament summoned by William having met on the 5th October, 1692, immediately after the election of a speaker, and his being seated, "A motion was made for the reading of a late act of parliament, made in England in the third year of their majesties' reign, entitled 'An act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths;' upon reading whereof the house immediately proceeded to the swearing of their members, and, they being sworn, the house adjourned." (Irish Com. Jour., vol. 2, p. 9.) "It does not appear by the journals that any objection was made to this motion, or that any Catholic had been elected to serve in this parliament, notwithstanding this English act was not binding in Ireland; nor is any mention made by the historians of that day concerning the grounds upon which the Catholics submitted to it. The submissive forbearance of them under a most severe extension of the penal code is the only point relating to them which has arrested their notice."—Plowden, vol. 1, p. 198.

\* 25 George III, c. 48, secs. 11, 12.

facturers, as should take children from charter schools or the Foundling Hospital; but it was expressly provided that the children should be bound to none but Protestant tradesmen and manufacturers.

The whole code of the penal statutes against the Catholics of Ireland is now laid before the view of the reader, under which they so long and so patiently languished,—statutes unexampled for their inhumanity, their unwarrantableness and their impolicy, which were adopted to exterminate a race of men already crushed and broken by the longest series of calamities which one nation had ever the opportunity of inflicting upon another.

They were framed against Christians under the pretence of securing religion: they were the work of Protestants, than whom no sect has cried out more loudly against persecution when Protestants were the martyrs; they were sanctioned by a nation who owed its liberties, and by monarchs who owed their throne, to a solemn covenant that such penal disabilities should never exist.\* Here, may we not inquire if the English nation, legislature and king, have not a duty to fulfil toward the Irish Catholics even greater than that of justice,—a duty of compunction, of repentance, and atonement? The faith of a solemn treaty made with them has been broken: it is not enough that it has been in part reëstablished, it ought to be religiously fulfilled. They have been ruled with tyranny: it is not enough that the tyranny should be relaxed, it should cease altogether. They have been driven from the pale of the constitution: it is not enough that they should be allowed to pass its barriers, they should range free and uncontrolled through all its rights.

That this system of slow political torture was not warranted by any alleged delinquency on their part, is

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\* See the articles of the Treaty of Limerick.







MASSACRE AT DROGHEDA.



notorious; for it was devised and perfected in times of profound tranquillity. That they were not deserving even of the suspicion of being disloyal subjects, is proved by their signal forbearance, which has preserved the empire from the calamitous consequences of such flagitious misgovernment; and that, on the contrary, they fully merited the confidence and protection of the legislature, no fair and candid mind can deny, when it gives to their conduct, in strictly adhering to the stipulations of the Treaty of Limerick, and to their allegiance to the house of Brunswick, the just value to which it is entitled. . . .

Having now reached the utmost point to which the penal statutes extended, which seems to be as far as human invention, quickened by mixed feelings of alarm, of bigotry, and of pride, could go, we should not be excusable on general grounds if we neglect to record their effects.

But there is even a nearer interest in this examination. At a period when the state of Ireland so much occupies the attention of the legislature and of the public; when it is admitted on all sides that the prosperity and security of England herself must rise or fall with the prosperity and security of Ireland, and when the events of each succeeding day prove the absolute necessity of some measures to ameliorate her condition, and show that things cannot go on as they are, without the inevitable destruction of the British empire, it will be of great importance to be able to form an accurate opinion upon the effects which were the result of the penal statutes.

It appears from unquestionable authority that, during the interval that elapsed between the surrender of Limerick and the total infraction of the treaty of 1704, by the "act to prevent the further growth of Popery," the toleration which the Catholics experienced by virtue of that treaty, produced its natural consequences. The

security they enjoyed restored industry, and plenty of all things; useful arts were introduced: the land was cultivated, and a fine island, reduced to a desert by the late war, soon assumed a new face. In fact Ireland was never happier than during this interval of religious toleration.\* Of the effects of the penal laws, in entirely reversing the order of things, Lord Taffe, in his valuable tract on Irish affairs, gives the following description: "Those penalties and interdicts (by the laws of Anne) had their natural effects in the dispeopling greatly the three fine provinces wherein the bulk of Catholics reside. They took their effect in putting a stop to the cultivation began in King William's reign. No sooner were the Catholics excluded from durable and profitable tenures, than they commenced graziers, and laid aside agriculture; they ceased from draining and enclosing their farms and building good houses, as occupations unsuited to the new part assigned them in our national economy. They fell to wasting the lands they were virtually forbid to cultivate, the business of pasturage being compatible with such a conduct, and requiring, also, little industry and less labor in the management."

In the year 1723 the wretchedness of the people of Ireland was so great, that the Duke of Grafton, in a speech from the throne, recommended parliament to take measures for relieving them. The distress, however, continued; and in a petition presented to the House of Commons, in the same year, by the woollen manufacturers, they say that "the woollen manufacture of this kingdom, which is confined to our own consumption, has of late been so considerably lessened that several thousand families have been forced to beg alms and charity of good Christians, and that a collection had lately been made throughout the whole city to relieve them."†

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\* "Observations on the affairs of Ireland," by Lord Taffe, p. 4.

† "Com. Jour.," vol. iii, p. 24.



Primate Boulter, in a letter of the 25th of March, 1732, to the Duke of Newcastle, bears testimony to this wretched state of Ireland. He says: "Since I came here in the year 1725, there was almost a famine amongst the poor; last year the dearness of corn was such, that thousands of families quitted their habitations to seek bread elsewhere, and many hundreds perished."\*

Again, on the 23d of November, 1728, he says, in writing to the duke: "I am sorry I am obliged to give your grace so melancholy an account of the state of the kingdom as I shall in this letter."

But one of the most pernicious effects of these penal laws was the emigration of the principal Catholic families to the continent. They carried with them what would otherwise have been the materials of the civilization, tranquillity and prosperity of their own country; they left the mass of the Catholic population without the influence of men of education and property to direct and control their conduct; and in the place of serving their own native land, they filled, with the highest credit to themselves, the situation of statesmen and generals in those nations which were hostile to the interests of Great Britain.

Of the visible effect these laws had produced in their avowed objects of propagating the Protestant religion, and promoting the national prosperity, it is impossible to give a more able or a more accurate description than the following, by Mr. Arthur Young, who was in Ireland at the period we now treat of:†

"While property lay exposed to the practices of power, the great body of the people, who had been stripped of their all, were more enraged than converted; they adhered to the persuasion of their forefathers, with the steadiest and most determined zeal, while the priests, actuated by the spirit of a thousand inducements, made

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\* Letters, p. 226.

† 1778.

proselytes among the common Protestants, in defiance of every danger. And the great, glaring fact yet remains, and is even admitted by the warmest advocates for the laws of discovery, that the established religion has not gained upon the Catholic in point of numbers; on the contrary, that the latter has been rather on the increase. Public lists have been returned from the several dioceses which confirm this fact, and the intelligence I received on my journey spoke the same language.

“As it is the great body of the common people that form the strength of a country when willing subjects, and its weakness when ill-affected, this fact is a decision of the question: after seventy years’ undisturbed operation, the system adopted in Queen Anne’s reign has failed in this great aim, and meets at this day with a more numerous and equally determined body of Catholics than it had to oppose when first promulgated. Has not the experience of every age and every nation proved that the effect is invariable and universal?

“Let a religion be what it may, and under whatever circumstances, no system of persecution ever yet had any other effect than to confirm its professors in their tenets, and spread their doctrines, instead of restraining them. The great plea of the Roman Catholic priests, and their merit with their congregations, are the dangers they hazard and the persecutions they suffer for the sake of their faith,—arguments that have and ever will have weight, while human nature continues formed of its present materials.

“But if these exertions of a succession of ignorant legislators have failed continually in propagating the religion of government, much more have they failed in the great object of natural prosperity. The only considerable manufacture in Ireland, which carries in all parts the appearance of industry, is the linen; and it ought never to be forgotten that this is solely confined to the Protes-



tant parts of the kingdom. The poor Catholics in the south of Ireland spin wool generally, but the purchase of their labor, and the whole worsted trade, is in the hands of the Quakers of Clonmel, Carrick, Bandon, etc. The fact is, the professors of that religion are under such discouragements that they cannot engage in any trade which requires both industry and capital. If they succeed and make a fortune, what are they to do with it? They can neither buy land, nor take a mortgage, nor even fine down the rent of a lease. Where is there a people in the world to be found industrious under such circumstances?

“It is no superficial view I have taken of this matter in Ireland; and being at Dublin at the time a very trifling part of these laws was agitated in parliament, I attended the debate, with my mind open to conviction, and an auditor for the mere purpose of information. I have conversed on the subject with most distinguished characters of the kingdom, and I cannot, after all, but declare that the scope, purport, and aim of the laws of discovery, as executed, are not against the Catholic religion, which increases under them, but against the industry and property of whosoever professes that religion.

“In vain has it been said that consequence and power follow poverty, and that the attack is made in order to wound the doctrine through its property. If such was the intention, I reply, that seventy years’ experience proves the folly and futility of it. Those laws have crushed all the industry and wrested most of the property from the Catholics, but the religion triumphs: it is thought to increase. Those who have handed about calculations to prove a decrease, admit, on the face of them, that it will require four thousand years to make converts of the whole, supposing the work to go on in future as it has in the past time. But the whole pretence is an affront to common-sense, for it implies that

you will lessen a religion by persecuting it. All history and experience condemn such a proposition.

“The system pursued in Ireland has had no other tendency but that of driving out of the kingdom all the personal wealth of the Catholics, and prohibiting their industry within it. The face of the country,—every object, in short, which presents itself to the eye of a traveller, tells him how effectually this has been done. I urge it, not as an argument—the whole kingdom speaks it as a fact. We have seen that this conduct has not converted the people to the religion of government, and instead of adding to the internal security, it has endangered it. If, therefore, it does not add to the national prosperity, for what purpose but that of private tyranny could it have been embraced and persisted in? Mistaken ideas of private interest account for the actions of individuals; but what could have influenced the British government to permit a system which must inevitably prevent the island from even becoming of the importance which nature intended?” \*

Of the state of the agriculture of Ireland at this period a tolerably accurate idea may be formed from the words of the same author: “I have reason to believe that five pounds sterling per English acre, expended all over Ireland, which amounts to £88,341,136, would not more than build, fence, plant, drain and improve that country, to be upon a par, in those respects, with England.” †

The prices also of the produce of land afford proof of the general poverty of the kingdom. In 1778 butter sold for 5¾d. per lb., mutton 2¾d., beef 2½d., pork 2¼d., veal 3½d., a fat turkey for 10¾d., a goose for 8½d., and a chicken for 2½d.†

From these several authorities upon the state of Ireland in 1778, much information may be collected concerning

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\* “Young’s Tour,” vol. ii, p. 135. English Ed.

† *Ib.*, App.

‡ *Ib.*,



the causes of many of those peculiar circumstances which, at this day, belong to that country. If it be asked why the people of Ireland are so illiterate, the answer that presents itself is: Look to the penal laws that deprived them, till a late period, of education. If it be asked why they are poor, the same answer must be given: Look to the penal laws. If it be asked why the lower orders eat vegetables only, and live in hovels, still the same answer: Look to the penal laws. If it be asked why there is no class of yeomanry in Ireland like that in England, the answer is: Because the penal laws prohibited industry, and prevented the small land-owner from acquiring either property or consequence in the one country, as he might do in the other. If it be asked why the people are discontented, and dislike England, this answer alone can be given: Because from England they received this penal code, under which they have endured, for above a century, every species of calamity, contrary to the positive stipulations of a sacred and solemn treaty.

It was in the year 1774 that the Irish legislature passed the first act toward conciliating the Catholics: "An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him,"\* which is as follows:—

"Whereas many of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom are desirous to testify their loyalty and allegiance to his majesty, and their abhorrence of certain doctrines imputed to them, and to remove jealousies which hereby have for a length of time subsisted between them and others of his majesty's loyal subjects; but upon account of their religious tenets are, by the laws now in being, prevented from giving public assurances of such allegiance, and of their real principles, and good-will and affection toward their fellow-subjects: in order, therefore, to give such persons an opportunity of testifying their allegiance to his majesty, and good-will toward the present constitu-

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\* 13 and 14 George III, c. 35.

tion of this kingdom, and to promote peace and industry amongst the inhabitants thereof, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that, from and after the first day of June, 1774, it shall and may be lawful for any person professing the Popish religion to go before the judges of his majesty's Court of King's Bench, any justice of the peace for the county in which he does or shall reside, or before any magistrate of any city or town corporate wherein he does or shall reside, and there take and subscribe the oath of allegiance and declaration hereinafter mentioned, which oath and declaration such judges of the King's Bench, justices of the peace and magistrates, are hereby enabled and required to administer :-

“ I, A. B., do take Almighty God and His only Son, Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, to witness that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign lord, King George III, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that shall be made against his person, crown and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to his majesty and his heirs all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in his majesty's family against any person or persons whatsoever, hereby utter.y renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales, in the lifetime of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland by the name of Charles III, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms; and



I do swear that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious to believe that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics, and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. I further declare that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure, the opinion that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I do promise that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion contrary to what is expressed in this declaration; and I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or preëminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and His only Son, Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted by the pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God.'

"And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the officers of the Court of King's Bench, justices of peace and magistrates of the cities and towns corporate, shall yearly, within twenty-one days after the 1st of December,

return to the clerk of the Privy Council of this kingdom, or his deputy, a true and perfect list, under his or their hand, of every such Papist as shall, in the course of the preceding year, have taken and subscribed such oath, in which list the quality, condition, title, and place of such Papist shall be specified."

About the same time, fearing that their grievances were not known to his majesty, the Catholics prepared a petition, which was presented to Lord Buckinghamshire by Lord Fingal, Mr. Preston, and Mr. Dermot, in order that it might be transmitted by him to the king:—

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, THE  
HUMBLE ADDRESS AND PETITION OF THE ROMAN  
CATHOLICS OF IRELAND:

"Most Gracious Sovereign:—

We, your majesty's most dutiful subjects, the Roman Catholics of your kingdom of Ireland, with hearts full of loyalty, but overwhelmed with affliction, and depressed by our calamitous and ruined circumstances, beg leave to lay at your majesty's feet some small part of those numerous and insupportable grievances under which we have long groaned, not only without any act of disobedience, but even without murmur or complaint, in hopes that our inviolable submission and unaltered patience under those severe pressures would fully confute the accusation of seditious principles, with which we have been unfortunately and unjustly charged.

"We are deeply sensible of your majesty's clemency in moderating the rigorous execution of some of the laws against us, but we humbly beg leave to represent that several, and those the most severe and distressing of those laws, execute themselves with the most fatal certainty, and that your majesty's clemency cannot, in the smallest degree, interpose for their mitigation; otherwise your Roman Catholic subjects would most cheer



fully acquiesce in that resource, and rest with an absolute and unbounded assurance on your majesty's princely generosity, and your pious regard to the rights of private conscience.

“ We are, may it please your majesty, a numerous and very industrious part of your majesty's subjects; and yet by no industry, by no honest endeavors on our part, is it in our power to acquire or to hold almost any secure or permanent property whatsoever. We are not only disqualified to purchase, but are disabled from occupying any land, even in farm, except on a tenure extremely scanty both in profit and in time; and if we should venture to expend anything on the melioration of land thus held, by building, by enclosure, by draining, or by any other species of improvement so very necessary in this country, so far would our services be from bettering our fortunes, that these are precisely the very circumstances which, as the law stands, must necessarily disqualify us from continuing those farms for any time in our possession.

“ Whilst the endeavors of our industry are thus discouraged,—no less, we humbly apprehend, to the detriment of the national prosperity, and the diminution of your majesty's revenue, and to our particular ruin,—there are a set of men who, instead of exercising any honest occupation in the commonwealth, make it their employment to pry into our miserable poverty, to drag us into the courts, and to compel us to confess, on our oaths, and under the penalties of perjury, whether we have, in any instance, acquired a property in the smallest degree exceeding what the rigor of the law has admitted; and in such cases the informers, without any other merit than that of their discovery, are invested, to the daily ruin of several innocent, industrious families, not only with the surplus in which the law is exceeded, but in the whole body of the estate and interest so discovered; and it is our grief that this evil is likely to continue and increase,

as informers have, in this country, almost worn off the infamy which, in all ages and in all other countries, has attended their character, and have grown into some repute by the frequency and success of their practices.

“And this, most gracious sovereign, though extremely grievous, is far from being the only or most oppressive particular in which our distress is connected with the breach of the rules of honor and morality. By the laws now in force in this kingdom, a son, however undutiful or profligate, shall, merely by the merit of conforming to the established religion, not only deprive the Roman Catholic father of that free and full possession of his estate, that power to mortgage or otherwise dispose of it which the exigencies of his affairs may require, but shall himself have full liberty immediately to mortgage or otherwise alienate the reversion of that estate from his family forever: a regulation by which a father, contrary to the order of nature, is put under the power of his son, and through which an early dissoluteness is not only suffered, but encouraged, by giving a pernicious privilege, the frequent use of which has broken the hearts of many deserving parents, and entailed poverty and despair on some of the most ancient and opulent families in this kingdom.

“Even when the parent has the good fortune to escape this calamity in his lifetime, yet he has, at his death, the melancholy and almost certain prospect of leaving neither peace nor fortune to his children; for, by that law, which bestows the whole fortune on the first conformist, or, on non-conformity, disperses it among the children, incurable jealousies and animosities have arisen, a total extinction of principle and of a natural benevolence has ensued, whilst we are obliged to consider our own offspring and the brothers of our own blood as our most dangerous enemies; the blessing of Providence on our families, in a numerous issue, is converted into the most



certain means of their ruin and depravation; we are, most gracious sovereign, permitted neither to enjoy the few broken remains of our patrimonial inheritance, nor by our industry to acquire any secure establishment to our families.

“In this deplorable situation let it not be considered, we earnestly beseech your majesty, as an instance of presumption or discontent, that we thus adventure to lay open to your majesty’s mercy a very small part of our uncommon sufferings: what we have concealed under a respectful silence would form a far longer and full as melancholy a recital. We speak with reluctance, though we feel with anguish; we respect from the bottom of our hearts that legislation under which we suffer, but we humbly conceive it is impossible to procure redress without complaint, or to make a complaint that by some construction may not appear to convey blame. And nothing, we assure your majesty, should have extorted from us even these complaints but the strong necessity we find ourselves under, of employing every lawful, humble endeavor, lest the whole purpose of our lives and labors should prove only the means of confirming to ourselves, and entailing on our posterity, inevitable beggary and the most abject servitude,—a servitude the more intolerable as it is suffered amidst that liberty, that peace, and that security, which, under your majesty’s benign influence, is spread all around us, and which we alone, of all your majesty’s subjects, are rendered incapable of partaking.

“In all humility we implore that our principles may not be estimated by the inflamed charge of controversial writers, nor our practices measured by the events of those troubled periods when parties have run high (though these have been often misrepresented, and always cruelly exaggerated to our prejudice), but that we may be judged by our own actions, and in our own times. And we humbly offer it to your most equitable and

principely consideration, that we do not rest the proof of our sincerity on words, but on things: on our dutiful, peaceable, submissive behavior for more than fourscore years; and though it will be considered as too severe to form any opinion of great bodies by the practice of individuals, *yet if, in all that time, amongst all our people, in the daily increase of severe laws against us, one treasonable insurrection, or one treasonable conspiracy can be proved, if, amongst our clergy, one seditious sermon can be shown to have been preached,* we will readily admit that there is good reason for continuing the present laws in all their force against us. But if, on the contrary (we speak in full confidence), it can be shown that our clergy have ever exerted their utmost endeavors to enforce submission to your majesty's government, and obedience to your laws; if it can be shown that these endeavors have always been most strenuous in times of public danger, or when any accident tended to create a ferment amongst the people; if our laity have frequently offered (what we are always ready to fulfil) to hazard their lives and fortunes for your majesty's service; if we have willingly bound up the fruits of our discouraged industry with the fortunes of your majesty's government in the public loans, then we humbly hope we may be admitted to a small portion of mercy, and that that behavior, which your majesty's benignity and condescension will esteem a merit in our circumstances, may entitle us, not to reward, but to such toleration as may enable us to become useful citizens to our country, and subjects as profitable as we are loyal to your majesty.

“ Permit us, most gracious sovereign, on this occasion to reiterate the assurances of our unshaken loyalty, which all our sufferings have not been able to abate; of our sincere zeal for your majesty's service, of our attachment to the constitution of our country, and of our warmest gratitude for your majesty's continual indul-



gence, and for the late instance of favor we have experienced from parliament, in enabling us, consistent with our religious tenets, to give a legal proof of our sentiments upon these points. And we humbly hope that the alacrity and eagerness with which we have seized this first, though long-wished-for opportunity of testifying in the most solemn and public manner our inviolable fidelity to your majesty, our real principles, and our goodwill and affection toward our fellow-subjects, will extinguish all jealousies, and remove those imputations which alone have hitherto held us forth in the light of enemies to your majesty and to the state. And if anything further can be suggested or devised, whereby we can, by our actions, more fully evince our sincerity, we shall consider such an opportunity of demonstrating our real loyalty as a high favor, and shall be deficient in no act whatever which does not amount to a renunciation of that religious profession which we value more than our lives, and which it cannot be suspected we hold from obstinacy or a contempt of the laws, since it has been taken up by ourselves, but has, from time immemorial, been handed down to us from our ancestors.

“ We derive no small consolation, most gracious sovereign, from considering that the most severe and rigorous of the laws against us had been enacted before the accession of your majesty’s most illustrious house to the throne of these kingdoms; we, therefore, indulge the more sanguine hopes that the mitigation of them, and the establishment of peace, industry, and universal happiness amongst all your loyal subjects, may be one of the blessings of your majesty’s reign.

“ And though we might plead in favor of such relaxation, the express words of a solemn treaty, entered into with us by your majesty’s royal predecessor, King William (which has been forfeited by no disobedience on our part), yet we neither wish nor desire to receive anything

but as a mere act of your majesty's clemency, and of the indulgence and equity of your parliament.

"That this act of truly loyal beneficence and justice may be added to the other instances of your majesty's august virtues, and that the deliverance of a faithful and distressed people may be one of those distinguishing acts of your reign, which shall transmit its memory to the love, gratitude and veneration of your latest posterity, is the humble prayer of," \* etc., etc.

In the year 1778,† an act was passed "for the relief of his majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish religion," the preamble of which contains a confirmation of everything that has been already advanced concerning the loyalty of the Catholics, and a declaration on the part of the king and parliament respecting the policy of admitting the Catholics into a full participation of the blessings of the constitution, which is a complete recognition of their right to enjoy them. It states: "And whereas, from their uniform peaceable behavior for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same [the laws of Anne], and it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that his subjects of all denominations should enjoy the blessings of a free constitution, and should be bound to each other by mutual interest and mutual affection," etc.

By this act, Papists, provided they take the oath and declaration of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35, are admitted to the following privileges:—

They may take land on leases not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or determinable upon any number of lives not exceeding five.

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\* This petition is from the pen of Mr. Burke.

† 17 and 18 George III, c. 49.



The lands of Papists are to be descendible, devisable, and transferable, as fully as if the same were in the seizure of any other of his majesty's subjects.

Papists are rendered capable to hold and enjoy all estates which may descend, be devised or transferred to them.

No maintenance is to be hereafter granted to a conforming child of a Papist out of the personal property of such Papist, except out of such leases as may be taken under this act.

And the conformity of the eldest son is not to alter, hereafter, the Popish parent's estate.

In the year 1782 another act was passed "for the further relief of his majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish religion."\*

The preamble of this act: "Whereas all such of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom, of whatever persuasion, as have heretofore taken and subscribed, or shall hereafter take and subscribe, the oath of allegiance and declaration prescribed by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled 'An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him,' ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown and government: and whereas a continuance of several of the laws formerly enacted, and still in force in this kingdom, against persons professing the Popish religion, is therefore unnecessary in respect to those who have taken or shall take the said oath, and is injurious to the real wealth and prosperity of Ireland, therefore," etc.

By this act, Catholics, provided they take this oath, may purchase or take lands, or any interest therein, except advowsons or boroughs, returning members of parliament, and dispose of the same by will or otherwise; and

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\* 21 and 22 George III, c. 24.

Popish ecclesiastics, on the same condition, and registering their names and abode with the register of the diocese, are discharged from all penalties.

This act repeals so much of 8 Anne as subjects a Papist to fine and imprisonment on his refusal to testify on oath, before two justices of the peace, when and where he heard the Popish Mass celebrated, and the name of the person celebrating it; and so much of 7 William III, c. 5, as subjects any Papist, who shall have in his possession any horse of the value of £5 or more, to the penalties therein mentioned; and so much of 8 Anne as enables the lord-lieutenant to seize any horse belonging to a Papist, upon a prospect of invasion or rebellion. It also repeals so much of 9 George II, c. 6, as enables grand juries to reimburse such persons as have been robbed by privateers in time of war for their losses, and to levy the same on the goods of Papists only; and so much of 6 George I, c. 10, as subjects Papists who shall not provide a Protestant watchman to watch in their turn, to certain penalties; and so much of 2 Anne, c. 6, as subjects Papists who took any house, or came to dwell in Limerick after the year 1703, or within the town of Galway, to certain penalties.

In the same year was likewise passed an act to allow persons professing the Popish religion to teach school in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of Papists, and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of their children.\*

The preamble states: "Whereas several of the laws made in this kingdom relative to the education of Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, are considered as too severe, and have not answered the desired effect."

This act repeals so much of 7 William III, c. 4, and of 8 Anne, c. 3, as subjects Catholics who shall publicly

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\* 21 and 22 George III, c. 62.



teach school, or privately instruct youths, to the like penalties as any Popish regular convict, provided they take the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35; and it enables Catholics, except ecclesiastics, to be guardians.

Of the numerous individuals who at this time distinguished themselves for their exertions in favor of Catholics, there was no one to whom they were under greater obligations than to the late Mr. Burke. He wrote for them the petition which was presented to the king in 1774. In the English House of Commons, in 1778, he was the first to declare the necessity of concessions being made to them. He said that "Ireland was now the chief dependence of the British crown, and it particularly behoved that country to admit the Irish nation to the privileges of British citizens;" \* and in the year 1782 he wrote his celebrated letter to Lord Kenmare, in which he so ably exposed the folly, injustice, and tyranny of the penal laws.

It certainly is a fact of no small importance in favor of the wisdom of unlimited concession to the Catholics, that this great statesman, the advocate of existing establishments, and who was the first and most formidable opponent to the progress of the Jacobinical principles of France, should have advised it, and incessantly forwarded it by his powerful talents and extensive influence.

But the Catholics were indebted, not only to the labors of their friends, but also to the great revolution which was going on at that period in America, for the success of the first concessions that were made to them. This soon appeared very evident. An attempt was made by Mr. James Fitzgerald, a few months before the introduction of the act of 17 and 18 George III, to obtain for them a power to take leases of lands for sixty-one years: and this attempt failed. But soon afterward, when the intelligence arrived of the defeat of the British

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\* 8 Eng. Deb. 9, 185, 1st April, 1778.

forces in America, the same parliament, on the recommendation of the government, passed an act for enabling them to take land on leases for nine hundred and ninety-nine years.

It was not, however, till the British government were obliged to transport the whole of the British army from Ireland to America, and thus leave it exposed to the invasion of France, that the Catholics became of sufficient importance, in the eyes either of their own Protestant countrymen or of the British government, to be attended to and caressed by them.

The only alternative, then, left for the Protestants to adopt was, either to promote a union of sects in the common defence of the kingdom, or to make up their minds to fall an easy prey to the arms of France. Upon this principle of preservation, by an oblivion of all past animosities, the volunteers were embodied, and composed indiscriminately of Catholics and Protestants. But, in proportion as the danger of invasion diminished, they naturally turned their attention to the grievances that both sects experienced at the hands of the British government, and soon became an armed association for the attainment of political rights.\*

In this appeal to arms, in open resistance to the power of Great Britain, for the purpose of compelling her to grant to Ireland the independence of her legislature, and a reform of her parliament, the Protestants took the lead. But the contention between them and the British government was not one of arms, because Great

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\* "In the year 1782, when the treasury had no supply, but was, in fact, bankrupt, when a French fleet appeared off Cork, when the army was only 4,000 men, and unprovided, it was evidently owing to the wealth of the Roman Catholics that the country was put into a posture of defence, and saved from the invasion of the enemy; whereas, had they been disposed to be disloyal upon that occasion, and to have made use of that power which they actually possessed, they might have completely separated Ireland from the government of this country."—Speech of Lord Buckingham, June 22, 1808.



Britain had no troops with which to dispute with the Volunteers, but one of political manœuvring. It was plain that, to whichever party the Catholics attached themselves, victory would belong. The government, therefore, in order to secure them, passed the acts of 1778 and 1782, while the Protestants, on the other hand, endeavored to conciliate them by public resolutions and declarations in favor of their complete emancipation.

The Dungannon Convention, which met in February, 1782, and was composed of the representatives of one hundred and forty-three Protestant corps of volunteers, resolved, with two dissenting voices only: "That they held the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as themselves; therefore, that, as Christians and Protestants, they were rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that they conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of Ireland."

These liberal declarations on the part of this meeting and the general tenor of the conduct of the Protestants throughout Ireland toward the Catholics, secured their cordial concurrence; and the British government were at length reluctantly obliged to concede the favorite object of an independent Irish legislature.

The Protestants now proceeded to attempt to carry their other great object, a parliamentary reform; and after the sense of the kingdom had been expressed, at various public meetings, to be decidedly in favor of it, they determined to hold a convention in Dublin for the purpose of impressing upon government and parliament the necessity of acceding to their demands. In the meantime a division of opinion had manifested itself among some of the Northern corps of volunteers on the Catholic question, and Lord Charlemont and other persons had declared themselves hostile to further concessions. This

circumstance afforded the government an easy opportunity of defeating the object of the convention. They contrived to have a motion made for connecting the emancipation of the Catholics with the question of parliamentary reform; and upon its being rejected by the convention, knowing that its power was not to be dreaded, if unsupported by the Catholic population, they despised its threats, and by a manly opposition to their demands, they secured their dispersion without tumult, and certainly without the regret of the advocates of such a reform in parliament as the general circumstances of the country absolutely required.

From this period to the year 1790 the Catholic question was not once agitated, either by the Catholics or by parliament. In this year the attorney-general brought in a bill to explain and amend the act of 22 George III, c. 62.

The intention of this act was to give to Catholics the power of appointing guardians to their children; but it was so carelessly drawn that, upon consulting it in the case of the will of the late Lord Gormanstown, by which he had appointed guardians to his son, it was discovered that they were not competent to act. The present bill was therefore introduced to remedy this defect.

A circumstance which took place this summer shows that this act of common justice was not in any degree the result of an inclination on the part of the government to treat the Catholics with more than customary liberality. Lord Westmoreland, then lord-lieutenant, had visited the south of Ireland, and, on his arrival at Cork, it was intimated to the Catholics there that an expression of their loyalty would be acceptable. Accordingly an address of that nature was prepared, which, however, concluded with a *hope* that their loyalty would entitle them to some relaxation of the penal code. Before its being formally presented, it was submitted to



his excellency, and was returned to them to strike out the clause which expressed hope. With a feeling rather natural to men not perfectly broken down by oppression, they refused to strike it out, and declined presenting the address.

A century of pains and penalties had now elapsed, in which period the most severe and minute investigation had not been able to ascribe to the Catholics one instance of disloyalty, when they at length determined to make a vigorous exertion to obtain a restoration of their constitutional rights. In the course of the year 1790, violent resolutions had been entered into by the magistrates of the county of Armagh against them. Those of Dublin, and of the other principal cities and towns of Ireland, were, in consequence, roused to adopt resolutions on their part, expressive of the necessity of petitioning parliament. These had been transmitted to the general committee of Catholics, who, thereupon, held a meeting to consider them, on the 11th February, 1791. The general committee referred these resolutions to a sub-committee, who made upon them the following report:—

“Your committee having, in obedience to your directions, carefully perused the resolutions of the Catholics of Ireland, report that said resolutions contain the most unequivocal sentiments of loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, George III, of love for our country, and obedience to its laws, and the most humble hope of being restored to some participation of its excellent constitution.

“That your Catholic brethren refer, with confidence, to the numberless proofs they have given of fidelity, in times most perilous, when rebellion raged in the bosom of Britain, and when foreign invasion threatened our coast, and to that alacrity with which all descriptions of our people took the oath of allegiance; and they rely on the fact that their scrupulous observance of such sacred

obligation will nowhere be doubted, when it is considered that, if they took those oaths required by law, they would thereby become entitled to all the rights of citizens.

“That with all humility they confide in the justice, liberality and wisdom of parliament, and the benignity of our most gracious sovereign, to relieve them from their degraded situation, and no longer to suffer them to continue like strangers in their native land, but thus have the glory of showing all Europe that, in the plenitude of power, strength, and riches of the British empire, when nothing they grant can be imputed to any motives but those of justice and toleration,—that at such a period they deign to hear and relieve the oppressed and faithful subjects, and to unite them forever to their country by every tie of gratitude and interest; and that they will show all Europe that humble and peaceful conduct and dutiful application are the only true and effectual methods for good subjects to obtain relief from a wise and good government.

“That our Catholic brethren, therefore, desire that application may be made for such relief as the wisdom and justice of parliament may grant; and they hope to be restored at least to some of the rights and privileges which have been wisely granted to others who dissent from the Established Church, that they may be thus enabled to promote, in conjunction with the rest of their fellow-subjects, the present and future happiness and strength of their country.

“That our said Catholic brethren direct that such application be immediately made and continued in the most submissive and constitutional manner for a mitigation of the restrictions and disqualifications under which they labor.”

The general committee having agreed with and adopted this report, a petition was prepared, in order to be laid before parliament in the ensuing session.



With this petition a deputation of the general committee waited upon the chief secretary, Lord Hobart, to solicit the countenance and protection of government: but in vain. This was not only refused them, but the Catholics of Ireland, constituting, at the lowest calculation, a very large majority of the inhabitants of the kingdom, had not even sufficient influence to induce any one member of parliament to present it.

A second deputation having failed to obtain even an answer from government to a renewed application for its support, it was determined to send Mr. Keogh to London, to lay before his majesty's ministers the state of his Catholic subjects.

Mr. Keogh, on his arrival in London, instituted a negotiation with Mr. Pitt and the cabinet, at the close of which the Catholics were given to understand that they might hope for four objects: grand juries, county magistrates, high sheriffs, and the bar. Admission to the right of suffrage was also mentioned and taken under consideration.

The spirit of religious liberty having, at this time, made great progress among the Protestant dissenters in Ulster, the first Belfast volunteer company, in July, 1791, passed a resolution in favor of admitting the Catholics to a full enjoyment of the constitution; and in October the great Northern Association of United Irishmen\* pledged themselves "to endeavor, by all due means, to procure a complete and radical reform of the people in parliament, including Irishmen of every religious persuasion."

In the meantime, whilst Mr. Keogh was in London, the Irish administration had been endeavoring to counteract the views of the Catholic body, by a negotiation with the principal nobility and gentry belonging to it; and in

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\* It was not till 1794 that a new society under this name embarked in an attempt to separate Great Britain from Ireland.

some degree their exertions were successful. For, at a meeting of the general committee, held in December, 1791, for the purpose of considering the policy of petitioning parliament in the ensuing session, some of the meeting wished to adopt a resolution of seeking no removal of the existing disabilities but in such a manner and to such an extent as the wisdom of the legislature deemed expedient. This was resisted by others, and on a division upon the question of petitioning, the nobility were left in a minority of ninety to seventeen.

Pursuant to this decision, the following petition was drawn up, and introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. O'Hara, on the 28th January, 1792:—

“ We, your petitioners, being appointed, by sundry of his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion, to be agents for conducting applications to the legislature for their relief, in our own and their names beg leave to approach this high court of parliament with an unfeigned respect for its wisdom and authority, and at the same time with a deep and heartfelt sensation of our singular and deplorable situation. And, first of all, we implore (and for this we throw ourselves on the indulgence of parliament) that no irregularity or defect in form of language should obstruct the success of these our most ardent supplications. The circumstances in which we stand deserve consideration. For near a hundred years we, and our fathers and our grandfathers, have groaned under a code of laws (in some parts already purged from the statutes), the like of which no age, no nation, no climate, ever saw. Yet sore, as it were, from the scourge of active persecution, scarce yet confirmed in our minds, and but lately secure in our persons and in our houses from the daily alarms of search-warrants and informers, we come before parliament for the first time, and we come to ask alleviation of burdens under which we can find consolation only in the melancholy



comparison of former times. In this state of recent apprehension and troubled, anxious hope, with minds unadapted to the precise observances of decorum, we rest upon the simple merits of our case. It is a part of our calamities that we do not know how to tell them with propriety; and if our complaints should deviate into remonstrance, and we should seem to upbraid when we mean to supplicate, we trust a due allowance will be made for expressions extorted by our anguish, or proceeding from an inevitable ignorance of form. Excluded from the constitution in all its parts, and, in many respects, aliens to the law, how should we have learned the forms of parliament?

“The hardships we suffer proceed from the law; it is, therefore, only to the fountain of the law that we can look for relief. You are the great council of our sovereign lord the king; but you are also subjects like ourselves. The bar of majesty, by the law of the land and by the benignity of that sovereign whom it is your glory to imitate, is ever open to the petitions of his people. As far as we are able to discern the great outlines of a constitution which we know only in speculation, we conceive that it is the boast of the constitution of these kingdoms to have associated a portion of the people into the sovereign power, in order that, not dazzled by the awe of supreme majesty, the subject may find a happy mediatorial institution, an asylum wherein to deposit the burden of his grief, to expose the nakedness of his oppressions, and indulge complaint even to exaggeration. There were, indeed, those who would have made us believe that parliament was only to be approached with circumspect and timid steps, at most, in general terms; and that, wrapped in proud and inexorable state, you would consider a specification of the wants of the people as an insult, and a reason for not supplying them. But we knew it could not be; we knew that no senate, no king no tyrant, had ever professed to

turn his ear from detailed supplication. The majesty of God Himself is willing to receive and demands the incense of particular prayer: and shall we, who speak from man to man, from subject to subject, not dare to specify the measure and extent of our crying necessities?

“Despising that base and hypocritical affectation, we are sure it is far more congenial to the nature and to the temper of parliament, with a firm and generous confidence to say, as we say: Here is the evil, there is the remedy; to you we look for relief.

“Behold us, then, before you, three millions of the people of Ireland, subjects of the same king, inhabitants of the same land, bound together by the same social contract, contributing to the same revenues, defended by the same armies, declared by the authentic words of an act of parliament to be good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown and government, and yet doomed to one general, unqualified incapacity, and universal exclusion, and universal civil proscription. We are excluded from the state; we are excluded from the revenues; we are excluded from every distinction, every privilege, every office, every emolument, every civil trust, every corporate right; we are excluded from the navy, from the army, from the magistrature, from the professions; we are excluded from the palladium of life, liberty, and property: the juries and inquests of our country. From what are we not excluded? We are excluded from the constitution; we stand a strange anomaly in the law; not acknowledged, not disavowed, not slaves, not free-men; an exception to the principles of jurisprudence; a prodigy in the system of civil institution. We incur no small part of the penalties of a general outlawry and a general excommunication. Disability meets us at every hour, and in every walk of life. It cramps our industry, it shackles our property, it depresses our genius, it debilitates our minds. Why are we stran



chised, and why are we degraded? Or rather, why do these evils afflict our country, of which we are no inconsiderable part?

“ We most humbly and earnestly supplicate and implore parliament to call this law of universal exclusion to a severe account, and now, at last, to demand of it upon what principle it stands of equity, of morality, of justice, or of policy; and while we request this scrutiny into the law, we demand, also, the severest scrutiny into our principles, our actions, our words, and our thoughts. Wherein have we failed as loyal and affectionate subjects to the best of sovereigns; or as sober, peaceable, and useful members of society? Where is that people who can offer the testimony of a hundred years’ patient submission to a code of laws of which no man living is now an advocate, without sedition, without murmur, without complaint? Our loyalty has undergone a century of severe persecution for the sake of our religion, and we have come out of the ordeal with our religion and with our loyalty.

“ Why, then, are we still left under the ban of our country? We differ, it is true, from the national church in some points of doctrinal faith. Whether it is our blessing or our misfortune, He only knows to whom all things are known. For this, our religion, we offer no apology. After ages of learned and critical discussion, we cannot expect to throw further light upon it. We have only to say that it is founded on revelation, as well as the religion established by law. Both you and we are regenerated in the same baptism, and profess our belief in the same Christ: you, according to the Church of England; we, according to the Church of Rome. We do not exercise an abject or obscure superstition. If we err, our errors have been, and still are, sanctioned by the examples of many flourishing, learned, and civilized nations. We do not enter, we disdain to enter, into the

cavils of antiquated sophistry, and to insult the understanding of parliament, by supposing it necessary to prove that a religion is not incompatible with civil government which has subsisted for so many hundred years under every possible form of government, in some tolerated, in some established, even to this day.

“With regard to our civil principles, we are unalterably, deeply and zealously attached to his majesty’s person and government. Good and loyal subjects we are, and we are declared by law to be.

“With regard to the constitution of the state, we are as much attached to it as it is possible for men to be attached to a constitution by which they are not avowed. With regard to the constitution of the Church, we are, indeed, inviolably attached to our own: first, because we believe it to be true; and next, because, beyond belief, we know that its principles are calculated to make us good men and good citizens. But, as we find it answers to us, individually, all the useful ends of religion, we solemnly and conscientiously declare that we are satisfied with the present condition of our ecclesiastical policy.

“With satisfaction we acquiesce in the establishment of the national church; we neither repine at its possessions, nor envy its dignities. We are ready, upon this point, to give every assurance that is binding upon man.

“With regard to every other subject, and to every other calumny, we have no disavowals, we have no declarations, to make. Conscious of the innocence of our lives, and the purity of our intentions, we are justified in asking what reason of state exists (and we deny that any does exist) for leaving us still in the bondage of the law, and under the protracted restriction of penal statutes?

“Penalties suppose, if not crimes, at least a cause of reasonable suspicion. Criminal imputations like those (for, to be adequate to the effect, they must be great



indeed) are, to a generous mind, more grievous than the penalties themselves. They incontrovertibly imply that we are considered by the legislature as standing in a doubtful light of fidelity or loyalty to the king or to the constitution of our country, and perhaps both. While on these unjust suppositions we are deprived of the common rights and privileges of British and Irish subjects, it is impossible for us to say we are contented, while we endure a relentless civil proscription, for which no cause is alleged, and for which no reason can be assigned.

“Because we now come, with a clear, open and manly voice, to insist upon the grievances under which we still labor, it is not to be inferred that we have forgot the benignant justice of parliament, which has relieved us from the more oppressive, but not the most extensive, part of the penal system. In those days of affliction, when we lay prostrate under the iron rod, and, as it were, entranced in a gulf of persecution, it was necessary for parliament to go the whole way, and to stretch out a saving hand to relieve us. We had not the courage to look up for hope, to know our condition, or even to conceive a remedy. It is because the former relaxations were not thrown away upon us; it is because we begin to feel the influence of somewhat more equal laws, and to revive from our former inanition, that we now presume to stand erect before you. Conceiving that parliament has a right to expect, as a test of our gratitude, that we should no longer lie a dead weight upon our country, but come forward in our turn to assist, with our voice, our exertions and our councils, in a work to which the wisdom and power of parliament is incompetent without our coöperation: the application of a policy, wholly new, to the pressing wants and to the intimate necessities of a people long forgotten, out of the sight and the knowledge of a superintending legislature:—

accordingly we are come ; and we claim no small merit that we have found our way to the door of parliament.

“It has not been made easy for us ; every art and industry has been exerted to obstruct us. Attempts have been made to divide us into factions, and to throw us into confusion. We have stood firm and united. We have received hints and cautions, obscure intimations and public warnings, to guard our supplications against intimidation. We have resisted that species of disguised and artful threat. We have been traduced, calumniated, and libelled. We have witnessed sinister endeavors again to blow the flame of religious animosity, and awake the slumbering spirit of popular terrors and popular fury ; but we have remained unmoved.

“We are, indeed, accustomed to this tumid agitation and ferment in the public mind. In former times it was the constant precursor of more intense persecution, but it has also attended every later and happier return of legislative mercy. But whether it betokens us evil or good, to parliament we come, to seek at that shrine a safeguard from impending danger, or a communication of new benefits.

“What, then, do we ask of parliament ? To be thoroughly united and made one with the rest of our fellow-subjects. That, alas ! would be our first, our dearest wish ; but if this is denied us, if sacrifices are to be made, if an example of rare moderation, we do not aspire to the condition of a fair equality, we are not at a loss to find, in the range of social benefits (which is nearly that of our present exclusions) an object which is and ought to be the scope and resting-place of our wishes and our hopes. That which we do not ask, we are not worthy to obtain. We knock that it may be opened unto us. We have learned by tradition from our ancestors, we have heard by fame in foreign lands, where we have been driven to seek education in youth and bread in manhood, and by the



contemplation of our own mind we are filled with a deep and unalterable opinion, that the Irish, formed upon the model of the British constitution, is a blessing of inestimable value; that it contributes, and is even essentially necessary for national and individual happiness. Of this constitution we feel ourselves worthy, and, though not practically, we know the benefits of its franchises. Nor can we, without a criminal dissimulation, conceal from parliament the painful inquietude which is felt by our whole persuasion, and the danger to which we do not cease to be exposed by this our total and unmerited exclusion from the common rights, privileges, and franchises conceded by our king for the protection of the subject. This exclusion is indeed the root of every evil. It is that which makes property insecure, and industry precarious; it pollutes the stream of justice; it is the cause of daily humiliation; it is the insurmountable barrier, the impassable line of separation which divides the nation, and which, keeping animosity alive, prevents the entire and cordial intermixture of the people; and therefore inevitably it is that some share, some portion, some participation, in the liberties and franchises of our country becomes the primary and essential object of our ardent and common solicitation. It is a blessing for which there is no price, and can be no compensation. With it every evil is tolerable; without it no advantage is desirable. In this, as in all things, we submit ourselves to the paramount authority of parliament, and we shall acquiesce in what is given, as we do in what is taken away; but this is the boon we ask: we hunger and we thirst for the constitution of our country. If it shall be deemed otherwise, and shall be determined that we are qualified, perhaps, for the base and lucrative tenures of professional occupation, but unworthy to perform the free and noble services of the constitution, we submit indeed, but we solemnly protest against the distinction for ourselves and

our children. It is no act of ours. Whatever judgment may await our merits or our failings, we cannot conclude ourselves, by recognizing for a consideration the principle of servility and perpetual degradation. These are the sentiments which we feel from the bottom of our hearts, and we disclose them to the free parliament of a monarch whose glory it is to reign over a free people; to you we commit our supplications and our cause. We have indeed little to apprehend, in this benigner age, from the malignant aspirations of former times; and not more from the obsolete calumnies of former strife, although we see them endeavoring again to collect the remnants of their exhausted venom, before they die forever, in a last and feeble effort to traduce our religion and our principles.

“But, as oppression is ever fertile in pretexts, we find the objections started against us more dangerous because they are new, or new at least in the novelty of a shameless avowal. They are principally three: first, it is contended that we are a people originally and fundamentally different from yourselves, and that our interests are forever irreconcilable, because some hundred years ago our ancestors were conquered by yours. We deny the conclusion, we deny the fact; it is false. In addressing ourselves to you, we speak to the children of our ancestors, as we are also the children of your forefathers. Nature has triumphed over law; we are intermixed in blood; we are blended in connection; we are one race; we are all Irishmen, subjects of the imperial crown of Ireland. The honor of parliament is concerned to repress the audacity of those who tell us that you are a foreign colony, and consequently ought to govern according to the principles of invaders, and the policy of recent usurpation. At least we confide that you will not suffer the walls of parliament to be contaminated with that libel upon the government of Ireland. The shaft which was aimed at us has struck yourselves,—a memorable, but, at the same



time, we trust, a most auspicious example to teach both you and us, and our common posterity, that our interests are one, and that whatever affects the well-being and honor of the Roman Catholics is also injurious to the Protestant interests. Of the same complexion and tendency are the two objections: one, that our advancement in property and privilege would lead to a repeal of the act of settlement; the other, that our participation in the liberties and franchises of our country would endanger the existence of the constitution into which we are admitted.

“A resumption of the lands forfeited by our and your ancestors (for they are the same), after the lapse of so many years (near three returns of the longest period of legal limitation), after the dispersion and extinction of so many families, after so many transitions and divisions, repartitions and reconsolidations of property, so many sales, judgments, mortgages, and settlements, and after all the various processes of voluntary and legal operation, to conceive the revival of titles dormant for one hundred and fifty years is an idea so perfectly chimerical, so contrary to the experience of all ages and all countries, so repugnant to the principles of jurisprudence, and so utterly impossible in point of fact, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland, once for all, make it their earnest request to have that question thoroughly investigated, in the assured hope that so idle, vain and absurd an object of public apprehension, being exposed and laid open to the eye of reason, may sleep in oblivion forever.

“As to the other subject of apprehension, we have but one answer to make: we desire to partake of the constitution, and therefore we do not desire to destroy it. Parliament is now in possession of our case, our grievances, our sorrows, our obstructions, our solitudes, our hopes. We have told you the desire of our hearts. We do not ask to be relieved from this or that incapacity, nor the

abolition of this or that odious distinction; not even, perhaps, to be, in the fulness of time, and in the accomplishment of the great comprehensive scheme of legislation, finally incorporated with you in the enjoyment of the same constitution. Even beyond that mark we have an ultimate and, if possible, an object of more inferior desire. We look for a union of affections, a gradual and therefore a total obliteration of all the animosities (on our part they are long extinct), and all prejudices which have kept us disjoined.

“ We come to you a great accession to the Protestant interest, with hearts and minds suitable to such an end. We do not come, as jealous and suspicious rivals, to gavel the constitution, but, with fraternal minds, to participate in the great incorporeal inheritance of freedom, to be held according to the laws and customs of the realm, and by our immediate fealty and allegiance to the king, and so may you receive us.

“ And we shall ever pray,” etc.

Objections having been made to this petition, upon Mr. O'Hara's presenting it, as being informal, he withdrew it; and the general committee, finding that so bold and explicit a statement of their case had given offence, prepared another petition, merely praying that the house would take into consideration whether the removal of some of the grievances of the petitioners might not be compatible with Protestant security. This petition was presented by Mr. Egan on the 18th of February, and on the 20th was afterward rejected, on a division of two hundred to twenty-three.

On the same day was also rejected a petition from the Protestant inhabitants of Belfast, which went much further than the petition of the Catholics, as it required that they should be placed on the same footing with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

It was on the 3d of January of this year that Mr. Burke



published his letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, in which he gave that learned and liberal opinion upon the subject of the elective franchise which, it is said, obtained the royal assent to the measure that afterward was adopted for conceding it. This letter was admirably well adapted to meet every species of objection, moral, local and constitutional. It was calculated to remove the prejudices of the Church of England, and every sect of Protestant dissenters; and, above all, it was quite conclusive as a demonstration of the compatibility of Catholic emancipation with the coronation oath.

At a meeting of the general committee, on the 4th of February, the following resolutions were agreed to, and afterward published, with an address to the Protestants, written by Mr. R. Burke, and corrected by his father. To this address were added the answers of the foreign Catholic universities to questions that had been put to them in 1789, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, concerning the existence and extent of the Popish dispensing-power:—

“*Resolved*, That this committee has been informed that reports have been circulated that the application of the Catholics for relief extends to unlimited and total emancipation, and that attempts have been made, wickedly and falsely, to instil into the minds of the Protestants of this kingdom an opinion that our applications were preferred in a tone of menace.

“*Resolved*, That several Protestant gentlemen have expressed great satisfaction on being individually informed of the real extent and respectful manner of the applications for relief, and have assured us that nothing could have excited jealousy or apparent opposition to us from our Protestant countrymen, but the above-mentioned misapprehension.

“*Resolved*, That we therefore deem it necessary to declare that the whole of our late applications, whether to his majesty’s ministers, to men in power, or to private

members of the legislature, as well as our intended petition, neither did nor does contain anything, or extend further, either in substance or in principle, than the four following objects:—

“ 1. Admission to the profession and practice of the law.

“ 2. Capacity to serve as county magistrates.

“ 3. A right to be summoned and to serve on grand and petty juries.

“ 4. The right of voting in counties only for Protestant members of parliament, in such a manner, however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder should not vote unless he either rented or cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per annum, in addition to his forty shilling freehold, or else possessed a freehold to the amount of twenty pounds a year.

“ *Resolved*, That in our opinion these applications, not extending to any other objects than the above, are moderate, and absolutely necessary for our general alleviation, and more particularly for the protection of the Catholic farmers and the peasantry of Ireland; and that they do not, in any degree, endanger either Church or state, or endanger the security of the Protestant interest.

“ *Resolved*, That we never had an idea or thought so extravagant as that of menacing or intimidating our Protestant brethren, much less the legislature; and that we disclaim the violent and turbulent intentions imputed to us in some of the public prints, and circulated in private conversation.

“ *Resolved*, That we refer to the known disposition of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, to our dutiful behavior during a long series of years, and particularly to the whole tenor of our late proceedings, for the full refutation of every charge of sedition and disloyalty.

“ *Resolved*, That, for the more ample and detailed exposure of all the evil reports and calumnies circulated against us, an address to our Protestant fellow-subjects,



and to the public in general, be printed by the order and in the name of the general committee."

The queries and answers concerning the Popish dispensing-power are as follows :—

" 1st. Has the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, or jurisdiction, or preëminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

" 2d. Can the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance upon any pretext whatsoever?

" 3d. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction either of a public or a private nature?"

Abstract from the answer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris to the above queries.

After an introduction according to the usual forms of the university, they answer the first query by declaring :—

" Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the Church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil jurisdiction or civil preëminence whatever, in any kingdom, consequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reason of virtue of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or preëminence by divine institution inherent in or granted, or by any other means belonging, to the pope or the Church of Rome. This doctrine the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion maintained, and has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools."

Answer to the second query :—

" Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any person of the Church of Rome, can, by

virtue of the keys, absolve or release the subjects of the King of England from their oath of allegiance."

This and the first query are so intimately connected, that the answer of the first, immediately and naturally applies to the second, etc.

Answer to the third query:—

"There is no tenet in the Catholic Church by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty, and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith against Protestants have complained more heavily than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them," etc., etc.

"Given at Paris, in the General Assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday, the eleventh day before the Calends of March, 1789." (Signed in due form.)

#### "UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

"The Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, having been requested to give her opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness; but struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives. The Faculty being assembled for the above purpose, it is agreed, with the unanimous assent of all voices, to answer the first and second queries absolutely in the negative.

"The Faculty does not think it incumbent upon her, in this place, to enter upon the proof of her opinion, or to show how it is supported by passages in the Holy Scriptures or the writings of antiquity. That has already been done by Bossuet, De Marca, the two Barclays,



Goldastus, the Pithæuses, Argentre, Widrington, and his majesty, King James I, in his Dissertation against Bellarmine and Du Perron, and by many others," etc., etc.

The Faculty then proceeds to declare that the sovereign power of the state is in nowise (not even indirectly, as it is termed) subject to, or dependent upon, any other power, though it be a spiritual power, or even though it be instituted for eternal salvation, etc., etc.

That no man, or any assembly of men, however eminent in dignity and power, nor even the whole body of the Catholic Church, though assembled in general council, can, upon any ground of pretence whatsoever, weaken the bond of union between the sovereign and the people, still less can they absolve or free the subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Proceeding to the third question, the said Faculty of Divinity, in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed, most positively and unequivocally answers that there is not, and there never has been, among the Catholics, or in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with heretics or others of a different persuasion from themselves, in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns.

"The Faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same, and is neither shaken or diminished even if those with whom the engagement is made hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion," etc., etc.

(Signed in due form on the 18th November, 1788.)

"UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID.

"To the first question it is answered, that neither pope, cardinals, or even a general council, have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or preëminence, directly

or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain, or over any other kingdom or province in which they possess no temporal dominion.

“To the second it is answered, that neither pope nor cardinals, nor even a general council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

“To the third it is answered, that the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.”

(Signed in the usual form, February 17th, 1789.)

While the general committee were occupied in carrying these measures into effect, parliament had passed a law\* for removing part of the restraints and disabilities, to which the Catholics were liable. It was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir H. Langrishe, and being supported by government, it met with little opposition.

But the conduct of government on this occasion was so suspicious, and its favors conferred with so bad a grace,† that it did not in the least degree contribute to appease the irritation which its former conduct, in 1791, had so justly given rise to.

By this act, Catholics may be called to the bar, and may be admitted as students into the King's Inns. Attorneys may take Catholic apprentices, and are relieved from the necessity of educating their children Protestants, and barristers may marry Catholics. Catholic barristers and apprentices to attorneys must, nevertheless, qualify

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\* 32 George III. c. 21.

† This measure was introduced into the House of Commons without any communication with the general committee.



themselves for the benefits of this act by taking the oath of the 13th and 14th George III, c. 35.

By this act, so much of 9 William III, c. 3, and 2 Anne, c. 6, as prevents Protestants from intermarrying with Papists, is repealed; but Protestants married to Catholics are not to vote at elections; and the law is not altered which makes it a capital felony for a priest to celebrate the marriage of a Protestant and a Catholic, though the very next act in the statute-book enables a Presbyterian clergyman to celebrate the marriage of a Protestant and a Presbyterian.

By this act, also, the 7 William III, for restraining foreign education, is repealed, and Catholics are permitted to teach school without taking out a license from the ordinary; and so much, likewise, of 8 Anne, c. 3, is repealed which enacts that no Papists shall take more than two apprentices.

In the course of the debates upon this act, the Catholics were accused of professing tenets inimical to good order and government, and with harboring pretensions to the forfeited estates of their forefathers, and with wishing to subvert the existing establishment, that they might reinstate a Popish one instead. The general committee were also accused of being turbulent and seditious agitators. It was asserted that the petition which they presented this year to parliament was the act of an obscure faction, confined merely to the capital, and disavowed by the great mass of the Catholics.

In order to repel the first of these accusations, the declaration of 1774, which has already been introduced into this work, was republished, and signed by Dr. Tory and the principal Catholic clergy and laity of the kingdom. The second charge was not easy to be contradicted. It was one of most serious importance to the interests of the whole body, and, if suffered to pass without the fallacy of it being exposed, would have contributed to defeat all

the exertions which had been made to obtain redress. Urged by these considerations, and also by a communication which, about this time, was made from the first authority, that a further application for relief would have great weight with his majesty and with parliament, if the committee were qualified to declare that it was the measure of every Catholic in the kingdom,\* the committee devised a plan by which a convention of delegates should be held, elected by the whole Catholic body. A circular letter was immediately written, directing that each parish should proceed to choose one or two electors, and that these electors should then elect from one to four delegates, as it might appear most expedient to them. Their directions were obeyed, and carried into effect with so much promptitude and good order, that the convention were able to meet on the 3d of December, without the smallest degree of tumult or agitation having occurred in any part of the kingdom.

In the meantime, this circular-letter had been laid hold of by the government, as a proper instrument with which to rekindle the embers of religious animosities. Where the partisans of government were sufficiently strong, corporate and county meetings were held to reprobate the plan of the general committee; but if defeat, or even formidable resistance, was apprehended, similar resolutions were entered into by the grand juries, where success could easily be secured from the influence of government in their appointment.

In order to counteract the effect of these resolutions, those Protestants who had the virtue and the good sense neither to become the tools nor the dupes of government, held a great number of meetings in different towns and districts.

Some few, with Londonderry at their head, expressed

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\* See the plan for conducting the election of delegates, published 1793. Plowden, vol. ii, Ap. 89.



themselves favorable to a gradual admission of the Catholics; but the great majority followed the example of an immense body of volunteers who, when assembled together at their commemoration meeting, declared their sentiments in favor of the immediate and unqualified extension of the right of suffrage to the whole Catholic body.

When the convention met in December, their proceedings were wise, temperate, and decisive, and conducted without any violation of the laws of the land, or of the good order of society. At the first meeting the following petition to the king was unanimously agreed to, pursuant to instructions which had been given to each delegate by his respective electors:—

“TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED CATHOLICS, ON BEHALF OF THEMSELVES AND THE REST OF HIS CATHOLIC SUBJECTS OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

“Most Gracious Sovereign:—

“We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labor.

“For, may it please your majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred; after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge which can be devised for their peaceable demeanor and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity which

scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

“ In the first place we beg leave, with all humility, to represent to your majesty that, notwithstanding the lowest departments in your majesty’s fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military,—a proscription which disregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

“ We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself, for, by giving an advantage over us to those in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish throughout the kingdom a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavor, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom, of trade.

“ We may not found nor endow any university, college or school for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the University of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

“ We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of our houses, families or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions than unjust in their object; by one of which,



enacted so late, as within these sixteen years, every one of your majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free: keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillory and whipping,—penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself. No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform, and deprive him of it; the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose: he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law..

“We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all petit juries in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and that we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials, by information or indictment, founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your majesty that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this, their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us: of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

“We may not serve on grand juries unless,—which it is scarcely possible can ever happen,—there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the panel, contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law which says that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbors and equals, whereby (and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your

royal attention) we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution: trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our **property** being taxed in assessments of a body from which we are formally excluded.

“We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but, may it please your majesty, there remains one incapacity which your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities: we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed where they are not represented actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or withhold their assent. And we most humbly implore your majesty to believe that this, our prime and heavy grievance, is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and, in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your majesty’s faithful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland; for, may it please your majesty,—not to mention the infinite variety of advantages, in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniences to which those who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the disgrace to three-fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland, of living, the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free constitution,—it continually happens, and of necessity, from the malignant nature of the law, must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and



importance of their landlords: a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant brethren, a visitation and heavy curse to us, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And, may it please your majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your majesty's Catholic subjects operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens that this, your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any, countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your majesty's honor, and the more effectual support of your service.

"And, may it please your majesty, the evil does not even rest here; for many of your majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity, against their conviction and their conscience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve: a circumstance which, we doubt not, will shock your majesty's well-known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

"And may it please your majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your majesty that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English constitution by our forefathers, was secured to at least a great part of our body by the Treaty of Limerick, 1691, guaranteed by your majesty's loyal predecessors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by

parliament; notwithstanding which, and breach of the public faith of the nation, thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland so lately as the first year of his majesty, King George II.

“And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the Treaty of Limerick to your majesty’s royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case, for, though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive that, if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your majesty’s Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your majesty’s government in this country, as well as in their personal service in your majesty’s fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the constitution of their country.

“And now that we have, with all humility, submitted our grievances to your majesty, permit us, most gracious sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the constitution, as established in the three estates of king, lords, and commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceful demeanor, and submission to the laws for one hundred years, and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct, which has, under your majesty’s happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes which the wisdom of the legislature has, from time to time, thought proper to grant. We humbly



presume to hope that your majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection toward a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your parliament in Ireland to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your majesty's subjects in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your majesty that service which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

"So may your majesty transmit to your latest posterity a crown secured by public advantage and public affection, and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people."

On the 2d January, 1793, the gentlemen who had been deputed to present this petition, were introduced to his majesty by Mr. Dundas, and on the 10th of the same month Lord Westmoreland, in a speech from the throne to both houses of parliament, said: "I have it in particular command from his majesty to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes of his majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view his majesty trusts that the situation of his majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of parliament."

In a few days afterward Major Hobart, the chief secretary of the lord-lieutenant, presented to the House of Commons a petition from the Catholics, and soon after the royal assent was given to the following "act for

affording relief to his majesty's Popish, or Roman Catholic, subjects of Ireland :"—

"Whereas various acts of parliament have been passed imposing on his majesty's subjects professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, many restraints and disabilities to which other subjects of this realm are not liable, and from the peaceable and loyal demeanor of his majesty's Popish, or Roman Catholic subjects it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued :

"I. Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that his majesty's subjects being Papists, or persons professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, or married to Papists, or persons professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, or educating any of their children in that religion, shall not be liable or subject to any penalties, forfeitures, disabilities or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, charging or discovering of their estates and property, real or personal, or touching the acquiring of property, or securities affecting property, save such as his majesty's subjects of the Protestant religion are liable and subject to ; and that such parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by persons, in order to qualify themselves for voting at elections for members to serve in parliament ; and also such parts of all oaths required to be taken by persons voting at elections for members to serve in parliament as import to deny that the said person taking the same is a Papist, or married to a Papist, or educates his children in the Popish religion, shall not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be omitted by the person administering the same ; and that it shall not be necessary, in order to entitle a Papist, or person professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, to vote at an election for members to



serve in parliament, that he should at, or previous to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any statute now in force to the contrary of any of the said matters in anywise notwithstanding.

“2. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that all Papists, or persons professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic, religion, who may claim to have a right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or of voting for magistrates in any city, town corporate, or borough, within this kingdom, be hereby required to perform all qualifications, registries, and other requisites, which are now required of his majesty's Protestant subjects in like cases by any law or laws now in force in this kingdom, save and except such oaths and parts of oaths as are hereinbefore excepted.

“3. And provided always, that nothing hereinbefore contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or alter any law or act of parliament now in force, by which certain qualifications are required to be performed by persons enjoying any offices or places of trust under his majesty, his heirs and successors, other than as hereinafter is enacted.

“4. Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to give Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, a right to vote at any parish vestry for levying money to rebuild or repair any parish church, or respecting the devising or disposal of the income of any estate belonging to any church or parish, or for the salary of the parish clerk, or at the selection of any churchwarden.

“5. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to, or be construed to affect, any action or suit now pending, which shall have been brought or instituted previous to the commencement of this session of parliament.

“6. Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall

extend to authorize any Papist, or person professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or possession any arms, armor, ammunition, or any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns or fire-arms, or to exempt such persons from any forfeiture or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armor or ammunition, in the hands or possession of any Papist, or respecting Papists having or keeping such warlike stores, save and except Papists, or persons of the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion seized of a freehold estate of £100 a year, or possessed of a personal estate of £1,000 or upward, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as Protestants now by law may; and also save and except Papists, or Roman Catholics, possessing a freehold estate of £10 yearly value and less than £100, or a personal estate of £300 and less than £1,000, who shall have, at the session of the peace in the county in which they reside, taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled 'an act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him,' and also, in open court, swear and subscribe an affidavit that they are possessed of a freehold estate, yielding a clear yearly profit to the person making the same of £10, or a personal property of £300 above his just debts, specifying therein the name and nature of such freehold, and nature of such personal property, which affidavits shall be carefully preserved by the clerk of the peace, who shall have for his trouble a fee of sixpence, and no more, for every such affidavit; and the persons making such affidavits, and possessing such property, may keep and use arms and ammunition as Protestants may, so long as they shall respectively possess a property of the annual value of £10 and upward, if freehold, or the value of £300 if personal, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.



“7. And be it enacted that it shall and may be lawful for Papists, or persons professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit, under his majesty, his heirs and successors, in this kingdom, and to hold, to take degrees, or any professorship in, or to be masters in, or fellows of any college to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin, and shall not be founded exclusively for the education of Papists, or persons professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, or to hold any office or place of trust in, and to be a member of any lay body corporate, except the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, without taking and subscribing the oath of allegiance, supremacy or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration required to be taken, made, and subscribed, to enable any person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Ireland, any law, statute, or by-law of any corporation to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty’s reign, entitled ‘an act to enable his majesty’s subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him;’ and also the oath and declaration following, that is to say:—

“‘I, A. B., do hereby declare that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion.

“‘I, A. B., do swear that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any way injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being a heretic; and I do declare solemnly, before God, that I believe that no act, in itself unjust, immoral or wicked, can ever

be justified or excused by or under preterence or color that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess that the pope is infallible,\* or that I am bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order; but, on the contrary, I hold that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto. I further declare that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me can be forgiven at the mere will of any pope, or of any priest, or from any person or persons whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement and arrangement of property in this country as established by the laws now in being. I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear that I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government of this kingdom. So help me God.'

"8. And be it enacted that Papists, or persons professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion may be capable of being elected professors of medicine upon the foundation of Sir Patrick Dunno, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding

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\* Papal Infallibility not having then been a defined article of faith.



“ 9. Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord-Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Lord High Chancellor or Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal of this kingdom, Lord High Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Court of King’s Bench or Common Pleas, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Justice of the Court of King’s Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Master or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice-Treasurer, Teller and Cashier of the Exchequer, or Auditor-General, Lieutenant, or Governor, or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord-Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Member of His Majesty’s most Honorable Privy Council, Prime Sergeant, Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Second and Third Sergeants-at-Law, or King’s Counsel, Masters in Chancery, Provost, or Fellow of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, Postmaster-General, Master and Lieutenant-General of His Majesty’s Forces, Generals on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-sheriffs of any county in this kingdom, or any office contrary to the rules, orders and directions made and established by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, in pursuance of the act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of King Charles II, entitled ‘an act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act entitled “an act for the better execution of his majesty’s gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his majesty’s subjects there, and for making some altera-

tion of, and additions unto the said act, for the more speedy and effectual settlement of this kingdom," unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declaration, and performed the several requisites which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.'

"10. Provided also, and be it enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall enable any Papist, or person professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, to exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

"11. And be it enacted that no Papist, or person professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, shall be liable or subject to any penalty for not attending divine service on the Sabbath-day, called Sunday, in his or her parish church.

"12. Provided, also, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to authorize any Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any person who hath been, or professed himself or herself to be, a Protestant at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, and a Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist should have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion; and that every Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage between two Protestants, or between any such Protestant or Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, shall forfeit the sum of £500 to his majesty, upon conviction thereof.\*

"13. And whereas it may be expedient, in case his

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\* In England the celebration of divine service in Catholic chapels is protected by an act of parliament (31 George III, c. 32) imposing a penalty of £20 upon any person disturbing it. No such protection exists in Ireland.



majesty, his heirs and successors shall be pleased to alter the statutes of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin, and of the University of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to enter into, or take degrees in the said university, to remove any obstacle which now exists by statute law, be it enacted :

“That from and after the first day of June, 1793, it shall not be necessary for any person, upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university, to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oath save the oath of allegiance and abjuration, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

“14. Provided always, that no Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic, or Popish religion, shall take any benefit by or under this act, unless he shall have first taken and subscribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and set forth, and also the said oath appointed by the said act, passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled ‘an act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him,’ in some one of his majesty's Four Courts of Dublin, or at the General Sessions of the Peace, or at any adjournment thereof, to be holden for the county, city or borough, wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic, or Popish religion, doth inhabit or dwell, or before the going judge or judges of assize, in the county wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic, or Popish, religion, doth inhabit and dwell, in open court.

“15. Provided always, and be it enacted, that the names of such persons as so shall take and subscribe the said oaths and declarations, with their titles and additions, shall be entered upon the rolls for that purpose, to be appointed by said respective courts; and that

the said rolls, once in every year, shall be transmitted to, and deposited in the rolls office, in this kingdom, to remain amongst the records thereof; and the masters or keepers of the rolls in this kingdom, or their lawful deputy or deputies, are hereby empowered and required to give and deliver to such person or persons, so taking and subscribing the said oaths and declarations, a certificate or certificates of such person or persons having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declarations, for each of which certificate the sum of one shilling, and no more, shall be paid.\*

“16. And be it further provided and enacted that, from and after the first day of April, 1793, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic, or Popish religion, shall at any time be capable of giving his vote for the electing of any knight or knights of any shire or county within this kingdom, or citizen or burgess to serve in any parliament, until he shall have first produced and shown to the high sheriff of the said county, or his deputy or deputies, at any election of a knight or knights of the said shire, and to the respective chief officer or officers of any city, borough or town corporate to whom the return of any citizen or burgess to serve in parliament, such certificate of his having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, either from the rolls of office, or from the proper officer of the court in which the said oaths and declaration shall be taken and subscribed; and such person being a freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant, producing and showing such certificate, shall be then permitted to vote as amply and fully as any Protestant freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant of such county, city, borough, or town corporate, but not otherwise.”\*

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\* As admission into the army and navy, and the privilege to hold revenue offices in Great Britain, are the only concessions that have been made to the



The general committee, in testimony of their gratitude to the king for this most important concession, presented the following address to the lord-lieutenant, to be by him transmitted to his majesty :—

“ MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN :

“ We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, animated with sentiments of the most lively gratitude, beg leave to approach your majesty with our sincere and heartfelt thanks for the substantial benefits which, through your majesty's gracious recommendations, we have received from the wisdom and liberality of parliament.

“ Impressed with a deep sense of your majesty's goodness, we reflect that, in consequence of this last and signal instance of your royal favor, the disabilities under which we and our ancestors so long labored, have,

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Catholics since 1793, it may be as well to enumerate here, as in any other place, the various disabilities to which they are still liable :—

EDUCATION.—They cannot teach school, unless they take the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35. They cannot take Protestant scholars, or be ushers to Protestant schoolmasters, by 32 George III; c. 20.

GUARDIANSHIP.—They cannot be guardians, unless they take the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35. If ecclesiastics, they cannot, under any circumstance, be guardians; nor can any Catholic be guardian to a child of a Protestant, by 30 George III, c. 29.

MARRIAGE.—If a Catholic clergyman marries a Protestant and a Catholic, unless the marriage has been previously solemnized by a Protestant clergyman, the marriage is null and void, and he is liable to a penalty of £500, by 33 George III, c. 21, § 12.

SELF-DEFENCE.—No Catholic can keep arms unless he possesses a freehold estate of £10 per annum, or a personal estate of £300. If so qualified, he must further qualify himself by taking the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35 (unless he has a freehold estate of £100 per annum, or a personal estate of £1,000, by 33 George III, c. 21).

EXERCISE OF RELIGION.—The Catholic clergy must take the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35, and register their place of abode, age and parish. No chapel can have a steeple or bell, and no rites or ceremonies of the religion or habits of their order are permitted, except within their several places of worship, or in private houses, by 21 and 22 George III, c. 24, § 6.

PROPERTY.—The penal laws are in full force in respect to landed property

in a considerable degree, been removed, the constitutional energy of three-fourths of your loyal subjects restored to their country, and themselves enabled to testify, in a manner more useful to your majesty's service, their devoted attachment to your person, family and government. Restored, as we now are, to such valuable privileges, it shall be our duty, as it is our inclination, to unite in support of our excellent constitution, as established in king, lords, and commons,—a constitution revered by us for its excellence, even when secluded from its blessings, and from which every advantage we derive becomes a new tie of fidelity and attachment.

“Permit us, most gracious sovereign, to express our unfeigned satisfaction that, to a monarch endeared to us by so many proofs of clemency, belongs the glorious distinction of being the first to begin that work of emancipation, in accomplishment of which we humbly

against all Catholics, and all Protestant purchasers from Catholics, when the Catholic proprietor has omitted to take the qualifying oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c.—.

“The Catholic guilty of such omission not merely risks the total loss of his landed property, but is immersed in fomenting litigation. His lands and tenements, and all collateral securities made and entered into for covering or protecting them, become discoverable, and may be sued for and recovered from him by any Protestant discoverer. The discoverer, so vested with this property, is enabled to find it out by every mode of inquisition, and to sue for it with every kind of privilege (8 Anne, c. 3, §§ 27 and 30).

“Not only are the courts of law open to him, but he may enter [and this is the usual method] into either of the courts of equity. He may file his bills against those whom he suspects to be possessed of this forbidden property, against those whom he suspects to be their trustees, and against those whom he suspects to be privy to such ownership, and oblige them, under the guilt of penalties for perjury, to discover, upon oath, the exact nature and just value of their estates and trusts, in all particulars necessary to affect their forfeiture. In such suits the informer is not liable to the delays which the ordinary procedure of those courts throws in the way of the most equitable claimant, nor has the Catholic the indulgence allowed to the most fraudulent defendant: that of plea and demurrer. He is obliged to answer the whole directly, upon his oath, and the old rule of ‘extending benefit and restraining penalty is, by this law, struck out of the ancient jurisprudence.’ ” (“Statement of the Penal Laws,” p. 307.)

FRANCHISES.—No Catholic can hold any office enumerated in § 9 of the



hope your majesty will enjoy the gratification of seeing your whole people united in the bonds of equal laws and equal liberty.

“May your majesty long continue to reign in the hearts of your faithful subjects, dispensing, as common father to all your people, the inestimable blessings of freedom, peace and union.”

Although this act declared that Catholics might hold any military office or employment, as its powers could not extend out of Ireland, and as all Irish Catholic soldiers, sailors and officers were uniformly employed on services out of Ireland, it was represented to the government that, in order to give it any useful effect in this respect, the English act of 1 George I, which prohibits Catholics from filling any military situation, should be repealed. In answer to their application, the Catholics were informed by Lord Hobart that such a measure would be immediately adopted, and the letter of the secretary of state was shown to them, containing the promise of the English government. In the House

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act here inserted, of 33 George III, c. 21. Catholics cannot sit in parliament. They cannot vote at elections for members, without taking the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35, and of 33 George III, c. 21. They cannot vote at vestries, where the question relates to building or repairing churches, the salary of the clerk, or the election of churchwarden, by §§ 4-33 George III, c. 21. They cannot be barristers, attorneys or professors of medicine on Sir P. Dunn's foundation, without taking the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35, and of 33 George III, c. 21.

**CATHOLIC SOLDIERS.**—By the Mutiny Act, if they refuse to frequent the Church of England worship, when ordered to do so by their commanding officer, shall, for the first offence, forfeit twelvepence, and for the second not only forfeit twelvepence, but be laid in irons for twelve hours; and by the 2d section, act 5, of the Articles of War, the punishment extends even to that of death.

No part scarcely, in fact, of the penal code is repealed, but all of it is now the law of the land, and in full force against those Catholics who have not qualified themselves for relief from its violence, by taking the oaths of 13 and 14 George III, c. 35, and of 33 George III, c. 21.

of Lords, when, upon the debate of this act, Lord Farnham proposed an amendment to the clause relating to the military officers, by rendering its operation conditional, until England should pass a similar law, the Chancellor, Lord Clare, opposed it: "For," said he, "it could not be supposed that his majesty would appoint a man to such a post until the laws of the empire should qualify him to act in every part of it. It was more than probable a similar law to this would be adopted in England before the lapse of two months, and on this ground the amendment would be wholly unnecessary." \*

Fourteen years, however, were allowed to pass by without any attempt being made to pass such a law in England; and when the cabinet, in 1807, sought to rescue the plighted faith of their predecessors from well-merited reproach, they were accused of an attempt to subvert the Established Church, and were driven from the councils of his majesty.

In the course of this year a most unequivocal proof was given to the liberal sentiments which prevailed throughout among the Protestants of the north of Ireland, in regard to their Catholic fellow-countrymen. At the meeting of the convention of delegates, which was held, in February, at Dungannon, and in which the counties of Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Tyrone, Donegal and Monaghan, were fully represented, they passed resolutions in favor of the absolute necessity of a reform in parliament, including the unqualified admission of Catholics. The Synod of Ulster also (a body consisting of the whole dissenting clergy of the North, and the Presbytery of Dublin, together with a lay delegate from each parish) presented an address to the lord-lieutenant, in which they expressed their satisfaction at the admission of the Catholics to the privileges of the constitution.

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\* "Plowden's Hist. of Br. Empire, during 1792 and 1739."



These occurrences are of vast importance in forming a correct view of the opinion of the Irish Protestants upon this question, because the Presbyterians being in numbers fully equal to the Protestants of the Church of England, it leaves but a small number of the whole people adverse to the Catholic claims, even if all these Protestants were, as they certainly are not, hostile to emancipation.

During this session another subject occupied the serious attention of the upper house of parliament. Disturbances had broken out, and outrages were committed in the county of Louth, and the neighboring counties of Meath, Cavan and Monaghan, by persons of the very lowest rank in life, associated under the name of Defenders. This body had its origin in religious persecution, and was an almost inevitable consequence of the system according to which Ulster had been colonized and settled, and Ireland ruled since the Reformation. In that province English and Scotch planters had been established on the forfeited lands of the native Catholics.

These last were, for the most part, obliged to retire to the bogs and mountains; but, even there, they were not permitted to lose the remembrance of their forefathers, their power and their opulence, in the tranquil enjoyment of security and content.

The bogs and mountains afforded them no refuge against the acts of uniformity and supremacy, or the accumulating oppressions of the Popery laws. Nor were the wretched inhabitants exempted by their defenceless condition from the hatred, contempt and persecution of their privileged and arrogant neighbors. Hence arose a mutual rancorous animosity between the new settlers and natives, or, in other words, between the Protestants and Catholics, transmitted from generation to generation, until at last it became more violent and intolerant than in any other part of Ireland.

The Volunteers, by the benign influence of their institu-

tion, had, for the first time, considerably abated this spirit, and by their successful activity, as military men, in keeping the peace, had prevented its receiving fresh provocation by outrage and insult. But in proportion as this body declined or was discouraged, prejudices and hatred revived, especially in districts remote from the principal Presbyterian towns, where the growing liberality of the most enlightened dissenters could scarcely operate. These prejudices which, chiefly prevailing in the county of Armagh,\* extended, more or less, into the adjoining districts of the counties of Down and Tyrone, began to break out in the year 1791. About that period several associations among the lower order of the Protestants were formed, under the appellation of Peep-o'-Day Boys, whose object was to scour the Catholic districts about the break of day, and strip the inhabitants of fire-arms, alleging that they were warranted in so doing by the Popery laws, which had, indeed, for a long period, forbidden to the members of that communion the use of arms, even for self-defence.

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\* Lord Viscount Gosford's address to the magistrates of the county of Armagh: "Gentlemen :—Having requested your attendance here this day, it becomes my duty to state the grounds upon which I thought it advisable to propose this meeting, and, at the same time, to submit to your consideration a plan which occurs to me as most likely to check the enormities that have already brought disgrace upon this country, and may soon reduce it into deep distress. It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have, in all ages, distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county. Neither age nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection.

"The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime, indeed, of easy proof: it is simply profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connection with a person professing that faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible. It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription,—a proscription that certainly exceeds, in the comparative number



The Catholics, thus exposed and attacked, entered into a counter association, called Defenders, which derived its name from the necessity of their situation, and its excuse from the difficulty, or, as they stated, the impossibility of obtaining justice against their aggressors. This association, at first local, and confined, as much as mutual hatred would allow, to actual self-defence, began, in 1792, to spread through other parts of the kingdom, and not a little to connect itself with more general politics.

In proportion as this association extended itself into districts where no Protestants of inferior rank of life were to be found, and therefore no outrages like those committed by the Peep-o'-Day Boys to be apprehended, it gradually lost its characteristic of being a religious feud, and became, in fact, an association of the very worst characters, particularly for procuring a redress of the grievances of the very humbler classes. Even in the counties where it originated, it ceased to be actuated by religious animosity before the end of 1792, in consequence of the exertions of the early United Irishmen, whose chief

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of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can supply : for, where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelties have we read of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means, as well as the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country, yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest bosoms. Those horrors are now acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this country, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.

“It is said, in reply, the Catholics are dangerous. They may be so—they may be dangerous from their numbers, and still more dangerous from the unbounded views they have been encouraged to entertain ; but I would venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that these proceedings are not more contrary to humanity than they are to sound policy. It is to be lamented that no civil magistrate happened to be present with the military detachment on the night of the 21st instant ; but I trust the suddenness of the occasion, the unexpected

endeavors were always directed to reconcile the Protestants and Catholics.

These disturbances having attracted the attention of the House of Lords early in 1793, a secret committee was appointed to inquire into these causes, to endeavor to discover their promoters, and to prevent their extension.

In their report they exculpate the Catholics as a body from all criminality with respect to their proceedings. They say that "nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances;" and then they even acquit the lower order of Catholics of being to blame, by saying that, "if all the magistrates in the disturbed counties had followed the spirited example of the few who, much to their honor, exerted themselves with vigor and courage to support the laws, the committee are persuaded that these disturbances might have been suppressed; but, instead of doing so, they remained inactive."

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and instantaneous aggression on the part of the delinquents, will be universally admitted as a full vindication of the conduct of the officer, and the party acting under his command. Gentlemen, I have the honor to hold a situation in this country which calls upon me to deliver my sentiments, and I do it without fear and without disguise. I am as true a Protestant as any gentleman in this room; I inherit a property which my family claimed under a Protestant title, and, with the blessing of God, I will maintain that title to the utmost of my power. I will never consent to make a sacrifice of Protestant ascendancy to Catholic claims, with whatever menace they may be urged, or however speciously or invidiously supported. Conscious of my sincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadvisedly, but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry insinuations that malice or party spirit may suggest.

"I know my own heart, and I would despise myself if, under intimidation, I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.

"I should be guilty of an unpardonable injustice to the feelings of gentlemen here present, were I to say more on this subject. I have now acquitted myself to my conscience and my country, and take the liberty of proposing the following resolutions:—

"1st. That it appears to this meeting that the county of Armagh is at this



In further corroboration of the innocence of the Catholics, there is the following declaration of one of the members of the committee, in the debate on the Catholic bill. Lord Portarlington said that, "if he was not fully convinced that the Catholic body had no connection whatever in the disturbances created by some of their communion in the North, he should never give this bill his support."

The Catholic clergy, who had been uniformly ready to promote tranquillity, and to inculcate the obligation of a strict submission to the laws, were not backward, on this occasion, in assisting government to suppress the outrages of the Defenders.

Dr. Troy, Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Bray, Dr. Bellew and Dr. Cruise, all of them titular bishops, happening to be in Dublin when the business was first taken up to the House of Lords, published the following admonition to those of their communion, and directed the priests of their dioceses to read it in their respective chapels:—

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moment in a state of uncommon disorder ; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they immediately abandon their lands and habitations.

"2d. That a committee of magistrates be appointed to sit on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the chapter-room, in the town of Armagh, to receive information against all persons of whatever description, who disturb the peace of this county.

"3d. That the instruction of the whole body of magistrates to their committee sha'll be to use every legal means within their power to stop the progress of the persecution now carried on by an ungovernable mob against the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this county.

"4th. That said committee, or any three of them, be empowered to expend any sum or sums of money, for information or secret service, out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

"5th. That a meeting of the whole body of the magistracy be held every second Monday, at the house of Mr. Charles McReynolds, in the town of Armagh, to hear the report of the committee, and to give such further instructions as the exigency of the case may require.

"6th. That offenders of every description in the present disturbances shall be prosecuted out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county."

“ DUBLIN, *January 25th, 1793*

“ DEAR CHRISTIANS :—

It has been our constant practice, as it is our indispensable duty, to exhort you to manifest, on all occasions, that unshaken loyalty to his majesty and obedience to the laws which the principles of our holy religion inspire and command. This loyalty and obedience have ever peculiarly distinguished the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of their being actuated at present by the same sentiments, but think it necessary to observe that a most lively gratitude to our beloved sovereign should render their loyalty and love of order, if possible, more conspicuous. Our gracious king, the common father of all his people, has, with peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of our enlightened parliament. How can we, dear Christians, express our heartfelt acknowledgments for this signal and unprecedented instance of royal benevolence and condescension? Words are insufficient; but your continued and peaceable conduct will more effectually proclaim them, and in a manner equally, if not more, satisfactory and pleasing to his majesty and his parliament. Avoid, then, we conjure you, dearest brethren, every appearance of riot; attend to your industrious pursuits for the support and comfort of your families; fly from idle assemblies; abstain from the intemperate use of spirituous and intoxicating liquors; practise the duties of our holy religion. This conduct, so pleasing to heaven, will also prove the most powerful recommendation of your present claims to our amiable sovereign, to both houses of parliament, to the magistrates, and to all our well-meaning fellow-subjects of every description. None but the evil-minded can rejoice in your being concerned in any disturbance.

“ We cannot but declare our utmost and conscien-



tious detestation and abhorrence of the enormities lately committed by seditious and misguided wretches of every religious denomination in some counties of this kingdom; they are enemies of God and man, the outcasts of society, and a disgrace to Christianity. We consider the Roman Catholics amongst them unworthy the appellation, whether acting from themselves, or seduced to outrage by arts of designing enemies to us and to national prosperity, intimately connected with our emancipation.

“Offer your prayers, dearest brethren, to the Father of mercy, that He may inspire these deluded people with sentiments becoming Christians and good subjects; supplicate the Almighty Ruler and Disposer of empires, by whom kings rule, and legislators determine what is just, to direct his majesty’s councils, and forward his benevolent intentions to unite all his Irish subjects in bonds of common interest, and common endeavors for the preservation of peace and good order, and for every purpose tending to increase and secure national prosperity.

“Beseech the throne of mercy, also, to assist both houses of parliament in their important deliberations, that they may be distinguished by consummate wisdom and liberality, for the advantage of the kingdom, and the relief and happiness of his majesty’s subjects.

“Under the pleasing expectations of your cheerful compliance with these our earnest solicitations, we most sincerely wish you every blessing in this life, and everlasting happiness in the next, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.”

In the summer of 1794, Mr. Pitt formed his memorable coalition with the Rockingham party; and though the ground of this transaction was a concurrence of opinion concerning the war with France, “if the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to the Duke of Portland, that coalition could

not have taken place. The sentiments he had entertained, and the language he had held so publicly for years back on the subject, rendered the superintendence of Irish affairs a point that could not be dispensed with by him." \*

It having thus become a point that could not be dispensed with by the Duke of Portland, to grant the Catholics of Ireland complete emancipation, the first measure of his grace, immediately upon the coalition being arranged, was to solicit Lord Fitzwilliam to accept of his office of lord-lieutenant, and to propose to him to carry this measure instantly into effect. † This measure was decided upon by the cabinet on the day the Duke of Portland kissed hands, after frequent consultations between Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby. ‡

Lord Fitzwilliam, having acceded to the pressing solicitations of the Duke of Portland to undertake to carry this favorite and indispensable measure into effect, landed in Dublin on the 2d January. He had consented not to bring the question forward on the part of government, but rather to endeavor to keep it back until a period of more general tranquillity; "but it had been resolved by the cabinet that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business, and bring it before parliament, then he was to give it a handsome support on the part of government." But no sooner was Lord Fitzwilliam landed than he found this determination had been taken by the Catholics.

The Catholics of Dublin had held a meeting on the 23d December, and agreed to a petition to parliament, claiming the repeal of all the penal laws. Similar petitions had been agreed to throughout the kingdom,—the natural consequences of its being known for some months

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\* Letter of Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.



that so steady and strenuous a friend to emancipation as the Duke of Portland had become one of his majesty's ministers. Lord Fitzwilliam, finding, therefore, that the question would force itself upon his immediate consideration, communicated his opinion and intentions to the English government on the third day after his arrival, in the following terms: "That, not to grant cheerfully, on the part of government, all the Catholics wished for, would not only be exceedingly impolitic, but perhaps dangerous; that, in doing this, no time was to be lost; that the business would presently be at hand; and that, if he received no very peremptory directions to the contrary, he would acquiesce to the wishes of the Catholics." \*

Parliament met on the 22d January, and on the 12th February, "no peremptory directions to the contrary having arrived," though so much time had elapsed since Lord Fitzwilliam had communicated his intentions to the English government, Mr. Grattan, with the consent of Lord Fitzwilliam, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of the Catholics.

Meanwhile the English cabinet forgot the stipulations which they had entered into with Lord Fitzwilliam, "that, if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business, and bring it before parliament, he was to give it a handsome support on the part of government;" and the Duke of Portland was directed by Mr. Pitt to inform Lord Fitzwilliam that, notwithstanding the length to which the Irish government had gone, it must retrace its steps.

"Then," says Lord Fitzwilliam, in his letter to Lord Carlisle, "it appears to have been discovered that the deferring of it would be not merely an expediency, or thing to be desired for the present, but the means of doing a greater good to the British empire than it has

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\* Letter of Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.

been capable of receiving since the Revolution, or at least since the Union."

Lord Fitzwilliam having refused to become a party to the inconsistency of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland, that fatal measure of his recall was determined upon,—a measure which has involved Ireland in thirty years of suffering, under military tyranny, insurrection and rebellion, and which, at times, has shaken the stability of the empire to its centre.

Upon a debate in the House of Lords, which took place soon after Lord Fitzwilliam's return to England, on the subject of his conduct in Ireland, Lord Westmoreland said, by the direction of Mr. Pitt, "that he had no authority whatever from ministers in this country for taking the steps which he had done on the Catholic question." The incorrectness, however, of this assertion it is no very difficult matter to expose. In the first place the measure of emancipation to the Catholics was originally the measure of Mr. Pitt and the Westmoreland administration.\* "The most strenuous and zealous friends," says Lord Fitzwilliam, "of my predecessor claimed the credit of it for their patron in terms of the highest compliment. They did it in the House of Commons, they did it in the House of Lords last night. The person whom Lord Westmoreland then principally consulted, opposed it; but the open interference of Lord Hobart, the avowed determination of the British cabinet, communicated as such to the Catholic agents on the spot, through the medium of confidential persons sent over to England for that purpose, bore down the opposition. The declarations of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas are well known in this country, and are often quoted: they would not risk a rebellion in Ireland on such a question."

Here, then, is evidence which has never been contro-

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\* Letter of Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.



verted, that, even before Lord Fitzwilliam went to Ireland, the measure had been determined upon by Mr. Pitt. The only question, therefore, to be decided in judging of the correctness of Lord Westmoreland's assertion is, whether or not Mr. Pitt had consented that the proper time for adopting this measure was arrived when Lord Fitzwilliam was sent to Ireland. That he had so consented, there is in proof the language which the Duke of Portland had held so publicly for years back," that the emancipation of the Catholics was indispensably necessary; there is the fact of his refusing to coalesce with Mr. Pitt unless this measure was conceded; there are the frequent consultations that took place concerning it between Mr. Pitt, Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby; the acceptance, also, of the office of lord-lieutenant by Lord Fitzwilliam; and, finally, the word and honor of Lord Fitzwilliam that Mr. Pitt's consent was absolutely given.

No event in our history has ever happened that has been attended with more pernicious consequences than the decision that Mr. Pitt at this time made to recall Lord Fitzwilliam.

Had he allowed the Catholics to be restored to their constitutional rights, they would have secured the peace of Ireland, and have afforded every support in their power to the government. The contrary policy threw the mass of the poorer Catholics into the hands of the United Irishmen, involved the country in a civil war, and established that succession of disturbances and insurrections which have prevailed in Ireland, with little interruption, from the year 1795 to the present time.

When the differences that existed between the lord-lieutenant and the English cabinet were known, grief and consternation seized all who had flattered themselves that the measures of his excellency's administration were to redress the grievances, remove the discontents, and

work the salvation of Ireland. In the House of Commons Sir Lawrence Parsons moved to limit the money bills to two months; but Lord Milton and Mr. George Ponsonby deprecated the measure, and it was rejected. The House of Commons, however, unanimously resolved that his excellency had, by his conduct since his arrival, merited the thanks of the house, and the confidence of the people.

Out of parliament the discontent was more manifest. The Catholics, who had now for six months felt secure of being at length relieved from the execrable system of pains and penalties, as the Duke of Portland himself was accustomed to call it, now saw the cup dashed from their lips, and could not but despair of ever seeing any termination to the duplicity of English cabinets. The Catholics of Dublin, impelled by these feelings, assembled on the 27th February, and voted a petition to the king for the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam as their chief governor; and those of the whole kingdom followed their example, by adopting resolutions and addresses expressive of the same sentiments.

The Protestants, too, assembled extensively, and as loudly spoke their indignation at what they condemned as ministerial treachery, and considered as a great public calamity. The freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, like the Catholics, agreed to a petition to the king. The merchants and traders of the city expressed their sorrow at the rumored recall of his excellency, and their entire concurrence in the removal of all religious disabilities.

The counties of Kildare, Wexford, Antrim and Londonderry, followed the example of the freemen and freeholders of the capital, and the same sentiments seemed to pervade every part of the kingdom. The active republicans and the United Irishmen alone were not sorry at the agitation and controversies which were now springing up.



These expressions, however, of dissatisfaction on the part of the Irish people were of no avail. Ireland was doomed to see a system of burning and torture succeed a system of conciliation, and Lord Camden was selected as a fit person to succeed Lord Fitzwilliam as lord-lieutenant.

The measure of union comes the next in the course of events in which the Catholics, as a body, were concerned : and, in strict propriety, it would be right now to proceed to show how the Catholics were affected by it. But as there have been, and still are, those who, either through ignorance or in defiance of all regard for truth, assert that the rebellion of 1798 was a Catholic rebellion, and that the conduct of the Catholics on that occasion afforded a justification for refusing to grant to them such concessions, it will contribute to promote a more just view of the subject if those facts are referred to, which exist, to refute the supposition that the Catholics, as a body, were concerned in the rebellion.

Fortunately for the cause of truth and justice, there do exist documents the authority of which no sophistry or calumny can impeach. These are the reports of the committee of the Irish parliament. They so minutely explain the cause, the conduct, and the character of this rebellion, and give such accurate information respecting those who are concerned in it, that it is impossible for any one to affix to it any other character than that which they have given to it. The justification, therefore, of the Catholics by these reports rests upon this circumstance, that to maintain that the rebellion was a Catholic rebellion is to dispute the authority of these reports, which make no such charge, and account for it by other means.

The following extracts from the report of the committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1798 to examine the evidence, contain a faithful description of the origin and object of this transaction :—

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“ The society, under the name of United Irishmen, it appears, was established in 1791 ; its founders held forth what they termed Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform as the ostensible objects of their union ; but it clearly appeared from the letter of Theobald Wolfe Tone, accompanying their original constitution, as transmitted to Belfast for their adoption, that, from its commencement, the real purpose of those who were at the head of the institution was to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and to subvert the established constitution of this kingdom. In corroboration of which your committee have annexed to this report several of their early publications, particularly a prospectus of the society, which appeared in the beginning of the year 1791, as also the plan of reform they recommended to the people.

“ For the first three years their attention was entirely directed to the engaging in their society persons of activity and talents, in every quarter of the kingdom, and in preparing the public mind for their future purposes, by the circulation of the most seditious publications, particularly the works of Mr. Thomas Paine. At this time, however, the leaders were rather cautious of alarming minds not sufficiently ripe for the adoption of their principles, by the too open disclosure of the real objects which they had in view. In 1795 the text of the society underwent a striking revision ; the words in the amended text stand, ‘ A full representation of the people,’ omitting the words, ‘ In the Commons House of Parliament,’ the reason for which has been admitted by three members of the executive, examined before your committee, to be the better to reconcile reformers and republicans in a common exertion to overthrow the state.

“ In the summer of 1796 great numbers of persons, principally in the province of Ulster, had enrolled themselves in this society. About the same period, as will be



more fully explained hereafter, a direct communication had been opened by the heads of the party with the enemy, and French assistance was solicited, and promised to be speedily sent in aid of the disaffected in this kingdom.

“With a view of being prepared as much as possible to coöperate with the enemy then expected, and in order to counteract the effect of the armed associations of yeomanry, established in October, 1796, directions were issued by the leaders to the societies to form themselves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition.

“These directions were speedily obeyed; the societies assumed a new military form, and it appears by the original papers seized at Belfast in the month of April, 1797, that their numbers at that period, in the province of Ulster alone, were stated to amount to nearly one hundred thousand men; that they were largely supplied with fire-arms and pikes; that they had some cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the study of military tactics; in short, that nothing was neglected by the party which could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy, or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their superior officers, whom they were bound by oath to obey.”

In the report of the committee of 1797, it appears that no part of the kingdom in which the Catholic population prevails was organized, except the counties of Westmeath and Kildare, and the city of Dublin. These extracts establish the following facts:—

1. That the persons who were the founders of the rebellion were those who formed the societies of United Irishmen, and who were all Protestants.

2. That the object of the rebellion was a republican form of government and separation from England, and not Catholic emancipation, or the establishment of the Catholic religion.

3. That in May, 1797, no Catholic whatever was concerned in the rebellion, except some of the lowest orders in Dublin, and in the counties of Westmeath and Kildare; and,

4. That one hundred thousand Protestants were, in May, 1797, completely organized for open rebellion, and well supplied with arms.

Now, as we learn from the evidence of Mr. McNevin, before the committee of the House of Lords, in 1798, that the leaders of the measure had determined to commence operations in 1797, let us suppose the rebellion had then broken out, and ask this question, Would it have been a Catholic rebellion? Certainly not. No man could venture to maintain an opinion so utterly untenable. Then, if the rebellion, had it broken out in 1797, would have been a rebellion of Protestants, and not one of Catholics, how could it become a Catholic rebellion in 1798? Let us again refer to the report of the secret committee. This gives an accurate account of the progress of the rebellion during the year 1797, and shows by what means, and by whom, the deluded Catholic peasantry of the South were made parties to the treason:

“It appears to your committee that the leaders of the treason, apprehensive lest the enemy might be discouraged from any further plan of invasion by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught (the two great Catholic provinces) on their former attempt (by Hoche, in December, 1796), determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the system in those provinces which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view, emissaries were sent into the South and West in great numbers, of whose success in forming new societies, and administering the oaths of the union, there were, in the course of a few months, but too evident proofs, in the introduction of the same disturbances and enormities into Munster



with which the northern province had been so severely visited.

“In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly to their cause, the United Irishmen found it expedient, in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on the supposed oppressiveness of tithes (which had been the pretext for the old Whiteboy insurrections); and it is observable that, in addition to the acts of violence usually resorted to by the party for the furtherance of their purposes, the ancient practice of burning the corn and houghing the cattle of those against whom their resentment was directed, was revived, and very generally practised in those counties.

“With a view to excite the resentment of the Catholics, and to turn their resentment to the purpose of the party, fabricated and false texts were presented, as having been taken to exterminate Catholics, and were industriously disseminated by emissaries of the treason throughout the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongst the ignorant of the Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant, was one among the many wicked means by which the deluded peasantry were engaged the more readily in the treason.

“The measures thus adopted by the party \* completely succeeded in detaching the minds of the lower classes from their usual habits and pursuits, insomuch that, in the course of the autumn and winter, 1797, the peasantry, in the midland and southern counties, were sworn and ripe for insurrection.”

From this account of the progress of the treason in 1797, in the South of Ireland, the following inferences

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\* The Protestant United Irishmen.

may be deduced: 1st, that the Catholics of Ireland were unconnected with the system of rebellion which had extended over the whole of the Protestant province of Ulster; 2d, that the peasantry of the South were corrupted by emissaries sent amongst them by the leaders of the treason in the North, and not by the Catholic clergy or Catholic aristocracy; and, 3d, that the organization of the South was not a distinct effort of a distinct body of people, but a measure subsidiary to the original organization of the Protestants of the North, conducted by the same party, and having the same object in contemplation.

Then it follows that the leaders of the rebellion, being the same in 1798 as they were in 1797, the object of it the same in 1798 as it was in 1797, the means for carrying it into effect in 1798 the same as the means for carrying it into effect in 1797, there can be no more grounds for calling it a Catholic rebellion in 1798 than there were for calling it a Catholic rebellion in 1797; and, therefore, as there were no grounds for affixing this character to it in 1797, neither are there any for calling it a Catholic rebellion in 1798.

In direct contradiction, however, of such a conclusion, and of the statements of the secret committee, it has been asserted by those who are interested in calumniating the character of the Irish rebellion, and believed by those who are ignorant of its true nature, that it was a Catholic rebellion; that the designs of the Catholic body went to the massacre and destruction of every Protestant in Ireland, and that all their other plans were wholly subservient to that of establishing the Catholic religion.\*

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\* These are the propositions which Sir Richard Musgrave has labored to maintain. His work professes to do that which the secret committee of the House of Commons was appointed to do, namely: to give a faithful account of this rebellion. A discerning public will at once see to which authority they ought to give a preference. Sir Richard dedicated his first edition to Lord



As to the conduct of the Catholic clergy of the county of Wexford, it is well known "that not one of them who had a flock, not one parish priest was implicated, or had any concern in fomenting, encouraging or aiding the rebellion; nay, it is certain that they abhorred and detested and shuddered at it as the most wicked, scandalous, and abominable event that they had ever witnessed."\*

The supposition that the establishment of the Catholic religion was one of the objects of this rebellion, is proved to be unfounded by the evidence of the principal leaders, Emmett and McNeiven.

The following are their answers, given before the committee, to the question, "Whether or not they would set up the Catholic religion?"

McNeiven.—"I would no more consent to that than to the establishment of Mahometanism."

Emmett.—"I do not think the Catholics would wish to set up a Catholic establishment, even at the present day. Perhaps some old priests, who have long groaned under the penal laws, might wish for a retribution to themselves, but I do not think the young priests wish for it; and I am convinced the laity would not submit to it,

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Cornwallis. Upon reading it, however, Lord Cornwallis directed his secretary to write the following letter to him:

"DUBLIN, *March 24, 1801.*

"SIR:—I am directed by the lord-lieutenant to express to you his concern at its appearing that your late publication of the '*History of the Rebellions of Ireland*' has been dedicated to him by permission.

"Had his excellency been apprised of the contents and nature of the work, he would never have lent the sanction of his name to a book which tends so strongly to revive the dreadful animosities which have so long distracted this country, and which it is the duty of every good subject to endeavor to compose.

"His excellency, therefore, desires me to request that, in any future edition of the book, the permission to dedicate it to him may be omitted.

"I have, etc.,

"E. LITTLEHALES."

\* See "Dr. Caulfield's Reply to Sir R. Musgrave," sold by Keating & Co. Duke Street.

and that the objections to it will be every day gaining strength.'

Only two circumstances more remain to be taken notice of regarding the conduct of the Catholics, as a body, in this rebellion. One of them, the indisputable fact, that of the twenty-four leaders of the rebellion who were banished to Fort St. George, only four of them were Catholics, twelve were of the Church of England, and the remaining eight were Dissenters. Well indeed, then, might Mr. Pitt say, in the House of Commons, in 1805, whose opinion is the other circumstance alluded to: "I do not consider the late rebellion in Ireland to have been a Catholic rebellion."\*

Facts, reason and authority, therefore, it appears, all coincide in the condemnation of the calumny which a few blind and mistaken men have had just talent enough to propagate amongst the ignorant and prejudiced. The *magna vis veritatis* will, however, prevail on this, as well as upon all other occasions, and sooner or later bring forward the unfortunate and much-injured Catholics of Ireland to the view of their English fellow-subjects as highly deserving of their confidence and their affection.

The next great event belonging to the Catholic question is the measure of Union, not as having, in any way, altered the political condition of the Catholics in respect to the penal laws, but as a measure concerning which a compact was virtually entered into between them and the English government. For, though it is true that no regular articles like those of Limerick can be produced to prove this compact, still there is circumstantial evidence of such a nature as is sufficient to bring conviction to every candid mind that, on the one hand, the Catholics did agree to support the Union, and, on the others that the English government, on their part, did indi-

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\* "Debates on the Catholic Petition."



rectly agree to secure to them, in consideration of that support, the measure of emancipation.

This evidence is to be collected, 1st, from the speech of Mr. Pitt, on proposing the Union articles to the House of Commons; 2dly, from the act of Union; 3dly, from Mr. Pitt's speech, and his letters and those of Lord Cornwallis concerning the change of administration in 1801.

First, Mr. Pitt's speech:—"I am well aware," says Mr. Pitt, "that the subject of religious distinction is a dangerous and delicate topic, especially when applied to a country such as Ireland, the situation of which, in this respect, is different from every other. When the established religion of the state is the same as the general religion of the empire, and where the property of the country is in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons professing that religion, while the religion of a great majority of the people is different, it is not easy to say, on general principles, what system of church establishment, in such a country, would be free from difficulty and inconvenience. By many I know it will be contended that the religion professed by the majority of the people would at least be entitled to an equality of privileges. I have heard such an argument urged in this house; but those who apply it, without qualification, to the case of Ireland, forget, surely, the principles on which English interest and English connection have been established in that country, and its present legislature is formed. No man can say that, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remains a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the Catholics without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution to its centre."

Is not this as much as to say that, after an incorporate union shall have taken place, these full concessions could be made without endangering Ireland? Could these words be understood in any other way by the

Catholics? Are they not an indirect offer, on the part of Mr. Pitt, to the Catholics, to make these full concessions, provided they would enable him to make them without endangering the state? But the language which he next employs is stronger and still more in point. He immediately proceeds: "On the other hand, without anticipating the discussion, or the propriety of agitating the question, or saying how soon or how late it may be fit to discuss it, two propositions are indisputable: 1st. When the conduct of the Catholics shall be such as to make it safe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times shall be favorable to such a measure,—when those events take place, it is obvious that such a question may be agitated in an united imperial parliament with greater safety than it could be in a separate legislature. In the second place, I think it certain that, even for whatever period it may be thought necessary, after the Union, to withhold from the Catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many of the objections which at present arise out of their situation would be removed if the Protestant legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and impartial."

The speech from which the foregoing is extracted was circulated gratis, by government, throughout Ireland. It was considered by the Catholics as a tender of emancipation; it was anxiously read by all who could read; at the Castle it was explained to those who sought for explanation, as an unequivocal offer of every concession and, in the result, the Catholics opposed their own parliament, and gave their support to Mr. Pitt, and, by the aid of this support, he was enabled to contend with a majority in the House of Commons, and finally to carry the measure.

We come now to the evidence to be collected from the act of Union.



Many of the leading Catholics have not hesitated to declare that the oath prescribed by this act to qualify members of parliament to take their seats, was framed under an arrangement that, immediately after the measure was passed, they were to enjoy the privilege of sitting in parliament. The act runs thus: "That every one of the Lords and Commons of parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, in the first and every succeeding parliament shall, until the parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oath as now enjoined to be taken." "Do not quibble with us," the Catholics say, "concerning terms and formalities; it was clearly understood between us that, if we coöperated to bring about the Union, as we actually did, you would effect the emancipation. To give a coloring to this engagement, you inserted in the articles of union an intimation of a proposed change of the oaths in our favor, when, behold! now you roundly tell us that this alteration never shall take place, and that we must make up our minds to wear our shackles till the end of time."

The third head of evidence is Mr. Pitt's speech, on explaining the cause of his resignation, in 1801: "As to the merits," Mr. Pitt said, "of the question which led to my resignation, I am willing to submit them to the house. I and some of my colleagues in office did feel it an incumbent duty upon us to propose a measure on the part of government which, under the circumstances of the union so happily effected between the two countries, we thought of great public importance, and necessary to complete the benefits likely to result from that measure. We felt this opinion so strongly that, when we met with circumstances which rendered it impossible for us to propose it as a measure of government, we felt it equally inconsistent with our duty and our honor any longer to remain a part of that government. What may be the

opinion of others, I know not; but I beg to have it understood to be a measure which, if I had remained in government, I must have proposed." \*

Why must Mr. Pitt have proposed this measure? \* To this question one answer alone can be given: because his honor, as a statesman, was substantially engaged to the Catholics that, if they supported the Union, he would propose emancipation.

We now come to the written communications which, at this time, were made to the Catholics by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, and which were given by Lord Castlereagh to Dr. Troy.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Cornwallis:—

"The leading part of his majesty's ministers, finding insurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it, with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from his majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success.

"The Catholic body will therefore see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct in the meantime; they will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter; they may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favor, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects; and the Catholics will feel that, as Mr. Pitt

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\* "Debrett's Debates," 14 and 161.



could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, he must at all times repress, with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

“Under these circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful and patient line of conduct; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes either to misinterpret their principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims; but that, by their prudent and exemplary demeanor, they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained.”

The sentiments of a sincere friend (*i. e.*; Marquis of Cornwallis) to the Catholic claims:—

“If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by conclusive measures, or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause, but who would, at the same time, feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose everything tending to confusion.

“On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped that, on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanor to any line of conduct of an opposite description.”

The originals of these two declarations were handed to Dr. Troy, and afterward to Lord Fingal, by the Marquis of Cornwallis. His excellency desired they should

be discreetly communicated to the bishops and principal Catholics, but not inserted in the newspapers. They appeared, nevertheless, in the English prints soon afterward, and were copied into the Irish papers.

Under circumstances such as these, is it surprising that the Catholics should now feel that faith has been broken with them by the government of England?

Mr. Pitt, so long ago as in Lord Westmoreland's administration, had made no hesitation to say, in such a manner that his sentiments might be known to the Catholics, that he would not risk a rebellion by withholding emancipation. In 1795 he sent Lord Fitzwilliam to Ireland, to carry this measure into effect; and in 1799 he held forth, in language not to be misunderstood, this measure as the reward which he would give the Catholics for their support to the Union.

At this time he had governed England for fourteen years; he was supported by great majorities in parliament, and he possessed the unbounded confidence of the king and of the people. What other construction could his language on the Union bear among the Catholics than that of a positive engagement, on the part of England, to give them emancipation, provided they gave the Union, in the first instant, their support? No one can say that they formed their expectations that this measure would be conceded to them, without good grounds for doing so; and there being good grounds, no correct moralist can maintain that England made no such engagement.

Having now traced the history of the penal laws and the Catholics from the Treaty of Limerick down to the Union, it remains only to make a conclusion of this work, by collecting the several inferences which may be drawn from the facts contained in it.

In the first place, the Catholics have to complain of two distinct breaches of faith by the government of England: 1st, in the violation of the Treaty of Limerick;



and, 2dly, in the treatment which they have received since the Union.

Secondly.—They have to complain of having endured a greater share of insult and of oppression than it ever was the lot of any people, in any other country, to be exposed to.

Thirdly.—They have it in their power to repel all those charges that have been made against them of being disloyal to the House of Brunswick: 1st, by their conduct in 1715; 2dly, by their conduct in 1745; 3dly, by their conduct in 1798.

Fourthly.—They have it in their power to show that their clergy have at all times inculcated sound doctrines of morality, of peace and submission to the government, and of brotherly affection for their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

Fifthly.—They can prove that their religious principles have been wholly misunderstood, and that these principles are not, in any degree, repugnant to their duty as loyal subjects.\*

Sixthly.—This very important inference may be drawn from what has already been stated, namely: that for a long period of time there has prevailed amongst the Protestants of Ireland a very general inclination to concede to the Catholics a participation with them in constitutional privileges.

And lastly.—When we consider the effects, direct and collateral, of such a penal code as has existed in Ireland, it is not too much to say that it may be laid down as incontrovertibly proved that it is to the penal code England has to look as the source of all the alarm she now entertains for the safety of Ireland; and to England Ireland has to look for the cause of all the misery and degradation which, at this day even, peculiarly mark her character among the nations of the world.

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\* Note c.

We shall conclude this history of the penal laws with stating what the opinions are, concerning them and the Catholic religion, of men entitled to the highest public veneration for their great authority as divines and statesmen.

The following is the testimony of an Irish Protestant Bishop of Down, in 1647 :\*

“To this antiquity of doctrine,” he says, “is annexed an uninterrupted succession of their bishops from the apostles, and particularly of their supreme bishop, St. Peter, whose personal prerogatives were so great; and the advantageous manner in which many eminent prelates of other sees have expressed themselves with regard to the Church of Rome. This prerogative includes the advantages of monarchy, and the constant benefits which are derived from that form of government.

“Nor does the multitude and variety of people who are of this persuasion, their apparent consent with elder ages, and their agreement with one another, form a less presumption in their favor. The same conclusion must be inferred from the differences which have arisen amongst their adversaries; the casualties which have happened to many of them; the oblique and sinister proceedings of some who have left their communion.

“To these negative arguments the Catholics add those of a more positive kind: the beauty and splendor of the Church of Rome, her solemn service, the stateliness and magnificence of her hierarchy, and the name of ‘Catholic,’ which she claims as her own due, and to concern no other sect of Christianity. It has been their happiness to be instrumental to the conversion of many nations. The world is witness to the piety and austerity of their religious orders, to the single life of their priests and bishops, the severity of their fasts and observances, the great reputation of many of their clergy for faith and

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\* Dr Jeremy Taylor.



sanctity, and the known holiness of some of those persons whose institutes the religious orders follow."\*

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, perhaps the most eminent lawyer of modern times, treated the incapacities and disabilities which affected Catholics as penalties of the severest nature.

In the memorable conference between the Houses of Peers and Commons of England respecting the occasional conformity bill, the managers of the former house (amongst whom was the great Lord Somers) solemnly declared "that an honest man cannot be reduced to a more unhappy condition than to be put, by law, under an incapacity of serving his prince and his country, and that, therefore, nothing but a crime of the most detestable nature ought to put him under such a disability."

"The Irish," says Dr. Johnson, "are in a most unnatural state, for there we see the minority prevailing over the majority. There is no instance, even in the ten persecutions, of such severity as that which has been exercised over the Catholics of Ireland."

Dr. Law, Bishop of Elphin, in his speech in the Irish House of Lords on the Catholic Bill of 1793, delivered the following opinion: "He felt it his duty to declare fully his sentiments on these points, because he looked upon his Roman Catholic brethren as fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians, believers in the same God, and partners in the same redemption. Speculative differences in some points of faith from him were of no account; they and he had but one religion,—the religion of Christianity. Therefore, as children of the same Father, as travellers on the same road, and seekers of the same salvation, why not love each other as brothers? It was no part of Protestantism to persecute Catholics; and without justice to the Catholics, there could be no security for the Protestant establishment."

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\* "Statement of Penal Laws," p. 136.

Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, in a publication entitled "A Speech Intended to be Spoken," dated November 23d, 1803, says:—

"If any one should contend that this is not the time for government to make concessions to Ireland, I wish him to consider whether there is any time in which it is improper for either individuals or nations to do justice; any season improper for extinguishing animosity; any occasion more suitable than the present for putting an end to heartburnings and internal discontent."

"It has been asserted," says Archdeacon Paley, "that discordancy of religions is enough to render men unfit to act together in public stations. But upon what argument or upon what experience is this assertion founded? I perceive no reason why men of different religious persuasions may not sit upon the same bench, deliberate in the same council, or fight in the same ranks, as well as men of various or opposite opinions upon any controverted topic of natural philosophy, history, or ethics."

"Why should not the legislator direct his text against political principles which he wishes to exclude, rather than encounter them through the medium of religious tenets? Why should a man, for example, be required to renounce Transubstantiation before he is admitted to an office in the state, when it might seem to be sufficient that he abjures the Pretender?"

"When, in addition to these great authorities, the names of Wyndham, Sheridan, Burke, Pitt and Fox can be added as strenuous advocates for the repeal of these penal laws, can any man be warranted in entertaining a doubt of the policy of admitting the Catholic subjects of these countries into a full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of the constitution? Can any man be justified in believing that the constitution will be changed, or that the Protestant Church and Protestant succession to the crown will be exposed to danger? The constitution rests



upon the foundation of every subject of the king having an interest in protecting it, in every subject being in possession of full security for his person, and his property and his liberty, against all invasions, whether of arbitrary power or popular outrage. This principle or universal admission into the rights of the constitution makes the principle of its preservation universal; and every exception of it, in place of securing a safeguard, creates a real danger. And for any man at this time gravely to say that the oath of supremacy, the declaration against Transubstantiation and the sacramental test, are the bulwarks of the constitution, is a matter to excite surprise, and can only be accounted for, either by an unpardonable ignorance of those things that every one may easily learn, or by the sinister influence of some private interest." \*

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\* Parnell.





APPENDIX  
TO  
PARNELL'S HISTORY  
OF THE  
PENAL LAWS.



NOTE A.

The following extract is taken from "Tracts on the Popery Laws" in the ninth volume of Mr. Burke's works, which was first published in 1812, four years after the first edition of this history was published. It is here inserted as being a most conclusive corroboration of the opinion given in his history upon the Treaty of Limerick; and as also being an unanswerable refutation of the arguments contained in the pamphlets of the late Arthur Browne, Esq., and Doctor Duigenan:—

"It will now be seen that, even if these Popery laws could be supposed agreeable to those of nature in these particulars, on another and almost as strong a principle they are yet unjust, as being contrary to positive compact, and the public faith most solemnly plighted. On the surrender of Limerick, and some other Irish garrisons, in the war of the revolution, the lords-

justices of Ireland, and the commander-in-chief of the king's forces, signed a capitulation with the Irish, which was afterward ratified by the king himself, by *Inspeximus*, under the great seal of England. It contains some public articles relative to the whole body of the Roman Catholics in that kingdom, and some with regard to the security of the greater part of the inhabitants of five counties: what the latter were, or in what manner they were observed, is at this day of much less public concern. The former are two, the first and ninth. The first is of this tenor: 'The Roman Catholics of this kingdom (Ireland) shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further

security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion.' The ninth article is to this effect: 'The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government shall be the oath aforesaid, and no other, viz.: the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of their majesties, as required by the second of the Articles of Limerick.' Compare this latter article with the penal laws, as they are stated in the second chapter, and judge whether they seem to be the public acts of the same power, and observe whether other oaths are tendered to them, and under what penalties.

"Compare the former with the same laws, from the beginning to the end, and judge whether the Roman Catholics have been preserved, agreeably to the sense of the article, from any disturbance upon account of their religion; or, rather, whether on that account there is a single right of nature, or benefit of society, which has not been either totally taken away, or considerably impaired.

"But it is said that the legislature was not bound by this article, as it has never been ratified in parliament. I do admit that it never had that sanction, and that the parliament was under no obligation to ratify these articles by any express act of theirs. But still I am at a loss how they came to be the less valid, on the principles of our constitution, by being without that sanction. They certainly bound the king and his successors. The words of the article do this, or they do nothing; and so far as the crown had a share in passing those acts, the public faith was unquestion-

ably broken. But the constitution will warrant us in going a great deal further, and in affirming that a treaty executed by the crown, and contradictory of no preceding law, is full as binding on the whole body of the nation as if it had twenty times received the sanction of parliament; because, the very same constitution which has given to the houses of parliament their definite authority, has also left in the crown the trust of making peace, as a consequence, and much the best consequence, of the prerogative of making war. If the peace was ill-made, my Lord Galway, Coningsby and Porter, who signed it, were responsible because they were subject to the community. But its own contracts are now subject to it. It is subject to them, and the compact of the king acting constitutionally was the compact of the nation.

"Observe what monstrous consequences would result from a contrary position. A foreign enemy has entered, or a strong domestic one has arisen in the nation. In such events the circumstances may be, and often have been, such that a parliament cannot sit. This was precisely the case in that rebellion of Ireland. It will be admitted, also, that their power may be so great as to make it very prudent to treat with them, in order to save effusion of blood; perhaps, to save the nation. Now, could such a treaty be at all made, if your enemies, or rebels, were fully persuaded that, in these times of confusion, there was no authority in the State which could hold out to them an inviolable pledge for their future security: but that there lurked in the constitution a dormant but irresist-



ible power, which would not think itself bound by the ordinary subsisting and contracting authority, but might rescind its acts and obligations at pleasure?

"This would be a doctrine made to perpetuate and exasperate war; and, on that principle, it directly impugns the laws of nations, which are built upon this principle, that war should be softened as much as possible, and that it should cease as soon as possible, between contending parties and communities. The king has a power to pardon individuals. If the king holds out his faith to a robber to come in on a promise of pardon of life and estate, and, in all respects, of a full idemnity, shall the parliament say that he must, nevertheless, be executed; that his estate must be forfeited, or that he shall be abridged of any of the privileges which he before held as a subject? Nobody will affirm it. In such a case, the breach of faith would not only be on the part of the king who assented to such an act, but on the part of the parliament who made it. As the king represents the whole contracting capacity of the nation, so far as his prerogative (unlimited, as I said before, by any precedent law) can extend, he acts as the national procurator on all such occasions. What is true of one robber or rebel is as true, and it is a much more important truth, of one hundred thousand. To urge this part of the argument further is, I fear, not necessary, for two reasons: First, that it seems tolerably evident in itself; and, next, that there is but too much ground to apprehend that the actual ratification of parliament would, in the then temper of parties, have proved but a very slight and

trivial security. Of this there is a very strong example in the history of those very articles.\* For, though the parliament omitted, in the reign of King William, to ratify the first and most general of them, they did actually confirm the second and more limited,—that which related to the security of the inhabitants of those five counties which were in arms when the treaty was made.”\*

## NOTE B.

## PROPORTION OF CATHOLICS TO PROTESTANTS.

The following statement has been made from materials, the result of actual enumeration, and contained in Mr. Newenham's "View of Ireland," published in 1809.

Catholics to Protestants, in	
the diocese of Ross,	
72,265 to 2,292	- - 31½ to 1
Ditto, in eight parishes of the	
diocese of Cork, houses	11 to 1
Ditto, in the City of Cork,	
numbers	- - 7 to 2
Ditto, in the parish of Ardagh,	
houses	- - 70 to 1
Ditto, in the town of Clonmel,	
houses	- - 3 to 1
Ditto, in the parish of Kil-	
larney	- - 35 to 1
Ditto, in the parish of Blarney,	
houses	- - 19 to 1
Ditto, in the parish of Cove,	
houses	- - 20 to 1
Ditto, in eleven parishes of the	
diocese of Tuam, num-	
bers	- - 54 to 1
Ditto, in the town of Graigna-	
mana, houses	- - 100 to 1
Catholics to Protestants in the	
parish of Arles, families	100 to 1

\* Burke's Works, vol. ix, p. 377.

Ditto, in the parish of Tul-  
low, the most Protestant  
parish in the diocese of  
Leighlin, - - - 12 to 1

No Protestants in the following  
parishes:—

Kilcummin, St. Mullin's, Allen,  
Kilbegnot, Newport, Abbeyfeale.

Only eleven Protestant families in  
the following parishes:—\*

Castle Blakeny, Killyglass, Shankill  
and Lusk.

Catholics to Protestants in  
the county of Kilkenny† 17 to 1

Ditto, in the counties of Clare,  
Kerry, Limerick, Water-  
ford, Leitrim, Mayo,  
Roscommon, according  
to general opinion - 50 to 1

Ditto, in the counties of Kil-  
dare, Meath, West Meath,  
Galway, Sligo, according  
to general opinion - 20 to 1

In the counties of Antrim and  
Dunn the two sects are supposed to  
be equal.

The Catholics are to the Protes-  
tants, according to general opinion,  
in the county of Londonderry, as  
two to one; in the counties of  
Armagh and Fermanagh, as three to  
one; in the other counties of Ulster,  
as four and five to one.

These statements are inserted, not  
for the purpose of drawing an infer-  
ence making the Catholics to bear a  
very high ratio to the Protestants, but  
to show that there can be nothing  
very extravagant, or very far from  
the truth, in assuming as the data  
of the following calculation that, in  
three provinces of Leinster, Munster

and Connaught, the Catholics are to  
the Protestants as twelve to one; and  
that, in the province of Ulster, the  
Catholics are to the Protestants as  
three to two.

Taking, then, the parliamentary  
returns as the basis of the calculation  
in these proportions,—

It appears from these,  
that the population of  
the three provinces  
amounts to 4,803,333  
(p. vii), at twelve  
Catholics to one Pro-  
testant;  $\frac{1}{3}$  of this num-  
ber are Catholics, viz.: 4,433,84

It also appears that the  
population of Ulster  
amounts to 1,998,494  
(p. vii), at three Cath-  
olics to two Protes-  
tants;  $\frac{3}{5}$  of this number  
are Catholics, viz. - 1,199,094

Thus it appears that the  
total number of Cath-  
olics, out of a popula-  
tion of 6,801,821, is - 5,632,938

According to the above  
numbers and propor-  
tions, the Protestants  
in three provinces are  
 $\frac{1}{3}$  of 4,803,333, viz. - 369,487

Ditto, in Ulster,  $\frac{2}{5}$  of  
1,998,494, viz.: - 799,396

Thus it appears that the  
total number of Pro-  
testants, out of a  
population of 6,801 -  
821, is - - - 1,168,883

These gross relative numbers make  
the ratio of Catholics to Protestants  
very nearly indeed as five to one.

Supposing, then, the number of both  
Catholics and Protestants to have  
gone on increasing in this ratio since

\* See Newenham's "View of Ireland," Ap., p.  
xxxviii.

† See Tighe's Survey.



1821, the number of Catholics to Protestants, out of the present population of 7,700,000, will be as five to one, and in whole numbers as 6,416,667, to 1,283,333.

If the population actually is now at least 8,000,000, which abundant reason exists to show to be the case, then the Catholics will be to the Protestants according to the ratio of five to one, in number 6,666,666 to 1,333,333.

The general rule in respect of the rate at which the population of a country increases, a rule founded upon constant and uniform facts, is, that "population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio." (Malthus' Essay, vol. I, p. 8.)

This has taken place for about a century and a half, successively, in North America; and as the means of subsistence in Ireland are more ample, the manners of the people more pure, and the checks to early marriages fewer than in any of the modern states of Europe, there exists no reason to doubt that the population of Ireland is now increasing at the rate of doubling itself in twenty-five years. Although the numbers computed by Dr. Beaufort, and those returned by the census of 1821, may, so far as they are worth anything, show a slower rate of increase, the difference may be explained, first, by the acknowledged fact that the census of 1821 is exceedingly incorrect; secondly, by mentioning another fact, that the circumstances of the last fifteen years have been much more favorable to a rapid increase of population, than those were of the preceding fifteen years.

If a comparison could be made of the births and burials of the whole kingdom, at different periods, it would decide the question, for then it would be necessary only to adopt the rule laid down by Dr. Price (vol. ii, p. 51), to find out the actual rate of increase. He says: "The rate of increase, supposing the procreative powers the same, depends upon two causes: 'The encouragement to marriage, and the expectation of a child just born.'" When one of these is given, the increase will be always in proportion to the other; that is, as much greater or less as the ratio is of the numbers who reach maturity, and of those who marry, to the number born, so much quicker or slower will be the increase. Let us suppose the operation of these causes such as to produce an annual excess of the births above the burials, equal to a thirty-sixth part of the whole number of inhabitants. It may seem to follow from hence that the inhabitants would double their own number in thirty-six years, and thus some have calculated. But the truth is, that they would double their own number in much less time.

Every addition to the number of inhabitants from the births produces a proportionably greater number of births, and a greater excess of these above the burials; and, if we suppose the excess to increase annually at the same rate with the inhabitants, or so as to preserve the ratio of it to the number of inhabitants always the same, the period of doubling will be twenty-five years.\*

\* For the formula of making the calculation, see note, vol. ii, p. 52, of Dr. Price on "Annuities."

## NOTE C.

["The Principles of Roman Catholics," from the prayer-book which is in general use amongst the Catholics of Ireland, and which was published by Dr. Coppinger, Titular Bishop of Cloyne.]

*Section I.*

1. The fruition of God and the remission of sin are not attainable by man, otherwise than in and by the merits of Jesus Christ, who gratuitously purchased them for us.

2. These merits of Christ are not applied to us, otherwise than by a right faith in Him.

3. This faith is but one, entire and conformable to its object, which is divine revelation, and to which faith gives an undoubting assent.

4. This revelation contains many mysteries transcending the natural reach of human understanding: wherefore,

5. It becomes the Divine wisdom and goodness to provide some way or means whereby man might arrive at the knowledge of these mysteries,—means visible and apparent to all; means proportioned to the capacities of all; means sure and certain to all.

6. This way or means is not the reading of the Scripture, interpreted according to the private reason or judgment of each particular person or nation; but,

7. It is an attention and submission to the voice of the Catholic, or Universal, Church, established by Christ for the instruction of all, spread for that end through all nations, and visibly continued in the succession of pastors and people through all ages. From this Church, guided in truth, and

secured from error in matters of faith, by the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, every one may learn the right sense of the Scriptures, and such Christian mysteries and duties as are necessary to salvation.

8. This Church, thus established, thus spread, thus continued, thus guided in one uniform faith and subordination of government, is that which is termed the Roman Catholic Church, the qualities just mentioned, unity, indeficiency, visibility, succession, and universality, being evidently applicable to her.

9. It is from the testimony and authority of this Church that we receive the Scriptures, and believe them to be the word of God; and as she can assuredly tell us what particular book is the word of God, so can she, with the like assurance, tell us also the true sense and meaning of it in controverted points of faith: the same Spirit that wrote the Scriptures, directs her to understand both them and all matters necessary to salvation. From these grounds it follows,

10. Only truths revealed by Almighty God, and proposed by the Church to be believed as such, are and ought to be esteemed articles of Catholic faith.

11. As an obstinate separation from the unity of the Church in known matters of faith is heresy, so a wilful separation from the visible unity of the same Church in matters of subordination and government is schism.

12. The Church proposes unto us matters of faith, first and chiefly by the Holy Scripture, in points plain and intelligible in it; secondly, by definitions of General Councils, in points not sufficiently plain in Scrip



ture; thirdly, by apostolical traditions derived from Christ and His apostles to all succeeding ages.

### Section II.

1. The pastors of the Church, who are the body representative, either dispersed, or convened in council, have received no commission from Christ to frame new articles of faith, these being solely divine revelation, but only to explain and to ascertain to us what anciently was and is received and retained as of faith in the Church, when debates and controversies arise about them. These definitions in matters of faith only, and proposed as such, oblige all the faithful to an interior assent; but,

2. It is no article of faith that the Church cannot err either in matters of fact, or in matters of speculation or civil policy, depending on mere human reason, these not being divine revelations deposited in the Catholic Church; hence is reduced,

3. If a General Council, much less a Papal Consistory, should presume to depose a king, and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, no Catholic could be bound to submit to such a decree; hence it follows that,

4. The subjects of the King of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any Catholic principle, renounce, upon oath, the teaching or practising the doctrine of deposing kings excommunicated for heresy, by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the fundamental laws of the nation, as injurious to sovereign power, and as destructive to peace and government.

5. Catholics believe that the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, is

at the head of the whole Catholic Church, in which sense this Church may, therefore, be styled Roman Catholic, because an universal body under one visible head; nevertheless,

6. It is no matter of faith to believe that the Pope is in himself infallible, separated from the Church, even in expounding the faith; by consequence, Papal definitions or decrees, taken exclusively from a General Council, or universal acceptance of the Church, oblige none, under the pain of heresy, to an interior assent.

7. Nor do Catholics, as Catholics, believe that the Pope has any direct or indirect authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of princes. Hence, if the Pope should pretend to absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their allegiance, on account of heresy or schism, such dispensation would be vain and null; and all Catholic subjects notwithstanding such dispensation or absolution, would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes (as far as Protestants would be bound), even against the Pope himself, should he invade the nation.

8. As for the problematical disputes or errors of particular divines, in this or any other matter whatsoever, we are in no wise responsible for them; nor are Catholics, as such, justly punishable on their account; but,

9. As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, it is universally admitted in the Catholic Church, and expressly so declared in the Council of Constance, that such doctrine is impious.

and execrable, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature.

10. Personal misdemeanors, of what nature soever, ought not to be imputed to the body of Catholics, when not justifiable by the tenets of their faith and doctrine; for which reason, though the stories of the Irish cruelties or powder-plot had been exactly true (which yet, for the most part, are notoriously misrelated), nevertheless Catholics, as such, ought not to suffer for such offences any more than the eleven apostles ought to have suffered for the treachery of Judas.

11. It is a fundamental truth in our religion that no power on earth can license men to lie, to forswear or perjure themselves, to massacre their neighbors, to destroy their native country, on pretence of promoting the Catholic cause or religion. Furthermore, all pardons or dispensations granted, or pretended to be granted, in order to accomplish any such ends or designs, could have no other validity or effect than to add sacrilege and blasphemy to the above-mentioned crimes.

12. The doctrine of equivocation, or mental reservation, however wrongfully imputed to the Catholic religion, was never taught or approved by the Church as any part of her belief; on the contrary, simplicity and godly sincerity are constantly inculcated by her as truly Christian virtues, necessary to the conservation of justice, truth, and common security.

### *Section III.*

1. Every Catholic believes that when a sinner repents of his sins from the bottom of his heart, and acknowledges his transgressions to

God and His ministers, the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ resolving to turn from his evil ways, and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, there is then, and not otherwise, any authority left by Christ to absolve such a penitent sinner from his sins, which authority Christ gave to His apostles and their successors, the bishops and priests of His Church, in these words, when He said: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them."

2. Though no creature whatsoever can make condign satisfaction, either for the guilt of sin or the pain eternal due to it, this satisfaction being proper to Christ our Saviour only, yet penitent sinners, redeemed by Christ, may, as members of Christ, in some measure satisfy by prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, and other works of piety, for temporal pain, which, in the order of Divine justice, sometimes remains due, after the guilt of sin and pain eternal have been remitted. Such penitential works are, notwithstanding, not otherwise satisfactory than as joined and applied to that satisfaction which Jesus made upon the cross, and in virtue of which all our good works find a grateful acceptance in the sight of God.

3. The guilt of sin, or pain eternal due to it, is never remitted by what Catholics call indulgences, but only such temporal punishments as remain due after the guilt is remitted, those indulgences being nothing else than a mitigation or relaxation of canonical penances enjoined by the pastors of the Church on penitent sinners, according to their several degrees of demerit; and if abuses and mistakes



have been sometimes committed, either in point of granting or gaining indulgences, through the remissness or ignorance of particular persons, contrary to the ancient customs and discipline of the Church, such abuses or mistakes cannot reasonably be charged on the Church, or rendered matters of derision, in prejudice to her faith and discipline.

4. Catholics hold there is a purgatory, that is to say, a place or state where souls departing this life, with remission of their sins as to the eternal guilt or pain, but yet obnoxious to some temporal punishment still remaining due, or not perfectly freed from the blemish of some defects or deordinations, are purged before their admittance into heaven, where nothing that is defiled can enter.

5. Catholics also hold that such souls so detained in purgatory, being the living members of Jesus Christ, are relieved by the prayers and suffrages of their fellow-members here on earth; but where this place is, or of what nature or quality the pains are, how long souls may be there detained, in what manner the suffrages made in their behalf applied, whether by way of satisfaction or intercession, etc., are questions superfluous and impertinent as to faith.

6. No man, though just, can merit either an increase of sanctity in this life, or eternal glory in the next, independently of the merits and passion of Christ Jesus; but the good works of a just man, proceeding from grace and charity, are so far acceptable to God as to be, through His goodness and sacred promises, truly meritorious of eternal life.

7. It is an article of the Catholic

faith that, in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly and really contained the body of Christ, which was delivered for us, and His blood, which was shed for the remission of sins; the substance of bread and wine being, by the power of Christ, changed into the substance of His blessed body and blood, the species or appearances of bread and wine still remaining; but,

8. Christ is not present in this sacrament according to His natural way of existence, that is, with extension of parts, etc., but in a supernatural manner, one and the same in many places; His presence, therefore, is real and substantial, but sacramental, not exposed to the external senses, or obnoxious to corporal contingencies.

9. Neither is the body of Christ in this holy sacrament separated from His blood, or His blood from His body, or either of them disunited from His soul and divinity, but all and whole living Jesus is entirely contained under each species; so that whosoever receives under one kind is truly partaker of the whole sacrament, and no-wise deprived either of the body or blood of Christ. True it is,

10. Our Saviour Jesus Christ left unto us His body and blood under two distinct species or kinds, in the doing of which, He instituted not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice,—a commemorative sacrifice distinctly showing His death and bloody passion until He come; for, as the sacrifice of the cross was performed by a distinct effusion of blood, so is that sacrifice commemorated in that of the altar by a distinction of the symbols. Jesus, therefore, is here given not only to us,

but for us, and the Church is thereby enriched with a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice, usually termed the Mass.

11. Catholics renounce all divine worship and adoration of images or pictures. God alone we worship and adore; nevertheless, we place pictures in churches, to reduce our wandering thoughts, and enliven our memories toward heavenly things. Further, we allow a certain honor to be shown to the images of Christ and His saints beyond what is due to every profane figure; not that we believe any divinity or virtue to reside in them, for which they ought to be honored, but because the honor given to pictures is referred to the prototype or thing represented. In like manner,

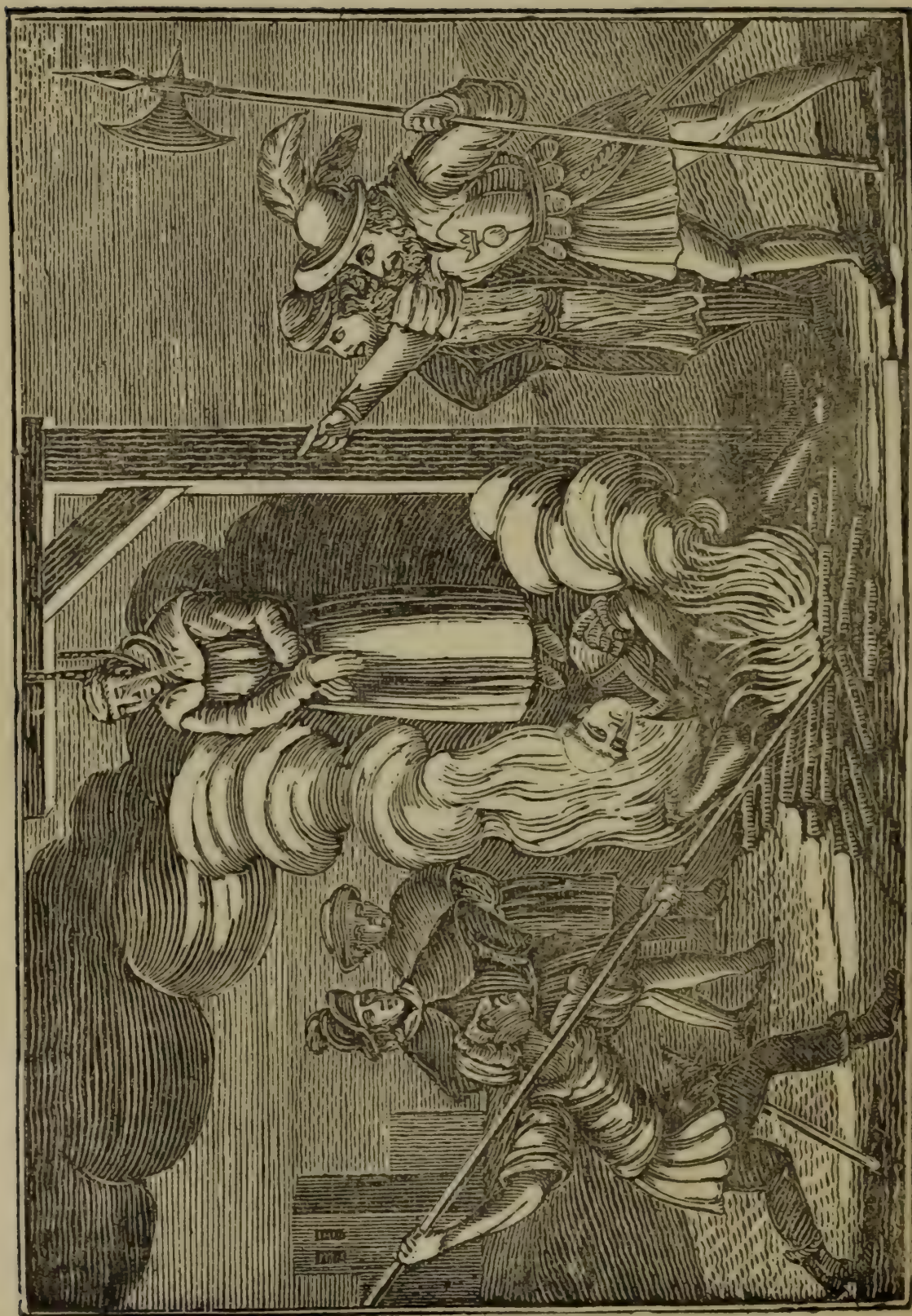
12. There is a kind of honor and respect due to the Bible, to the cross, to the name of Jesus, to churches, to the sacraments, etc., as things peculiarly appertaining to God; also to the glorious saints in heaven, as the friends of God; and to kings, magistrates and superiors on earth, to whom honor is due, honor may be given, without any derogation to the

majesty of God, or that divine worship which is appropriate to Him. Moreover,

13. Catholics believe that the blessed saints in heaven, replenished with charity, pray for us, their fellow-members here on earth; that they rejoice at our conversion; that, seeing God, they see and know Him in all things suitable to their happy state. But God may be inclined to hear their requests made in our behalf, and for their sakes may grant us many favors: therefore, we believe it is good and profitable to desire their intercession, and that this manner of invocation is no more injurious to Christ, our Mediator, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers of another in this world. Notwithstanding which, Catholics are not taught so to rely on the prayers of others as to neglect their own duty to God: in imploring His divine mercy and goodness; in mortifying the deeds of the flesh; in despising the world; in loving and serving God and their neighbor; in following the footsteps of Christ our Lord, who is the way the truth, and the life, to whom be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.









## FATHER NICHOLAS SHEEHY.

1766  
9

FROM the petty tyranny which had at all times driven the peasantry to band together in illegal associations, from the rack-rent and the persecution of the tithe-proctors—in short, from that spirit of natural and universal resistance to injustice and oppression, sprang the terrible organization known as the Whiteboys, which caused such terror in Tipperary and Limerick, and the south of Ireland generally, in the course of the last and present centuries. They fairly overran the country at night, dressed in white shirts, from which they took their name; levelled the fences with which the landlords had enclosed the public commons for their own use; dug up the fields which had been sown in grass, and from which, most likely, some of the Whiteboys had been themselves ejected; cut down trees, and carried on such an incessant, harrassing war of destruction, that the landlords were encouraged to increase their already abundant means of persecution, and this they did with terrible effect.

In order, in the first place, to secure the aid of government and the sympathy of those in high places, the landlords sought and found a host of witnesses ready at any time to swear to the existence of a treasonable conspiracy for the restoration of the Stuarts and the Catholic religion. In the next place, they proposed to strike terror at once to the hearts of the disaffected people, by wreaking desperate vengeance on some of the faithful, self-sacrificing clergy.

Their plots succeeded admirably well; for the Earl of Drogheda, with the forces under his command, was ordered to Clogheen, county Tipperary, to act in conjunction with the Protestant magistrates and gentlemen, who, thus strengthened and encouraged, proceeded to carry out their programme, selecting as their victim the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy.

This good priest was just such a man as wins the utmost respect and love of the true Irish heart. He was warm and generous in disposition, destitute of every thought of self; full of sympathetic charity for the flock of over-awed, poverty-stricken, down-trodden people among whom he had chosen to cast his lot, pitying their affliction, relieving by every means in his power their actual distress, while fatigue and time, humiliation and insult, were of no account in his estimation, when it was a question of softening the wrath or staying the persecution of their oppressors. He was a man of bold heart, one to whom the sense of fear seemed unknown, as the petty tyrants themselves seemed to acknowledge by their combined and inhuman thirst for his death. Yet in his case, as in that of every true Catholic priest persecuted under one or another political pretext, the blindness of those who fight against the Lord is most manifest. Had it not been for the noble and incessant exertions of the Catholic clergy, who made use of their vast influence over their flocks to curb and control, or at least restrain, the unhappy inclination to rebellion which seems inherent in human nature, especially against illegal and ill-used authority, there is but little doubt that the whole fair island would have become one vast arena of violence and anarchy: for the Catholic people were fairly driven to understand that they had absolutely naught to hope from their heartless rulers. They saw their priests accused of rebellion and treasonable teachings, when, time and again, they well knew how strenuously those same



priests had not only coaxed and urged, but threatened with the terrible judgments of the Church all those who were inclined to take the vengeance of the Lord into their own hands against their oppressors. They had heard their fathers tell, the memories of their own infancy recalled, and now their own manhood witnessed, the scorn, the ignominy, the diabolical treatment to which priest after priest and bishop after bishop were exposed, and from which, for their sake, these martyrs of the living God never flinched.

Such a man was Father Sheehy, a native of Tipperary, but educated in France, because the laws of *Christian* England forbade a Catholic gentleman to educate his children in the faith of his fathers. Even after his return to his native land, he was for a time compelled to offer the Holy Sacrifice and administer the consolations of religion secretly, because the number of priests who began to be tolerated was limited by law, and could not be increased without certain punishment. Already had he been several times within the grasp of the law, yet managed each time to escape conviction, when his appointment to the regular mission at Clogheen, and, later, to the united parishes of Shandraghan, Ballysheehan and Templeheny, brought him somewhat under the protection of the law, but still more under the eye of his bitter enemies, the Orange magistrates and landowners of the county. These men, among whom were Sir Thomas Maude, John and William Bagwell, Bumbury, Toler (worthy ancestor of the notorious Lord Norbury), and John Hewitson, Rector of Clogheen, irritated by his undisguised opposition to their unjust taxation and crushing intolerance, formed a close alliance for his destruction or, rather, *murder*.

After one or another trumped-up charge against him had been in vain essayed, they succeeded in having him indicted on the charge of aiding and abetting in the

murder of one John Bridge, a poor half-simpleton, whom intimidation had induced to turn informer against the Whiteboys. Bound over to appear for their prosecution at the coming assizes, Bridge suddenly disappeared, and the enemies of Father Sheehy seized the opportunity to accuse him of complicity in the supposed or pretended murder of John Bridge. Here was a rare chance; and no trouble was spared, nor expense, in manufacturing a body of witnesses who would swear away the priest's life for a few paltry guineas, or to gratify some personal spite. Parson Hewitson was eminently successful in getting such; and by promises and bribes succeeded in enlisting in his service a disreputable woman named Mary Bradly, *alias* "Moll Dunlea," whom Father Sheehy had expelled from his chapel for her wicked, immoral life; one Toohey, a noted horse-thief, who was brought out of the jail of Kilkenny for this purpose; and a vagabond strolling boy, named Lonergan. On the information of these immaculate witnesses, a warrant was issued for the arrest of the priest, and £300 offered for his apprehension.

Father Sheehy, knowing full well that, if he were brought to trial at Clonmel, he had not the least chance of escape from his relentless enemies, concealed himself for several months, and was even sheltered by several Protestants, particularly by a farmer named Griffith, at Shandraghan. After much suffering and many escapes, Father Sheehy wrote a letter to Secretary Waite at Dublin Castle, offering to surrender, on condition that he should be tried in Dublin; stating that, so bitter were the Tipperary magistrates against him, he could not have a fair trial at Clonmel.

His offer was accepted. Father Sheehy at once delivered himself up to Mr. O'Callaghan, a just magistrate, and ancestor of the present Lord Donoghmore, who not only received him kindly, but sent to Clogheen for a troop of horse to escort him to Dublin, fearing to deliver



him to the Orange constables, whom his brother magistrates had in their service.

Once escaped from the clutches of his enemies, his natural goodness of heart and his frank affability of manner failed not to produce their effect on those about him. He was first lodged with the provost, in the lower castle-yard; but, after a cursory examination, his innocence was so apparent to Mr. Secretary Waite (already prepossessed in his favor by his letter of capitulation, so to speak) and to Town-Major Sirr,\* that he was at once freed from all restraint, and permitted to go anywhere within the city limits. Major Sirr went so far as to become security for his appearance at the approaching trial.

“I will never believe,” said the good-natured town-major, “that such a man as he is guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. I have had some experience of those over-zealous worthies in the South, who trump up plots thick and fast to keep their hands full of business; and I swear to you (of course it goes no further) that in nine cases out of ten it is they who deserve trial, and not the poor miserable devils of countrymen whom they goad to madness with their oppressions and exactions. But that is not our affair; it is for the judges to look after that. This priest, however, must not be kept in prison, for I see his innocence as plain as I see your face. So I’ll be his security for appearing when called on; let him out on my responsibility.”

“Agreed!” was Waite’s answer; and Father Sheehy was speedily informed that, until such time as his trial came on, he was at liberty to go where he pleased, provided he did not quit the precincts of Dublin city.

His word of honor was then taken that he would

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\* This Major Sirr was father to him who exercised such wanton cruelty on the noble but unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald,—a striking verification, surely, of the old proverb that many a good father has a bad son.

appear when called, and, with many expressions of heart-felt gratitude to the high-minded gentlemen who had dealt so generously by him, he withdrew, almost a free man.

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Nearly eleven months had passed away before Father Sheehy was brought up for trial, the case being put back from time to time under one pretence or another. During all that long period he had been supplied with funds by his friends in the country, whom he had the comfort, moreover, of seeing from time to time, and especially his favorite cousin, Martin O'Brien, who, in fact, remained almost constantly with him.

On the 10th of February, 1766, he was arraigned at the bar of the Court of Queen's Bench, before Chief-Justice Gore and Judges Robinson and Scott.

It is remarkable that in this trial he was accused of only treasonable practices, and not for the murder of Bridge. The charge was a serious one, no doubt, and even the stoutest heart might well have quailed under the circumstances, but Father Sheehy looked with a smiling countenance on the imposing array of white-wigged lawyers, the earnest-looking occupants of the jury-box, as they crowded forward to see the prisoner; nay, even the grave and awful dignity of the three judges failed to blanch his cheek or to dim his eye. That cheek had much of the freshness of youth, and that clear, blue eye was full of life and spirit, while his fine aquiline nose gave token of the decision which marked his character. The trial went on, evidence on both sides was sifted to the bottom, and it is but fair to say (what respectable historians have already said) that the whole proceedings were marked by the strictest impartiality. Several hours were occupied in the examination of the witnesses, and very often, as some glaring inconsistency was discovered in the evidence for the prosecution, or some shameless bribery was brought to light, Town-Major Sirr, who sat



near the judges, would address a whispered remark to the gentleman who sat next to him. Throughout the whole trial the judges treated the Tipperary dignitaries with something very like contempt, to the great discomfiture of those ultra-loyal persons; and when, at seven o'clock in the evening, Chief-Justice Gore rose to address the jury, he said it gave him no ordinary pleasure to assure them that the court was unanimous in declaring Mr. Sheehy innocent of the charge brought against him. The jury retired, and very soon returned to their box with a verdict of "Not guilty." No sooner was the word pronounced than one wild, enthusiastic cheer rang out from hall and gallery, and was caught up by the multitude without. Father Sheehy manifested not the smallest change of countenance, but stood leaning against the railing of the dock, with folded arms and head slightly raised in the attitude of listening.

But the drama was not yet concluded—the chief-justice arose to address the prisoner.

At that moment Father Sheehy looked toward one of his chief opponents, who had come all the way from the neighborhood of Clogheen to be present at the trial, and he saw on his face an exulting smile which boded him no good. His eye wandered on to the chief-justice, and he was convinced that there was something more to come, for the face of the judge had undergone a serious change. After a momentary pause he said: "The jury, as I expected, has acquitted you of the charges contained in the indictment, and by this time you should have been free, had not a fresh obstacle presented itself,—one, too, involving the most serious consequences." He paused a moment, and then exchanged a few words in a low voice with the other two judges: a deathlike quiet pervaded the court,—the silence of intense anxiety and expectation. All eyes were turned on the priest; his head had fallen on his chest, and he seemed lost in thought

but no shadow of fear was seen on his face. The judge spoke again, and Father Sheehy raised his head to listen: "Nicholas Sheehy, it is now my painful duty to remand you to prison: you are charged with being accessory to the willful and deliberate murder of John Bridge!" At these words a shudder ran through the assembly, whilst a cry of horror escaped from almost every individual present. All eyes were now turned on the unfortunate prisoner, who was evidently doomed to undergo every species of persecution, and to be deprived of all chance of escape. He was pale, but his eye was still undimmed, though a tear was evidently forcing its way. After a moment of silence he bowed low to the chief-justice, and then to each of the other two judges, and lastly to the jury.

"My Lord Chief-Justice," he said at length, "this new accusation, terrible as it is, does not at all surprise me. Knowing the men from whom it comes, and their persevering enmity toward me, I had every reason to expect that they would be prepared to follow up my acquittal here—if acquitted I should be—with some other charge. Such a charge as this, no one who knows me could have anticipated; but God's will be done! I accept this grievous humiliation as coming from His paternal hand, and will only pray Him to turn the hearts of those who persecute me. I am thankful to this worshipful court, my lord, and to the gentlemen of the jury, for the impartiality with which my trial has been conducted, and will ever pray that the righteous Judge of all may deal mercifully by those who have not shrunk from doing justice to an oppressed and persecuted man. I am now ready to submit to whatever fate awaits me, always declaring that, if John Bridge were indeed murdered—which God forbid!—I have had neither act or part in, nor knowledge of, that execrable deed. I am well aware that this declaration avails nothing before a court



of justice, but I owe it to my reputation as a man, and still more as a priest of the Most High God : and that God, who seeth the heart, knoweth I do not prevaricate. I have done, my lords!"

"Mr. Sheehy," replied the humane chief-justice "it is not for me to express an opinion of any sort in this matter ; but this I will say, that I have seldom performed a more painful duty than that of remanding you to prison. Mr. Sheriff," he added, addressing that functionary, "you will take the prisoner at the bar again into custody, until such time as he may be brought up for trial."

The officer bowed, so did the prisoner ; but a shout of execration arose from the multitude within and without the building. "A plot ! a plot !" was the general cry, and a violent commotion was seen to agitate the crowd. Father Sheehy, before leaving the dock, turned toward the multitude and made a warning gesture with his hand. Speech was not allowed him, but the people understood his desires, and showed their respect for him by the profound silence which followed,—a silence which was only broken by a murmur of pity and indignation. If any were present who believed him guilty of this new crime, they took good care to conceal their opinion, for not one dissenting voice was heard in the place.

Hardly had the prisoner quitted the dock, and the judges withdrawn from the bench, when the fierce shout was heard : "A groan for Maude, Hewitson and Bagwell, the priest-hunting, bloodthirsty magistrates of Clogheen ! There goes one of them, boys : let him hear how well the Dublin lads can hoot such rascals !" The groan, or rather series of groans and hisses which followed, made Bagwell right glad to escape to his carriage, which was in waiting, while his black heart overflowed with venom to hear the wild and oft-renewed cheer which ascended from many thousand voices at the mention of Father Sheehy's name. And again and again the cry arose of,

"Sheehy forever! down with the Tipperary magistrates!" until Bagwell thought it would never cease, or that he could never get fast enough out of hearing "But we'll have our revenge for this," was his consoling reflection,—“by the soul of King William, but we'll have our day, and a black day it will be for him, the Popish villain; that's as sure as my name is John Bagwell. His Dublin mob shan't save him; no, by h——, nor this white-livered Gore, if he was again sitting in judgment; but he shan't, for we'll lose a fall for it, or we'll have him brought to Clonmel. This trying the fellow in Dublin will never do, and I knew that all along.”

Bagwell had his revenge, for he succeeded in having Father Sheehy sent back to Clonmel for trial; and in order to heap indignities upon him, on his way back, his hands were manacled, and his feet tied under the horse's body, so that the cords sank into the very flesh to the bones.

It was night when he entered Clonmel, and it was by torchlight that he passed those gloomy gates which were to him the portals of fate. They closed behind him, and as the echo died away along the dreary walls, a cold shiver darted through all his body, and for the first time in his life his heart sank within him, for he felt as though the icy hand of death were already grasping him, and the warm, living world was shut out forever. But his depression was only momentary. “Why should I despair?” he said to himself. “They cannot deprive me of heaven unless through my own fault; and the greater my sufferings and humiliations here, the greater will be my reward hereafter, provided God gives me the grace to sanctify them by consecrating all entirely to Him. Courage, my soul! heaven lies beyond the dark portals of death; let us not shrink from the passage, since Christ Himself has set us the example. He died, then why should we fear to die?”



His reflections were cut short by the jailer, who roughly bade him follow; and he was very soon the tenant of a cold, damp cell, on the first floor of the prison. Again did his heart sink; but he quickly shook off his despondency, and betook himself to prayer.

No sooner was his arrival in Clonmel made known than the whole country was thrown into a feverish excitement. Some were rejoiced,—that is to say, the few who lived in the hopes of seeing the Catholic party entirely prostrated, and the Protestant ascendancy permanently established; but by the great mass of the people the event was hailed with all the wildness of lamentation. It is very questionable if any one individual there really believed Father Sheehy cognizant of Bridge's murder, if murdered he indeed was; but it is quite certain that many affected to believe it.

But the priest was not alone in this new misfortune, for it was the policy of the ruling party to get rid of the most influential Catholics, either by fair or foul means; and the disappearance of Bridge, the crown witness, was a glorious opportunity for involving many of them in one common ruin.

On the 12th of March, 1766, he was brought to trial at Clonmel, with Edward Meehan, or Meighan, of Grange, charged with the murder of John Bridge, at Shanbally, on the 28th of October, 1764. So great was the terror in which the Tipperary magistrates were held, that he could not get a lawyer to take up his case, except a Dublin attorney named Sparrow, who knew little of its merits, or of the character of the priest's enemies, and who had to steal out of town at night, owing to the threats of the Orange faction.

Toohy, who had been brought out of jail to swear away the life of the priest, stated that he was present with a party of Whiteboys when Sheehy tendered an oath

to Bridge, binding him to deny his information at the coming trial; that Bridge refused to take it, and then one Pierce Byrne struck at him with a stone, and Edmund Meehan struck him with a billhook on the head, killing him instantly; that Father Sheehy then swore all present to keep the murder secret, and to be true to the King of France; that the body was then removed two miles from the scene of the murder, and interred in a lonely place.

The boy Lonergan swore that he met the party on their way to bury the body, and that Father Sheehy gave him three half-crowns not to inform on them.

Moll Dunlea was the next witness, and, as she had an old spite against the priest for hunting her out of the parish on account of her debauchery, she did some strong swearing.

She swore that she lived with her mother at Clogheen; that Michael Kearney was at their house, and that, the night of the murder, Father Sheehy called for him; that she followed them to Shanbally, when she saw them and Ned Meehan, Thomas Magrath, and others, carrying the dead body of Bridge, which they buried at a place called Baron; that she was also present when the body was removed from there, and buried at Ballysheehan; that on both occasions the priest swore all present to secrecy.

The above is the leading testimony upon which several persons were hanged. Is there anything more improbable than that a body of men contemplating murder would let a notorious thief and scoundrel, a strolling boy and an unprincipled prostitute, into the secret?

Ann Hullan, Moll Dunlea's mother, swore that Moll slept in the same bed with her the night of the murder and several nights before and after; and that Michael Kearney was not in their house that year at all.

George Flannery, Thomas Gorman, Harry Keating and others, proved that Michael Kearney had left the



country before the time of the murder; and a farmer named Hendrekin swore that Edmund Meehan spent, in his house, the entire night on which it was said Bridge was killed.

In any other country but Ireland such an impeachment of the prosecutors would immediately acquit the prisoners, but the ascendancy party had the judge and jury in their hands, and were resolved to hang their victims. Father Sheehy had several respectable witnesses to testify in his behalf; but his relentless enemies laid snares for them, and had some arrested as Whiteboys, and others for murder.

A Mr. Herbert, a respectable farmer, was arrested on the charge of being a Whiteboy, on his way to court, and was so terrified by threats of execution, that he subsequently turned a witness for the prosecution.

Mr. Keating, of Tubrid, a highly respectable Catholic gentleman, testified that, during the entire night of the supposed murder, Father Sheehy was in his house at Tubrid, and could not have left it without his knowledge. At this stage of the proceedings, Parson Hewitson arose in court, with a paper in his hand, and said: "I find in this list Mr. Keating's name among those concerned in the late murder of a serjeant and a corporal at Newmarket." Mr. Keating was at once removed and committed to jail, and his testimony expunged.\*

This *ruse* showed how well the magistrates had laid their devilish plots, and struck terror into several in court who might have given important evidence, but who saw that, by so doing, they would get themselves flung into jail, without doing any good to the doomed priest.

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\* Mr. Keating succeeded in having his trial removed to Kilkenny, out of reach of the Tipperary Orange magistrates, and was honorably acquitted. The jury scouted the evidence brought against him, which was partly the same as convicted Father Sheehy.

The high-sheriff of the county, Daniel Toler, ancestor of the notorious and bloody Lord Norbury, made himself very active in intimidating witnesses from appearing on behalf of the prisoners.

Father Sheehy saw how deeply the plot had been laid for his ruin, and as he saw Mr. Keating removed a prisoner from the witness-stand, he knew that his fate was sealed.

It availed little that several witnesses proved that they had seen Bridge after the night on which it was said he had been murdered, and that he stated to them that he was about leaving the country for good, in order to avoid swearing at the trials of some Whiteboys.\*

All this availed little, for the jury found Edmund Meehan guilty of the murder of John Bridge, and the same jury found Nicholas Sheehy guilty of the murder of John Bridge; that is to say, as having aided and abetted Edmund Meehan therein.†

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\* "It is strange that there was nothing said about the body of Bridge during the trial. The impression at the time, and which still exists in Tipperary, was, that Bridge had fled the country to avoid both the Orange faction, who were using him as an informer, and the Whiteboys, whom he feared on account of his testimony against them. It is also stated that he was afterward identified by several parties in St. John, Newfoundland. On the other hand, Major Sirr of Dublin Castle, father of the notorious Major Sirr of 1798, held a letter purporting to be from Father Sheehy, in which he stated that Bridge had been killed, but that he knew nothing of the murder until a dying man accused himself of the crime. Though Dr. Curry, Dr. Egan, and other eminent authorities, accept this letter as genuine, we doubt it, and look on it as a forgery, for, if the witnesses saw Bridge murdered, and saw the body buried, as they testified, they could have pointed out the place to the authorities, who would, most certainly, have made the most of such strong proof in their favor; but the fact is, neither the body nor the grave was ever found. Furthermore, Father Sheehy's reply to the judge confirms the belief that the document was a forgery, concocted to mitigate the atrocity of Father Sheehy's foul murder."

† It is a remarkable fact that not one of the jurors who tried Father Sheehy died by a natural death. Sir Thomas Maude died a raving maniac, crying out that Father Sheehy was dragging him down to hell. Bagwell, of Kilmore, became an idiot; and his eldest son shot himself in a packet, on his way to



Again was the voice of wailing, loud and deep, heard echoing through the building; sighs and loud groans gave note that many a heart, even in that packed assemblage, sympathized with the unfortunate victim of injustice. But the prisoner himself only raised his eyes to heaven and said: "Even this, my God! even this can I bear—all things whatsoever Thou wilt, whether they be good or evil. So long as Thou keep me in the state of grace, I can cheerfully submit to Thy holy will."

On the following morning the prisoners were brought up for sentence. Poor Meehan received his death-sentence with great composure, but the sobs and cries of his aged father and distracted wife were pitiful to hear. Father Sheehy was then brought forward.

"Nicholas Sheehy," said the judge, "have you any reason to offer why sentence of death should not be passed upon you?"

"My good lord," said the priest, with a simple earnestness of manner that touched every heart not steeled by prejudice,—“my good lord, I am aware that your question is a mere form, and anything I could say would have no effect; still, as the opportunity is afforded me, I must say that I am entirely innocent of the crime—the heinous crime—of which I have been convicted. Not only am I

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England, and that branch of the family soon became extinct. Jacob was seized with fits, in which he barked like a dog, and could scarcely be kept from eating the flesh off himself. Cork, of Kiltinan, was drowned. Parson Hewitson died suddenly. Barker had no heir, and died in fits. Tuthill cut his throat. Another juror, named Shaw, was choked to death. Alexander Hoops was drowned. Ferris died mad. Another dropped dead at his own door. Another died in a privy. Dunvill was killed by his horse. Minchin died in beggary. The Pennefeather family was reduced to poverty, and many of them died idiots. The Barker and Jacob families are also extinct, in a direct line. The same might be said of the families of nearly all the jurors who tried Father Sheehy. Though I cannot give the fate of each of the jurors, it is remarkable that a curse seemed to blight each and every one of them, and even their descendants.

To finish the catalogue: Moll Dunlea was killed by falling into a cellar, in Cork, while drunk; Lonergan died of a loathsome disease, in Dublin; and

innocent thereof, but, to the best of my belief, no such murder has been committed. I am almost fully persuaded that this very John Bridge is still living, for we have the clearest evidence that, some days subsequent to the date of the supposed murder, the man was seen alive and in good health, and took leave of his friends, to go either to Cork or Kinsale, to embark for some foreign country." Here he was interrupted by the judge, who desired him to confine himself to his own case. "My Lord, it appears to me that I speak to the purpose; surely I do when myself and another are to be put to death for a crime which never was committed by any one. Knowing, or at least believing, this to be the case, I protest against the entire proceedings, as regards Meehan and myself, and will protest until my latest moment against the shameful injustice, the gross perjury, the deadly malice, of which we are the victims. In conclusion, I must declare that, notwithstanding all this, I bear these unhappy men who persecute me even to death, not the slightest ill-will: I leave them in the hands of a just God, knowing that He will deal with them according to their deserts. That is all I have to say. I leave God to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty."

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Toohy died of the leprosy. On the other hand, the descendants of Mr. Callaghan, who showed justice and mercy to the poor, persecuted priest, have become nobles in the land.

The following verses, taken from an old Irish song, allude to the fate of Father Sheehy's jury, and were attributed to his sister, who went half crazy, and watched his head for twenty years, until it was given up to her:—

"And where are they, dear head, that once reviled thee?  
 Who spiked thee high, and with filthy pitch defiled thee?  
 All prayers for pity spurn'd, scoff'd and slighted,  
 They crushed my head, and left me old and blighted.  
 Sure of their doom, some died in madness, yelling  
 Of Sheehy's quartered corpse, of hell's dark dwelling;  
 And some, O righteous God! impious and daring,  
 Pour'd forth their cursed lives, and died despairing."



The judge, after a few remarks, passed sentence in the following words:—

“ You shall be hanged, drawn and quartered, on Saturday next, the 15th inst.; and may God have mercy on your soul, and grant you a sight of the enormity of your crime ! ”

“ I thank your lordship for your good wishes,” replied the poor priest. “ Doubtless I have much to answer for before God, since we are all sinful creatures at the very best ; but He knows that of this crime, or aught like unto it, I am wholly innocent. To His justice I fearlessly and with all confidence give myself up. Praise, however, and glory to His holy name, now and for evermore ; and may His will be done on earth as it is in heaven ! ”

Here the long-restrained feelings of Father Sheehy’s friends burst forth anew. Sighs and groans, and half-stifled exclamations of horror and pity were heard on every side, and it required all the authority of the judge to restore anything like order. In the midst of the tumult the prisoner was removed, and, very soon after, the court adjourned till the following day.

During the short interval between the sentence and its execution, nothing could equal the excitement of the public mind. People of all classes felt themselves deeply interested. The Catholics, of course, were filled with indignation ; for the trial and conviction of Father Sheehy and Meehan had outraged every sense of justice, being the very climax of shameless corruption, and a direct violation of all law, human and divine. There were few men of his day so popular as Father Sheehy, and the people seemed everywhere to regard him as the victim of his high-souled generosity and undisguised sympathy with them in their sufferings. It required, indeed, all the influence of the priests to keep them from pouring into Clonmel and attacking the jail.

In their ardent attachment to Father Sheehy they

utterly lost sight of their own safety, and would have rushed on certain destruction, without even a chance of saving the doomed victim of religious intolerance and political hatred. The jail was constantly surrounded by a strong military force; some of Lord Drogheda's troops having been brought from Clogheen to reënforce the garrison.

By a great stretch of favor, his own immediate family were permitted to see him, and also Father Doyle, as his spiritual director. His demeanor was calm during all those mournful days, and he even succeeded in cheering and consoling his afflicted relatives by his glowing descriptions of the joy which awaits the blessed in the other world,—in that world whither he was hastening. He studiously diverted their minds from the violent death which awaited him, and dwelt on the joy of being released from the miseries of this life, and of putting on the robes of immortality: "And then," said he, "as for the dark stain which will rest on my character, even that need not distress you, my kind friends; for I feel assured that the all-righteous God will clear up this fearful mystery and show forth my innocence and that of poor Meehan. On this head I have no fears."

It was the day before that appointed for his execution, and Father Sheehy had just parted with his two sisters and some other dear friends, of whom he begged that they would not ask to see him on the following day: "For," said he, "as I am to-morrow to appear before my God, I would rather be left to undisturbed preparation. Let none of you come near me, then, for I would fain break asunder, of my own free will, those bonds of earthly affection,—those 'cords of Adam' which death will rend to-morrow. Go now, my sisters; and may God bless you and yours, and guide you safe into the port of salvation! For shame, for shame! why weep so bitterly? Why one would think you had but little of the



Christian's hope. Do you not know and *feel* that we will meet again, probably very soon, in that heaven where our divine Master lives to welcome our coming? Only keep your last end continually in view, so as to avoid sin, as much as in you lies, and I will venture to predict a happy meeting for us all; knowing that the God whom we serve delights in showing mercy to the contrite sinner. Farewell; be of good cheer, and forget not to pray for me when I am gone hence." So saying, he took the hand of each, and held them a moment, while, with eyes raised to heaven, he invoked a blessing on their heads, and again exhorted them to be of good heart: to which they replied only by a doleful shake of the head and a fresh burst of tears.

Martin O'Brien just then came in, and Father Sheehy said to him: "When I shall have suffered the extreme penalty of the *law*, you will bury all of this poor body that you may obtain, in the old churchyard of Shandraghan. It is not, to be sure, where you would wish to lay my remains, but I bespoke my lodging there some months ago. You will make my grave close to that old vault, under the shade of a gnarled elm which overhangs the spot. Tell Billy Griffith that his noble protection of a poor persecuted priest will be remembered, even in heaven, if I am so happy as to reach there, and that my blessing rests, and shall rest, upon him and his children. You will also give him this watch (it was a large, old-fashioned silver one): it is the only treasure I possess on earth, and I would fain send that excellent friend a token of my gratitude. Tell him to keep it for my sake: it is all I have to give him. To you, Thomas Burke, I give this silver snuff-box; and do you, Terence, keep this little ivory crucifix," drawing forth one which he wore on his neck; "but your legacy is only reversional, my dear fellow," he added with a melancholy smile, "for you are not to have it until after my death. Then you are to

take possession ; but I have worn it for many a year, and I cannot part with it while life remains. For you, Martin, I have reserved my beads, which I value very highly, for they were given me, when life was warm and young within me, by one of the professors in Louvain. My breviary, and a few other books, I have given to Father Doyle ; and so I have already bequeathed all my effects : my body to Shandraghan, and my soul to God, if He will deign to accept the offering. Not a word now, not a word now !” he said, seeing that some of his listeners were about to speak. “ I’ll not have a word spoken with such a doleful face as that. O’Brien,” he suddenly added, “ we little thought of this as we walked along, looking down on the black, muddy Liffey. I know not what you may have thought, but for myself I can safely say that I never dreamed of such an end.”

“ Truly I must say, Father Nicholas,” interrupted Martin, “ that I have always had a misgiving on my mind, ever since I heard the report of Bridge’s murder. That report is the unfortunate cause of this dreadful catastrophe.”

“ Not at all, Martin, not at all,” replied the priest, briskly ; “ the cause lies farther back, and may be traced to the active part I took in getting the church-rates knocked off in a parish where they ought never to have been paid, seeing that it contained not a single Protestant, and then in encouraging my people to resist that novel and most unjust marriage-tax. These are the *first* causes ; this pretended murder of Bridge is but an adjunct of the main scheme, for, if his disappearance had not furnished a weapon against me, they would have found another. My only grief is for poor Keating. God knows what is to become of him and this unfortunate Meehan, who leaves so many helpless mourners behind him ; but I trust God will provide for them, since He sees fit to deprive them of their main support.”



“With regard to Mr. Keating,” interposed Burke, “I hear he has been sent to Kilkenny jail, so that he will not be tried here.”

“Thank God for that same!” exclaimed Father Sheehy, with fervor. “He has, then, a much better chance of escape: I am truly rejoiced to hear that he is not to be tried in Clonmel. Should any of you ever see him again tell him how anxious I was about him, and that my prayers were continually offered up in his behalf, that God might reward his goodness, even in this life, by delivering him from the hands of his enemies. You Martin O’Brien, will pay a visit, as soon as possible after *to-morrow*, to Mr. Cornelius O’Callaghan, and thank him for his kind and respectful treatment of me. Tell him how deeply grateful I was, and that I remembered his disinterested kindness to the last moment of my existence. I believe this is all,” and he looked around with a pleased expression of countenance. “My worldly affairs are now arranged; and I am at full liberty to attend to ‘the one thing needful:’ my final preparation for eternity. Father Doyle promised to come back this evening, and I hope to receive the adorable sacrament *to-morrow morning* for my *viaticum*. So now, my dear friends, you will leave me to myself awhile; my soul must needs prepare to meet the Bridegroom, and secure His approbation before He ascends the tribunal of judgment. God be with you till we meet again!” He then shook the hand of each in turn, and they quitted the prison in silent anguish.

On Saturday, the fifteenth of the month, Father Sheehy was brought out from his cell to undergo the murderous punishment. He was attended by his faithful friend and spiritual director, Father Doyle; and of the two, the latter showed far more dejection than the prisoner—the felon. They came out on the platform in front of Clonmel jail, and there stood side by side, while one loud, long shout

of sorrowful greeting arose from the assembled multitude. Sighs and groans were heard on every side, and many a convulsive sob from the bosom of brave and stout-hearted men.

Father Sheehy's eyes filled with tears as he advanced to the front of the platform, and raising his right hand, he made the sign of the cross over the heads of the crowd below. "May the Almighty God, before whose judgment-seat I am about to appear, bless and protect you all, and may He grant to each of you the graces of which you stand most in need! May He preserve you steadfastly in the true faith, by which alone salvation is to be obtained! I need scarcely tell you, my good people, that I die entirely innocent of the foul crime laid to my charge. As for those who have persecuted me, even to death, and the jury who condemned me on such evidence, I forgive and pity them all, and would not change places with any of them for all the riches of the earth. The care of my reputation I leave to my God: He will reëstablish it in His own good time. In conclusion, I pray you all to retire quietly to your homes, and make no disturbance, for that would only give a pretext for fresh persecution."

He then shook hands with the priest, and begged to be remembered in his prayers; then calmly turned and made a signal to the hangman. That functionary was prompt in his obedience: a moment, and the body of Father Sheehy swung in the air; another, and he had ceased to breathe. The pain of death was passed: heaven in mercy had made it but momentary; and the wild scream that arose from the multitude below, loud and heart-piercing as it was, rolled away unheard by him, and mingled with the boisterous wind that filled the air around.

"May the Lord God of hosts have mercy on your soul, Nicholas Sheehy!" exclaimed Father Doyle, loud enough to be heard by the people in the street; "He



will not refuse you that justice which your fellow-men withheld from you. A melancholy death was yours, but your soul has, I trust, found favor before God, for you were, indeed, free from guile."

All, however, was not yet over. The body of the martyred priest was cut down, and taken away to undergo the remainder of the sentence. *Hanging* was not enough for the brutal spirit of the Protestant ascendancy; the poor, lifeless frame was to be *drawn and quartered*, and, while the task was being accomplished, Edward Meehan was brought out on the platform. He, too, declared his innocence in the most positive terms, and offered up an affecting prayer for those who had sworn away his life, for the jury who had condemned him on their false testimony, and for the judge who had passed sentence upon him. He also repeated his solemn declaration of Father Sheehy's innocence.

"Though I know," said he, "that he is already gone where I am soon to follow, but still it is right to speak the truth to the very last. That good priest has been put to death wrongfully; and when they did it to him, that was God's own servant, they may well do it to me, poor sinful man that I am, though, thanks to the great God, I am as innocent of this murder as the child unborn. That is all I have to say, only that I freely forgive all my enemies, and pray God to have mercy on my soul, and the Blessed Virgin and all the saints to pray for me, and for them I leave behind."

He was launched into eternity almost before the words were uttered: no, not quite so soon, for his sufferings were somewhat longer than those of the priest; for two or three minutes he struggled in the agony of his violent death, and then all was still.

The Catholics who had occasion to pass that way about an hour before sunset, hurried on with a shudder, and murmured, "Lord, have mercy on him!" as they

glanced at the strange and ghastly spectacle over the arched porch of the old jail, where was hoisted, on a pole, the severed head of the ill-fated priest, the well-known features little changed; were it not for the unnatural purple hue diffused over all: the natural effect of the fearful death which had parted soul and body.

The murder of Father Sheehy did not appease the Orange landlords. In the following month his cousin, Ned Sheehy; a respectable farmer, James Buxton, and James Farrell, were also tried for the murder of Bridge, for swearing Toohey to be true to *Shaun Meskill* (a name given to the Whiteboys, after one of their leaders) and his children, and other charges. The swearing against them was reckless and savage, being the same as hung the priest. They were, of course, sentenced to death, and executed at Clogheen. When their heads were chopped off, a young girl, named Ann Mary Butler, snatched up the head of Ned Sheehy, and made off with it.

The sympathizing soldiers made way for her and closed upon the hangman, who pursued her. The head was decently interred with the body, while the other two were spiked at Clonmel. These men declared, just before their execution, that they were offered their liberty by the Rev. Lawrence Broderick, Rev. John Hewitson, Sir William Barker's son, Matthew Bumbury, Bagnell, Toler, and Bagnall, if they would swear against Bishop Creagh, Lord Dunboyne's brother, Robert Keating, several other gentlemen, and some priests, charging them with being engaged in a conspiracy with the French government to raise an insurrection in Ireland; but, above all, if they would declare that Father Sheehy was guilty, and that he "had died with a lie in his mouth." These brave men withstood all, and died with remarkable fortitude, declaring their innocence to the last. Ned Sheehy was the grandfather of the celebrated Countess of Blessington, one of his daughters



being married to Edmund Power of Curragheen. Just twenty years afterward, in 1786, Father Sheehy's sister was allowed to take away his head, and inter it with his body in Shandraghan graveyard.

Beside the ruins of the old church repose the remains of Father Sheehy. A beaten path leads to the grave, for many a pilgrim has trod over it. The white headstone that marks this hallowed spot bears the following inscription:—

“Here lieth the remains of the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Shandraghan, Ballysheehan and Templeheny. He died March 15th, 1766, aged 38 years. Erected by his sister, Catherine Burke, *alias* Sheehy.”





## THE PRIEST'S LEAP.

### A LEGEND OF THE PENAL TIMES.

BY T. D. SULLIVAN.

THE priest is out upon the hill before the dawn of day:  
Through shadows deep, o'er rugged ground, he treads his painful way.  
A peasant's homely garb he wears, that none but friendly eyes  
May know who dares to walk abroad, beneath that rough disguise.  
Inside his coat, and near his heart, lies what he treasures most,  
For there a tiny silver shrine contains the Sacred Host.  
Adoring as he goes, he seeks a cabin low and rude,  
To nourish there a fainting soul with God's appointed food;  
For so it is, within the land whose brave and faithful race  
In other days made all the isle a bright and holy place.  
Its temples are in ruins now, its altars overthrown,  
Its hermits' cells in cliff and cave are tenantless and lone:  
The ancient race are broken down, their power is passed away,  
Poor helots, plundered and despised, they tread the soil to-day.  
But yet, though fallen their fortunes be, through want, and woe, and ill,  
Close hid, and fondly loved, they keep their priests amongst them still—  
Their faithful priests, who, though by law condemned, denounced and  
banned,  
Will not forsake their suffering flocks, or quit the stricken land.  
The morning brightens as he goes, the little hut is near,  
When runs a peasant to his side, and speaks into his ear.  
"Fly, Father, fly! the spies are out: they've watched you on your way:  
They've brought the soldiers on your track, to seize you or to slay!  
Quick, Father, dear! here stands your horse; no whip or spur he'll  
need;  
Mount you at once upon his back, and put him to his speed,  
And then, what course you'd better take 'tis God alone that knows—  
Before you spreads a stormy sea, behind you come your foes;  
But mount at once and dash away; take chance for field or flood,  
And God may raise His hand to-day to foil those men of blood."

Up sprang the priest; away he rode, but ere a mile was run,  
Right in his path he saw the flash of bayonets in the sun;  
He turned his horse's head, and sped along the way he came.  
But oh! there too his hunters were, fast closing on their game!

Straight forward then he faced his steed, and urged him with his hand,  
To where the cliff stood high and sheer above the sea-beat strand.  
Then from the soldiers and the spies arose a joyful cheer,  
Their toilsome chase was well-nigh o'er, the wished-for end was near;  
They stretched their eager hands to pluck the rider from his seat—  
A few more lusty strides and they might swing him to their feet:  
For now betwixt him and the verge are scarce ten feet of ground—  
But stay!—good God!—out o'er the cliff the horse is seen to bound!  
The soldiers hasten to the spot, they gaze around, below,  
No splash disturbs the waves that keep their smooth and even flow;  
From their green depths no form of man or horse is seen to rise,  
Far down upon the stony strand no mangled body lies:  
“Look up! look up!” a soldier shouts, “oh! what a sight is there!  
Behold the priest, on horseback still, is speeding through the air!”  
They look, and lo! the words were true, and, trembling with affright,  
They saw the vision pierce the blue, and vanish from their sight.

Three miles away across the bay a group with wondering eyes  
Saw some strange speck come rushing fast towards them from the skies,  
A bird they deemed it first to be; they watched its course, and soon  
They deemed it some black burning mass flung from the sun or moon.  
It neared the earth—their hearts beat fast—they held their breath with  
awe,

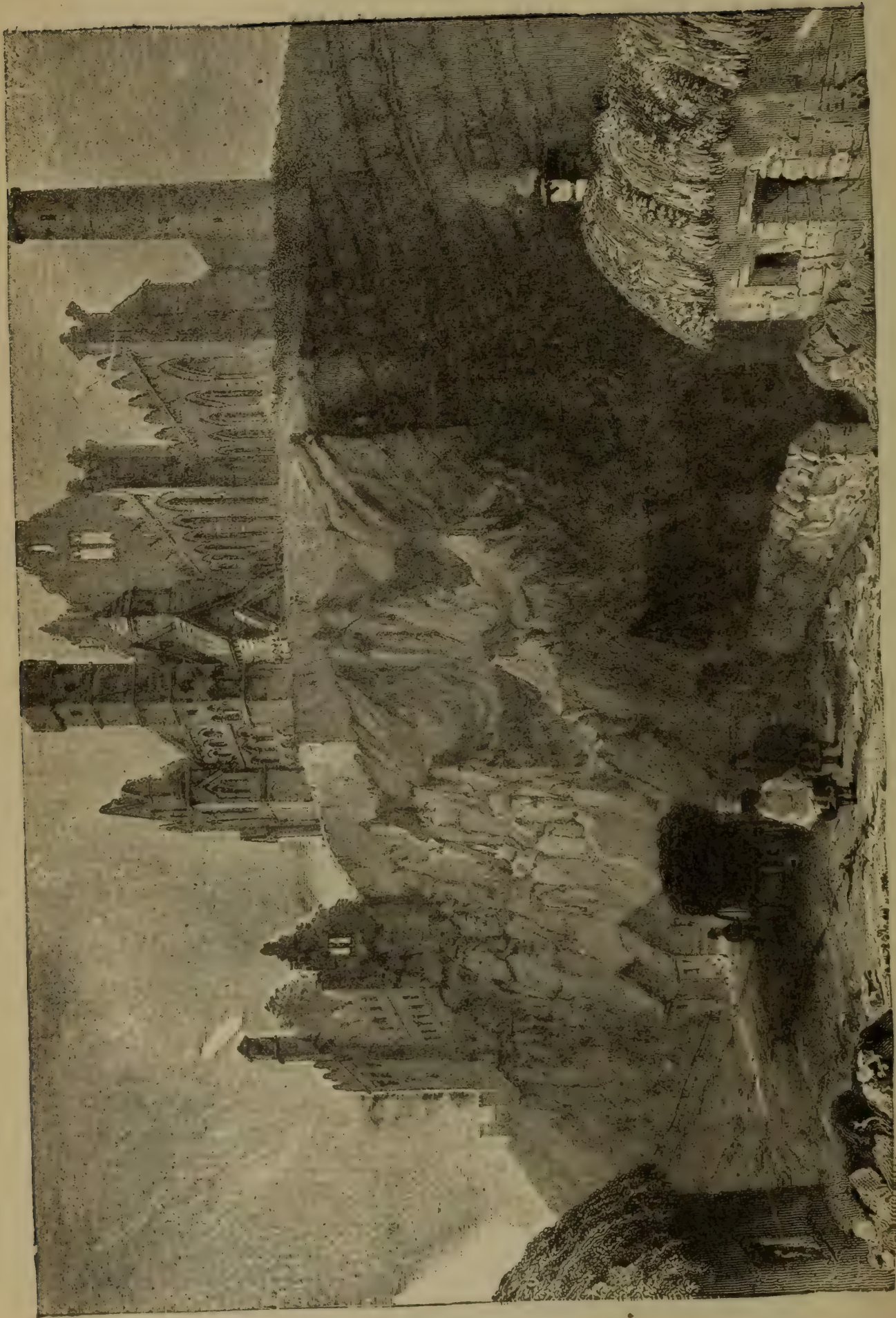
As clear, and clearer still—the horse—and then—the man—they saw;  
They shut their eyes, they stopped their ears, to spare their hearts the  
shock

As steed and rider both came down and struck the solid rock;  
Ay, on the solid rock they struck, but never made a sound;  
No horrid mass of flesh and blood was scattered all around;  
For when the horse fell on his knees, and when the priest was thrown  
A little forward, and his hands came down upon the stone,  
That instant, by God's potent will, the flinty face became  
Like moistened clay, or wax that yields before a glowing flame.  
Unhurt, unharmed, the priest arose, and with a joyful start  
He pressed his hand upon his breast—the Host was near his heart.

Long years have passed away since then, in sun, and wind, and rain,  
But still of that terrific leap the wondrous marks remain,  
On the high cliff from which he sprang—now deemed a sacred place—  
The prints left by the horse's hoofs are plain for all to trace;  
And still the stone where he alit whoever likes may view,  
And see the signs and tokens there that prove the story true.  
May feel and count each notch and line, may measure, if he please,  
The dint made by the horse's head, the grooves sunk by his knees,  
And place his fingers in the holes—for there they are to-day—  
Made by the fingers of the priest who leaped across the bay.







CATHEDRAL OF CASHEL



## RETROSPECT.

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THOUGH, from the year 1744, Catholic blood flowed less profusely in Ireland, persecution was not discontinued. From time to time, bigoted zealots and intolerant fanatics reminded the proscribed Catholics that the penal laws still stood upon the statute books. In their insatiable thirst for Papist blood, and in order to gratify their hatred for Popery, these misguided heretics continued to devise new plots in which to entrap their unsuspecting brethren. The same unfounded and unproven charges of high treason that sent the martyr Plunket to the gibbet in 1681, consigned the saintly Father Nicholas Sheehy to the gallows in 1766.

Before entering into any further specific cases of the martyrdom, physical and civil, to which the Irish race was subjected by the government of England, we would do well to give a hasty retrospective glance at the various stages of English policy, and its results, in the unhappy island.

The broad, fertile lands of Tipperary had become the spoil of Cromwellian planters and soldiers, while nearly all the Catholic people of Ireland who owned any portion of the land, were driven out of Munster, Leinster and Ulster, and on the first of May, 1654, they were forced across the Shannon into Connaught. The phrase used by the Cromwellians on the occasion was, "that they were to go to hell or Connaught." To the former place, however, as being no part of the inheritance of St. Patrick, they did not go, but they were obliged

to go to Connaught. Lest, even there, they might maintain any hope of relief by sea, or enjoy the sight of those fair provinces and that beautiful country once their own, a law was established that no Irishman, transplanted into Connaught, was to come within four miles of the river Shannon, on the one side, or within four miles of the sea, on the other. There was a cordon of English soldiery and English forts drawn about them, and there they were to live in the bogs, in the fastnesses, and in the wild wastes of the most desolate region in Ireland; there they were to pine and expire by famine and by every form of suffering that their Heavenly Father might permit to fall upon them. The fond hope, however, that they would yet have their own,—a hope which has never died out in an Irishman's bosom,—kept alive their natural antagonism to the Cromwellian settlers. The rough Puritan soldiers who came over to Ireland with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, and who had settled in the desolated plains of fair Munster, and the beautiful valleys of Leinster, were men of pluck, who would not tamely endure the restless spirit of these old outlawed proprietors, backed by the daring peasantry, who for generations had ever been the faithful clansmen or retainers of the ancient families. Having the administration of the civil laws and the disposal of the military in their hands, they proved themselves more than a match for their dispossessed and hereditary foes, while every means in their power was mercilessly brought into use to accomplish their purposes.

When Cromwell died, in 1658, Ireland lay void as a wilderness; five-sixths of her people had perished; men, women and children were found daily perishing in ditches, starved; the bodies of many wandering orphans, whose fathers had embarked for Spain, and whose mothers had died of famine, were fed upon by wolves. In the years 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had swept away



the inhabitants of whole counties, so that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles, and not see a living creature : man, beast or bird,—they were all dead, or had quit these desolate places. The troopers would tell stories of places where they saw smoke—it was so rare to see fire or smoke, either by day or night. In two or three cabins where they went, they found none but aged men, with women and children, and, in the words of the prophet, “they became as a bottle in the smoke;” their skin was black, like an oven, because of the terrible famine; they were seen to eat filthy carrion out of the ditch, black and rotten, and were said to have even taken corpses out of the graves to eat.

“Within a twelvemonth after the Marquis of Clanricarde left Ireland,” says Borlase, “Mortagh O’Brien, the last of the Irish commanders, submitted to the parliament, on the usual terms of transportation, by the favor of which, twenty-seven thousand men had been that year sent away.” “Cromwell,” says Dalrymple (“Men of Great Britain,” vol. i, part 2, page 267), “in order to get free of his enemies, did not scruple to transport forty thousand Irish from their own country, to fill all the armies in Europe with complaints of his cruelty, and admiration of their own valor.”

The design of the English Protestant party was totally to exterminate the Irish people. For the purpose of effectually clearing the country of the native Irish, it was, of course, expedient to get rid of as many persons of the military age as possible. In this way several other detachments, comprising from one to four thousand men each, under the command of Irish officers, were disposed of, by Cromwell and his government, to foreign princes.

But the enormities of the ruling tyrants did not stop here. Those of military age who were spared from the slaughter, to the amount, by a safe calculation, of more

than forty thousand, were sent into foreign service, on the continent of Europe, especially to Spain and Belgium. The following note will be found in Dr. Lingard's 'History of England,' vol. x, page 306: "According to Petty, six thousand boys and men were sent away. Lynch ('*Cambrensis Eversus*') says that they were sold for slaves. Broudin, in his '*Propugnaculum*' (Pragæ, 1669), numbers the exiles at one hundred thousand. '*Ultra centum millia omnis sexus et ætatis, e quibus aliquot millia in diversas Americæ tabacarias insulas relegata sunt*' (page 692).\* In a letter in my possession, written in 1656, it is said: '*Catholicos pauperes plenis navibus mittunt in Barbados et insulas Americæ. Credo jam sexaginta millia abivisse. Expulsis enim ab initio in Hispaniam et Belgium maritis, jam uxores et proles in Americam destinantur.*' "

It would, indeed, be idle to exclaim at any cruelty committed at that time. Those unhappy exiles perished in hundreds and thousands. Of the myriads thus transported, not a single one survived at the end of twenty years.

Was there any species of crime which was not perpetrated against the Irish by the barbarians of the English government?

In Thurlow's correspondence the formation of press-gangs, to collect the male and female youths for transportation, is stated at length. "Some have thought," says the great O'Connell, "that the system adopted by the monster who now rules in Russia, of collecting young women from his Polish subjects to send to his military colonies, was an invention of his own. But there is no

\* "Beyond one hundred thousand of either sex and every age, of whom some thousands were sent to the tobacco-growing islands of America."

† "They are sending vessels, filled with poor Irish, to Barbadoes and the islands of America. I believe upward of sixty-thousand have already gone, it being intended to send to America the wives and children of those men who have been already exiled to Spain and Belgium."



atrocities so great as to not have its prototype in the brutalities inflicted upon the people of Ireland by some of their English rulers. It is melancholy to read such a statement as the following:—

“ ‘ After the conquest of Jamaica, in 1655, the Protector, that he might people it, proposed to transport a thousand Irish boys and a thousand Irish girls to the island. A first only the young women were demanded, to which it is replied: ‘ Although we must use force in taking them up, yet it being so much for their own good, and likely to be of so great advantage to the public, it is not in the least doubted that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit.’ (Thurlow, iv, 23.)

“ In the next letter, H. Cromwell says: ‘ I think it might be of like advantage to your affairs there, and ours here, if you should think fit to send one thousand five hundred or two thousand young boys, of twelve or fourteen years of age, to the place afore-mentioned. *We* could well spare them, and they would be of use to you; and who knows but it might be a means to make them Englishmen, I mean, rather, Christians?’ (Page 40.) Thurlow answers: ‘ The committee of the council have voted one thousand girls, and as many youths, to be taken up for that purpose.’ (Page 75.)

“ Sacred heaven! Thus it is that the English ‘ *dia good* ’ to the people of Ireland! The young women were to be taken by force from their mothers, their sisters, their homes, and to be transported to a foreign and unhealthy clime. ‘ O but,’ said the English rulers, ‘ it is all for their own good!’ Then, again, look at the cold blooded manner in which Henry Cromwell proposes to make them ‘ English and Christians.’

“ ‘ *Englishmen and Christians!*’ But no! Comment is useless. All these things appear like a hideous dream. They would be utterly incredible, only that they are quite certain.

“There remained, however, too many to render possible the horrible cruelty of cutting all their throats. The Irish government, constituted as it was of the superior officers of the regicide force, resorted to a different plan. Here is the account given by Lord Clarendon of their conduct:—

“‘They found the utter EXTIRPATION of the nation (*which they had intended*) to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression on the stone-hardness of their own hearts. After so many thousands destroyed by the plague which raged over the kingdom, by fire, sword and famine, and after so many thousands transported into foreign parts, there remained still such a numerous people that they knew not how to dispose of; and though they were declared to be all forfeited, and so to have no title to anything, yet they must remain somewhere. They, therefore, found this expedient, which they called an *act of grace*: there was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which, by the plague and MANY MASSACRES, remained almost desolate. Into this space they required all the Irish to retire by such a day, *under the penalty of death; and all who should after that time be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman or child, SHOULD BE KILLED BY ANYBODY WHO SAW OR MET THEM.* The land within this circuit, *the most barren in the kingdom*, was, out of the *grace and mercy* of the conquerors, assigned to those of the nation as were enclosed, in such proportions as might, with great industry, preserve their lives.’” (“Clarendon’s Life,” vol. ii, page 116.)

A year before Cromwell died, in 1657, we find a member of the Irish parliament, Major Morgan, declaring that the whole land of Ireland was in ruin; for, besides the cost of rebuilding the churches, court-houses and



market-houses, which were very heavy, they were under a very heavy charge for public rewards, paid for the destruction of three burdensome beasts. And what, think you, were these three beasts? The *wolf*, the *priest*, and the *tory*! The wolf, because, at that very time, there was made a grant of land within nine miles of Dublin, on the north, that is the most cultivated side of the city, on the condition of keeping a pack of wolf-hounds to hunt and destroy the wolves. These animals had increased with the desolation of the country, so that they came, famishing, to the very gates of Dublin, whence they had to be driven. The *priest*, because his head had the same value in court as that of a wolf, namely, five pounds; and the law of the English parliament which offered such a price, aye and twice as much, for the head of a Jesuit or a bishop, was obliged to be enforced by the magistrates, under most severe penalties. We find the country filled with informers; we find priest-hunting actually reduced to a profession in Ireland, and, strange enough, we find the Portuguese Jews coming all the way from Portugal, in order to hunt priests in Ireland. When, in 1698, under William III, the religious were shipped off into banishment and slavery, as we have already mentioned (folio 438), not one of the eight hundred and odd secular priests that remained in the land would be allowed to say Mass in public or private, nor indeed remain in the country until he first took the oath to renounce the supremacy of the pope—of papal abjuration; in other words, until he became a Protestant.

The third troublesome beast of Major Morgan's category was the *tory*, under which name are included the desperate men who, under some dispossessed gentleman either aboriginal Irish or old English, had retired into the wilds, on the surrender of the army, or who had run out again, after submitting, and resumed arms rather than remain in Connaught. The country was infested

with them, and all the great regions, left waste by war and transplantations, gave them ample room for concealment, while the inadequate numbers of the forces of the commonwealth, unequal to the full control of so extensive a country as Ireland, left them at liberty to plan their surprises. These outlaws, who were, at a later day, known as Rapparees, and as such are described by English historians in fearful terms, continued long to infest and desolate the country, and we find accounts of them in state papers, down even to the last years of the reign of George IV.

Before passing from the commonwealth to the restoration of the English monarchy, in 1660, we give an extract from the rare and curious tract of Father Morison, published in 1659, containing a summary of many of the Irish chiefs and nobles who suffered for their faith, but whose names are not elsewhere given in our pages:—

“I do not,” says the reverend chronicler (of whose personal sufferings see mention on page 328 of this present work), “here enumerate any person slain in battle, although he might have fallen in the cause of his religion, nor do I give the tenth part of the persons of quality who were murdered, but only the more illustrious, being chiefly those who were received into allegiance by the Protestants after the amnesty had been made and actually entered on: a treachery which barbarians and infidels themselves would abhor and deem detestable.

“I. Lord Hugh McMahan, the chief of his illustrious race, a brave and noble military leader, was, after two years’ imprisonment in London, half hanged, and, *ere life was extinct*, quartered; his head was then placed on an iron spike on London Bridge, to feed the ravenous fowls of the air; his four quarters were placed over four of the gates of London.

“II. Cornelius Maguire, Lord Viscount Enniskillen, a most devout and holy man, sole companion in captivity



of the aforesaid Hugh McMahon, underwent the same butchery about two months after the execution of McMahon.

“ III. The illustrious Felix O'Neill (captured by Protestant device) was half hanged in Dublin, A. D. 1652, and, while yet alive, was quartered. His head was stuck on a great spike, at the western gate of Dublin, and his quarters were sent to be stuck on spikes in four different parts of the kingdom.

“ IV. Henry O'Neill, son of Eugene O'Neill, taken prisoner in battle, and, *notwithstanding plighted faith*, slaughtered in Ulster, A. D. 1651.

“ V. Thaddeus O'Connor (Sligo), descended from the royal race of the last and most powerful monarchs of Ireland, a man of great goodness and innocence, hung in the town of Boyle, in Connaught, A. D. 1652, after the general amnesty had been made.

“ VI. Constantine O'Ruairk, taken prisoner in battle, murdered in 1652, *notwithstanding plighted faith*.

“ VII. Theobald de Burg, Lord Viscount Mayo, after a truce had been made with all such persons in the kingdom as were not actually in arms against the Protestants, and a general amnesty promised, was shot in Galway, in 1651.

“ VIII. Charles O'Dowd, of a most high and noble race, was hanged A. D. 1651.

“ IX. James O'Brien, of illustrious lineage, maternal nephew of the brave Donatus O'Brien (of whom see account, page 309), a youth of high hopes and prospects, was murdered at Nenagh, in the Ormonds. They cut his head off, and sent it to his brother, Moriarty O'Brien, then their prisoner.

“ X. Bernard O'Brien, of the same noble family, a youth of equally fair prospects, was hanged in 1651.

“ XI. Daniel O'Brien, first cousin of the said Bernard, was hanged, and his head cut off at Nenagh, 1651.

"XII. The illustrious Colonel John O'Kenedy a man of the utmost integrity, was slain by the swords of the Protestants, after their faith had been pledged to him in battle. His head was then cut off, and fastened on a spike in the town of Nenagh, A. D. 1651.

"XIII. James O'Kenedy, son of the aforesaid illustrious gentleman, a youth of great hopes, being deluded with a similar pledge of good faith, was hanged also at Nenagh, A. D. 1651.

"XIV. The illustrious Sir Patrick Purcell, Vice-general of all Munster, noble-hearted and a most accomplished warrior (renowned for his services in Germany, against Sweden and France, under Ferdinand III, of august memory), was hanged after the taking of Limerick, his head cut off, and exposed on a stake over the southern gate (called John's Gate) of the city of Limerick, A. D. 1651.

"XV. The illustrious and most generous Sir Godfrey Barron, a sincere Catholic, of the highest fidelity, and of singular eloquence, who had been deputed by the confederated Catholics of Ireland as their envoy to his most Christian majesty, Louis XIV, was also hanged at Limerick.

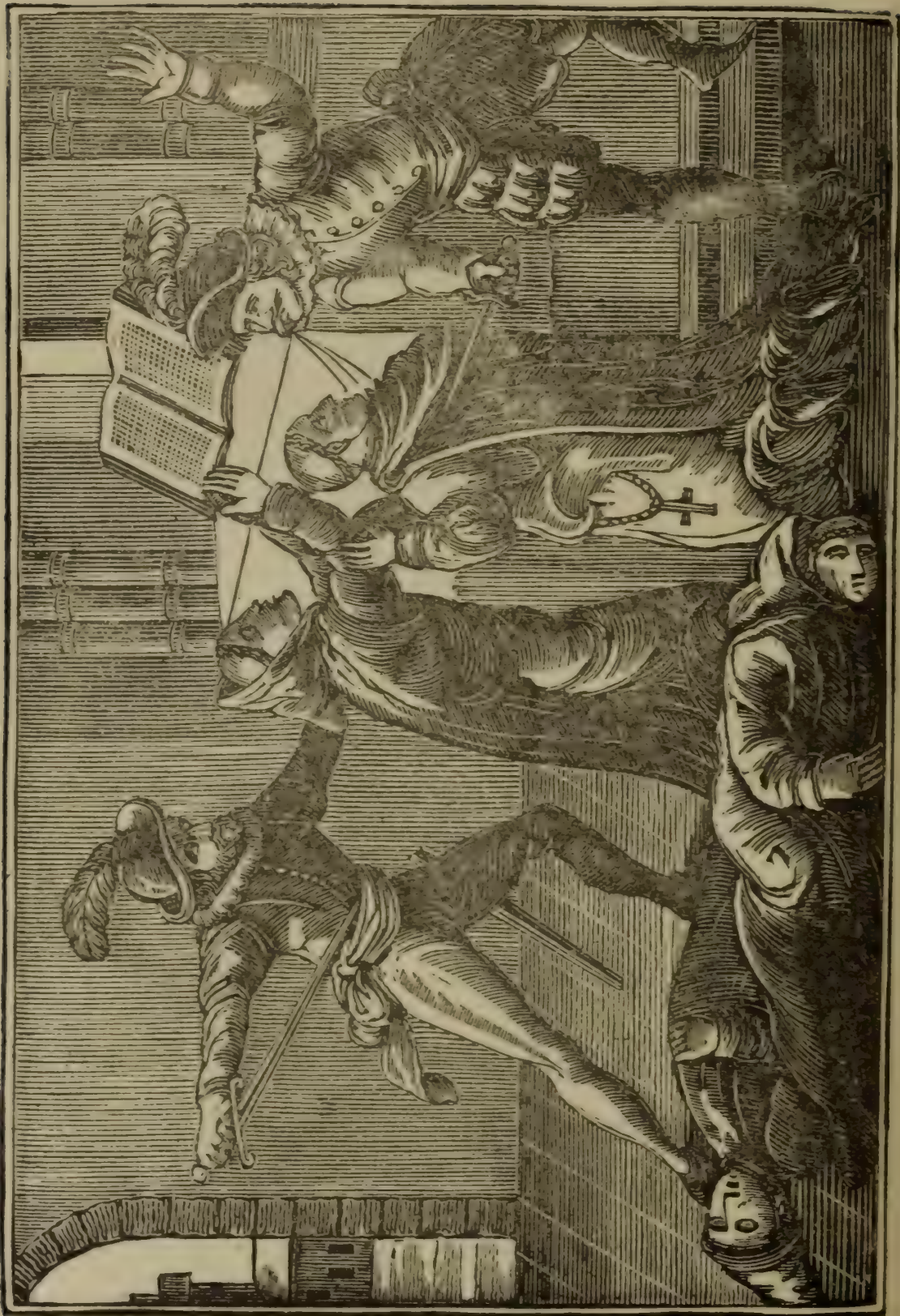
"XVI. The noble Sir Godfrey Galway was likewise hanged at Limerick, 1651.

"XVII. The noble Thomas Stritch, Mayor of Limerick, and alderman, was, with the like cruelty, hanged at the same time with the rest. His head was then cut off and fastened to the city gate.

"XVIII. The noble Dominic Fanning, ex-Mayor of Limerick, and alderman, a well-known man, and of the highest integrity, who had been of great service to the confederated Catholics, and had laudably conferred much benefit on the kingdom, as well as on the city, was hanged at Limerick along with the rest, A. D. 1651. His head was cut off and affixed to the gate.









"XIX. Daniel O'Higgins, medical doctor, a wise and pious man, was hanged at the same time at Limerick, 1651.

"XX. The illustrious John O'Connor, Lord of Kerry and Tracht, on account of his adhesion to the Catholic party, and his efforts to draw to it not only his personal followers, but all with whom he had friendship, was, after having been seized upon by stratagem by Protestants, brought to Tralee, in that county, and there half hanged and then beheaded, A. D. 1652.

"XXI. The illustrious Lord Edward Butler, son of Lord Mountgarret, an innocent man, who had never taken arms, was hanged at Dublin after the truce had been commenced and amnesty proclaimed throughout the whole kingdom, A. D. 1652."

That no mistake may be made as to the real sentiment which animated the English race in their relentless fury against the Irish Catholics, we add an extract from a pamphlet entitled, "The Simple Cobbler of Aggavam in America," by Theodore de La Guard, which was first published in London in 1647, and passed through several editions:—

"A word of Ireland: not of the nation universally, nor of any man in it, that hath as much as one haire of Christianity or humanity growing on his head or beard; but only of the truculent cutthroats, and such as shall take up arms in their defence.

"These Irish, anciently called *Anthropophagi*, man-eaters, have a tradition among them, that when the devil showed our Saviour all the kingdomes of the earth and their glory, that he would not show Him Ireland, but reserved it for himself. It is most probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar; the old fox foresaw that it would eclipse the glory of all the rest; he thought it wisdom to keep it for a bog-gard for himself and all his unclean spirits employed in this hemisphere,

and the people to do his son and heire, I mean the Pope, that service for which Lewis II kept his barber, Oliver, which makes them to be so bloodthirsty. *They are the very offal of men, dregges of mankind; reproach of Christendome; the bots that crawl on the beastes tail.* I wonder Rome itself is not ashamed of them.

“I beg, upon my hands and knees, that the expedition against them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our soldiers are hot, to whome I will be bold to say briefly: Happy is he that shall rewarde them as they have served us, and cursed is he that shall do the work of the Lord negligently. CURSED BE HE THAT HOLD-ETH BACK HIS SWORD FROM BLOOD; YEA, CURSED BE HE THAT MAKETH NOT HIS SWORD STARKE DRUNK WITH IRISH BLOOD; that doth not recompense them double for their hellish treachery to the English; that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment to nations! Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand be spared, that pities or spares them, and LET HIM BE ACCURSED THAT CURS-ETH THEM NOT BITTERLY.”

In 1659 came the Restoration, and Charles II was safely seated on the throne of England. Of all who had supported the cause of his father, none had fought harder or bled more freely than the natives of Ireland, whom his advent found in worse than captivity, amid the wilds of Connaught. What more natural than the anticipation that they, who had been so true and so faithful, would share part and parcel in the restoration of rights? Aside from all thoughts of honors and titles, were they not authorized at least to expect their own estates and possessions? And yet Charles II, by a direct act of settlement, confirmed the Cromwellians in the lands they had seized, in the very wealth and influence which they had used against their lawful possessors, and by means of



which they had labored so successfully to destroy his own father's life and kingdom.

There was, indeed, a court of claims organized, but it was only intended for the benefit of such Englishmen as had suffered from the revolution; and as soon as it was perceived that Irish gentlemen also were advancing their claims likewise, and opening their cases, the court was at once closed, leaving, as Nugent writes, over five thousand parties who, although never outlawed, had been deprived of their property, and were now prevented from even legally seeking to recover it.

The negation of rights was not all the evil that Charles II inflicted on the unhappy race, for, beginning in 1673, he repeatedly affixed his signature to most infamous laws, framed for the very purpose of abolishing and rooting out every vestige of Catholicity from Irish soil. Bishops and priests were denied all right of residence, and even the laity had to obtain a license in order to breathe freely their native air. Edmond O'Riley, the Primate, was banished; Archbishop Talbot, to whom permission had been given to return home to die, was seized at Maynooth, and ended his days in a dungeon. In 1679 Bishop Plunket was seized by Ormond, carried to London, away from all danger of a possibly honest jury in Ireland, and executed at Tyburn, in 1681.

Four years later came James II; and when, but three years later, his own daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange, landed to establish a Protestant succession, James was very glad to have the loyal Irish to fall back upon as his supporters, and the only supporters of the legitimate king of England. The Irish parliament of 1689, summoned by James, declared "that there should be no more religious persecution in Ireland, and that no man, from that day forward, should suffer for his conscience or his faith." The only bill of attainder they passed was against the enemies of the crown, against

the upholders of the rebellion, and the unfilial children of their king.

It is not our purpose here to recount the days when those two armed forces of James and William went up and down the land, rich already with the blood of so many thousands of her sons, slain for conscience' sake, and by the sword of England, and now again to be saturated with that of another generation, ever faithful to their Church, and obedient to the command of the unworthy ruler who claimed their services. From the Boyne to the Shannon, and Athlone to Limerick, spite the lack of discipline and want of equipments, short of artillery, their best leaders discouraged by the blundering faint-heartedness of the king, the brave Irish never for a moment tarnished their name for heroism and undaunted bravery.

The second siege of Limerick closed the public career of the last Catholic king of England, in 1691, with the surrender of the gallant Sarsfield, and then began another period of martyrdom for the children of the saints. The depths of infamy to which the English government sank from the day of the Treaty of Limerick can only be conceived by those who read, as we here give them, the particulars of the treaty, and then consider the manner in which each and all of its provisions were so outrageously trampled on by that nation whose leaders, having deliberately denied their fealty to God, felt doubly sure in denying it to their fellow-subjects.



# A "NUTSHELL" HISTORY OF IRELAND.

*FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.*

BY A. M. SULLIVAN, M. P.

IRELAND, an island on the western extremity of Europe, constituting a portion of the state known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, lies between the parallels of 51 deg. 26 min. and 55 deg. 21 min. north latitude, and between 5 deg. 20 min. and 10 deg. 26 min. west longitude, Greenwich meridian. It is 306 miles long and 182 broad; its superficial area being about 32,713 square miles, or 20,808,320 British statute acres. The interior of the island is in the main a fertile plateau, but towards the shore on the south, west and north, rugged mountains rise irregularly to a height in some places of over 3,000 feet. The coast, on the west especially, is bold, and in many places precipitous; but is, on every side, except the southern portion of the eastern shore, deeply indented with bays, fiords, and estuaries, affording natural harbors of great capacity. The scenery is strikingly picturesque; in some parts of unsurpassed beauty. The southern and western counties, however, contain many tracts of bleak and desolate country. In the low-lying parts of the island there are vast areas of peat-moors or "bogs," embedded in or beneath which are found the remains of primeval forests.

There is historical certainty that more than a thousand years ago the island was richly timbered from sea to sea ; but the destruction of the woods by the English power in the course of its five centuries of warfare with the natives, has left Irish landscape on the whole exceptionally bare of trees. There are numerous lakes ; some of considerable size. The principal river, the Shannon, flows into the Atlantic on the western side of the Island ; the Lee, the Blackwater, and the combined Suir, Barrow, and Nore, reach the sea on the south coast ; the Bann and the Foyle on the north ; and the Slaney, the Liffey, and the Boyne on the east.

Of the cities and towns of Ireland, few can be deemed important as to size or commercial activity ; the principal of them being Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Waterford, Limerick, and Derry. The first-named city is, as it has been since the reign of King John, in the thirteenth century, the national metropolis and seat of government.

The country is politically divided into four provinces ; these being subdivided into thirty-two counties. The climate throughout is mild and genial ; more moist than that of France or Britain, but much less rigorous than that of either in winter. Although coal, iron, copper, lead, silver, and gold, have, at one period or another, been mined in Ireland, shafts and adits of long-forgotten times being occasionally discovered, the mineral resources of the country, judged by practical experience, are poor. Manufacturing industries, unless on a very insignificant scale, are almost unknown, outside of the province of Ulster ; the great bulk of the inhabitants being engaged in agricultural pursuits. The population was, at the last census, 5,159,839 ; exhibiting a serious and steady decrease since 1847, when it was 9,500,000.

Ireland is governed by a viceroy, subject to the im-



perial cabinet in London, and is represented in the imperial Parliament by 103 members in the House of Commons, out of the 652 who constitute that body. Out of 494 princes, peers, and bishops, who sit in the House of Lords, 28 are titularly Irish.

Few European countries are possessed of authentic historical data reaching to an age so remote as that to which the ancient records or memorials of Ireland in one shape or another extend. Like all old countries it has its fabulous and legendary periods; but reasonable certainty is attainable at a much earlier period in Irish history than it is in most other cases.

The inhabitants of Ireland, of what may be called the native race, belong to the great Celtic family. For two thousand years past they have claimed to be pre-eminently "Milesians," that is to say, descended from an expedition of conquerors, led by the three sons of a military chief named Milesius, who, according to well-received tradition, landed and subdued the country some ten or twelve centuries before the birth of Christ. But inasmuch as at least two distinct colonizations had previously been effected, and as the Milesians simply reduced their predecessors into subjection, and did not extirpate them, it is clear the general population in the course of time became more or less a combination of the new elements and the old. The Milesians originally came from a birthplace variously fixed in Persia, Syria, and Phœnicia, and indisputably were of eastern origin. They were a race of soldiers and statesmen, conquerors and lawgivers. It was they who virtually organized and constituted the Ireland known to history for the last 1,500 years.

The political system they established was a strange mixture of a republican monarchy and a military aristocracy. The country was divided into five sub kingdoms, an Ard-Ri (literally, high-king) being supreme

sovereign. This chief-king was elected from the reigning family or dynasty; the electors being the clan-chiefs, these latter in their own sphere being elected by the clans. A parliament or "feis" assembled triennially at Tara, in which sat the princes, chiefs, judges, high priests, brehons, and bards of the whole nation. This legislative body, one of the earliest known in history, revised the old laws and enacted new ones, very much as modern senates and assemblies do. On the introduction of Christianity by St. Patricius or Patrick in the fifth century, the existing code of laws was referred to a commission, consisting of one chief, one brehon, and one Christian bishop, with a view of purging it of pagan ideas and adapting the statutes of Erin to Christian principles. The body of laws thus revised and codified are now, by order of the British Government, being translated and published, as a rare and valuable treasury of ancient jurisprudence, parliament making an annual grant for the purpose ever since 1852.

Such was the constitution and policy which prevailed in Ireland down to the sixteenth century, a period of more than 2,000 years.

From about the year 200 B. C. to A. D. 800, the Ireland of ancient history may be said to have attained its zenith of power and reputation. In the three centuries which followed the introduction of Christianity, the country was pre-eminently the great centre of scholastic and missionary enterprise in Western Europe. To its free schools and universities flocked students from every part of Christendom, and Irish missionaries and teachers spread throughout the known world. With the incursions of the fierce and savage Northmen or Danes, plundering and desolating hordes of pagan marauders, which began about the close of the eighth century, commenced the disorganization and wreck of the Milesian nation. These hordes, just then the scourge



of Western Europe, never were able to conquer the country as they did the neighboring island of Britain; but an intermittent war of utter barbarism, prolonged through 300 years, utterly demoralized it, and almost extinguished a civilization that had been the light of Western Europe in its time. From A. D. 900 to A. D. 1170, with the exception of a brilliant interval of a few years under Brian I., who broke forever the Danish power, disintegration rapidly made way. The idea of a common national interest or a central national authority was almost totally discarded. Each sub-king fought for his own hand, and the post of Ard-Ri was claimed by various competitors in reckless and exhausting contests that bathed the land in blood.

Meanwhile, England, that had yielded more or less easily to every invader, Saxon, Dane, and Roman, once more received a new yoke. Its new conquerors were the Normans; who, fortunately for its future welfare, were strong enough to weld, albeit by ruthless process, the Danish, Saxon, and British kingships and communities of England into a single political system. By the middle of the twelfth century the Normans had well consolidated their new kingdom, while Ireland had been steadily breaking into fragments. One of the Irish sub-kings, MacMurrough, prince of the Leinster or Lagenia, revolting against the Ard-Ri, who had indeed deposed him, applied to Henry II. of England for help in his quarrel. Henry gave him permission to seek auxiliaries or mercenaries among the Norman-English knights and free-lances. One of these, surnamed Strongbow, accepted MacMurrough's terms, and swiftly landing a powerful force on the Leinster shore, succeeded in restoring him to his principality. These Norman adventurers, brave, skilful, and highly disciplined, saw a splendid opportunity for pushing their fortunes in the distracted and faction-torn condition of

Ireland. They helped now one chief, now another, always on terms of payment highly advantageous to themselves, and soon their marvellous success and their daring ambition excited the jealousy and anger of King Henry. He called on them to return to England. Strongbow made various excuses for disobeying, and Henry, to the great satisfaction of the Irish princes, announced that he would proceed to Ireland in person to investigate the conduct of the Norman adventurers. He did so come to Ireland, and at once assumed the *rôle* of arbitrator or authoritative regulator of affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, pretending, as to the latter especially, that he had got a bull from his countryman, Pope Adrian, commissioning him to restore order in Ireland. The Irish princes did not quite realize all that this exercise of quasi-friendly offices involved, until long after Henry had returned to England. When they did, that is to say, when they found the Norman auxiliaries of one of their own body, converted into the garrison of a foreign king, they were dismayed. Some at once resisted ; others diplomatized ; a few submitted. Some felt the reality of the change ; others did not. For centuries after the so-called "conquest" by Henry II., most of the native chiefs ruled their principalities or made war on one another, just as they did before a Norman had set foot on the Irish shore. Fitfully but gradually the Anglo-Normans pushed their power ; yet it was not until the close of the sixteenth century, or more than four hundred years after Henry's landing, that the struggle of native Irish sovereignty against English rule closed in the tacit surrender of Ireland to James I.

During the latter half of the last century of the above period, a new element of antagonism was imported into the conflict. Religious animosity was added to race-hatred and national hostility. The English peers and



people followed Henry VIII., into the Reformation; followed Queen Mary out of it, and Queen Elizabeth into it again. The Irish, on the other hand, clung more devotedly than ever to the Catholic faith; a circumstance of contrast which has largely contributed ever since to keep the two peoples distinct, and which, allied with race influences and national traditions, marks each with a separate individuality.

With the reign of James I., began the political system which, with little variation, still exists in the union of Ireland under one crown with Scotland and England. England came in by succession to the Scottish king, and by a remarkable coincidence or concurrence, Ireland at the same moment virtually surrendered to the sovereignty of a Gaelic prince, sprung from a race kindred to its own. Throughout the whole Stuart period, from 1600 to 1700, the national feeling and action of Ireland, with a loyalty fatal to Irish welfare, were displayed on the side of the dynasty thus accepted. In the victorious rebellion of the English republicans against the duplicity of Charles I., as well as in the still more successful English revolt against the despotism of James II., the Irish remained steadfast to the royalist cause; and, in the result, paid a dreadful penalty for such disastrous fidelity. The soil of the country was declared forfeit by the existing owners, and was parcelled out as spoil among the soldiery of the Cromwellian and Williamite armies; hundreds of thousands of acres were bestowed on the mistresses, court favorites, and natural offspring of William and the early Hanoverian princes; while the native gentry, beggared and homeless, were banished and proscribed, and the general body of the people reduced to a condition little short of outlawry.

Under what is known as the "penal code" from 1700 to 1775, the bulk of the population were forbidden to

educate their children, to attend religious worship, to carry arms, to learn a trade, or to hold property. The schoolmaster and the priest had each a price on his head; and statutes of George I. and George II. went so far as to make it felony to send an Irish child abroad to receive the education forbidden at home.

There was one circumstance, which, apart from the shocking barbarity of the "penal code," has made it rankle in the breasts of the Irish to the present hour; namely, that it was laid upon them in flagrant violation of a solemn treaty signed between the English and Irish commanders, duly countersigned by royal commissioners on King William's part, at the close of the Williamite struggle in 1691. Although the splendid army of Scandinavians, Dutch, Swiss, Prussians, Huguenot-French, and English, which the Prince of Orange led into Ireland, had defeated the raw levies of the Irish royalists at the Boyne, and, more by happy accident than generalship, driven them from their position at Aughrim, he was again and again defeated before the walls of Limerick, which city was defended by General Sarsfield, in command of the Irish armies of King James. At length, William, who was a brave soldier and a statesman, saw the wisdom of arranging terms with such a foe; and accordingly, on October 3, 1691, articles of capitulation were negotiated whereby the Irish army, retaining its arms, colors, bands and transport-stores, marched out with the honors of war, free to enter the service of King William or to sail for France, where King James now resided as guest and ally of Louis XIV.

The "civil articles" of the treaty of Limerick stipulated, in substance, that there was to be no proscription, no confiscation, no disarmament, and that the exercise of the Catholic religion should be as free as it had been in the reign of King Charles II. After the rough draft.





BRIDGE OF ATHLONE.





had been agreed upon, but before the fair copy was signed by Sarsfield, the arrival of a French fleet with considerable aid in men, money and stores was announced to the Irish commander, and he was entreated not to sign the treaty ; he replied sorrowfully, that the news reached him an hour too late, that his honor and the honor of Ireland were pledged and should not be broken.

No sooner, however, had the Irish army sailed away to France than the treaty covenants, despite the protests and endeavors of King William, were cast to the winds. Angered at the idea of having no spoil by confiscation to divide, the anti-Stuart faction, now dominant in the Irish parliament, refused to approve the king's treaty, and, by stopping the supplies, compelled William to yield. Thereupon commenced the proscriptive legislation, known as the "penal code." The more severe these enactments grew, the more alarmed the dominant party became lest the Irish masses should rebel against them; and thus further and further severity was deemed necessary, as repression and alarm acted and reacted on one another. As a matter of fact, not even during the memorable Scottish risings of 1715 and 1745, which so nearly restored the Stuart line, did the Irish at home give pretext or justification for such a policy.

The self-expatriated Irish battalions, however, now serving as an Irish brigade in the service of France, took heavy reprisals on the English power, confronting it on every battle-field, and deciding by their impetuous valor the fortunes of many an eventful day. At Fontenoy, fought May 11, 1742, by a French army of 45,000 men under Marshal Saxe, in presence of the king and the dauphin, against an English force of 65,000 men under the Duke of Cumberland, victory was snatched from the British commander at the close of the day by a de-

cisive charge of the Irish regiments. It was on the arrival of the despatches which announced the fate of Fontenoy, that George II., much of a soldier and little of a bigot, is said to have exclaimed, "Curse upon the laws that deprive me of such subjects."

In the minds of many besides King George, a reaction against the terrible rigor of the "penal code" had, by this time, set in; and events were drawing near which rendered its continuance impossible. According to the political constitution which the Anglo-Norman sovereigns conferred on their colony in Ireland, that country was annexed to the British crown, but not placed under the legislative action of the English parliament. On the contrary, it had a parliament of its own, supreme as to Irish affairs. When Henry VII. was strengthening his royal prerogative and generally centralizing his government, he had a statute passed by a subservient Anglo-Irish parliament at Drogheda, known as "Poynings Law," rendering the Irish parliament subject to the control of the English legislature. The unconstitutionality of this law was always asserted and "Poynings Act" was disregarded by Irish parliaments in the reigns of Charles I., Charles II. and James II. The Williamite parliament in London, however, from the first claimed the power to bind Ireland; a claim from time to time contested by jurists and public writers on the Irish side, who, though thoroughly Protestant, and attached to the new dynasty and the English connection, vehemently repudiated the idea of such subjection in legislative matters. The dispute was embittered by the manner in which the London government repressed Irish trade and manufactures. An address to William III., from English manufacturers, complaining of too successful Irish competition, elicited from that monarch a remarkable promise that "he would do all that in him lay to discourage manufactures in Ireland." This



royal pledge, unhappily, was only too well fulfilled. The Irish parliament of 1719, in the midst of its penal legislation against the conquered Catholics, openly resisted the doctrine of subordination. The Irish House of Lords forbade the sheriff of Kildare to execute a decree of the English peers; whereupon the latter body retaliated by reaffirming "Poynings Law" in still more galling terms.

The controversy, with little respite, went on up to 1775, when there rolled across the Atlantic a tocsin of liberty in the echoes of Bunker Hill. By this time a patriot party had appeared in the Irish parliament, a parliament in which no Catholic was allowed to sit, led by Lord Charlemont, Lord Kildare, Flood, Hussey-Burgh, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and Ponsonby; later on by the man, the splendor of whose fame truly illumines this page of Ireland's history, the illustrious Henry Grattan. Encouraged by the conduct of the American colonists, they grappled boldly with the oppressions and corruptions of the government; their earliest efforts being devoted successfully to the liberation of Irish trade from the fetters that had crippled and well-nigh destroyed it. They next claimed the restoration of the ancient freedom of the Irish Parliament. King George and his cabinet resisted while they could, but the concession was inevitable. Sorely straitened by the effort to subjugate Washington and his colonial levies, the London government had to withdraw the troops from Ireland, which was now garrisoned and guarded by a national volunteer army of 150,000 men. The volunteers, who were citizens as well as soldiers, enthusiastically sustained the movements of Grattan. A thoroughly national spirit was aroused throughout the island. The long-oppressed Catholic millions clasped hands with the long-dominant Protestant colony or garrison. With the capitulation of the British armies to Washing-

ton, and the recognition of American independence, vanished the last hope of successfully combating the Irish demand for a free parliament. A solemn treaty, in the form of a statute of the British parliament, 22 Geo. III., chap. 28, renounced "forever" the usurpation of "Poynings Law," and covenanted that the ancient constitutional right of Ireland to be bound only by laws of a free Irish parliament should henceforth be "unquestioned and unquestionable."

The effect of this measure of national liberty seemed to be magical. In the ten years that followed, Irish trade and commerce expanded in a degree never known before or since. The spirit of tolerance also for a moment prevailed, and some of the most grievous of the penal laws were repealed. The country seemed to go forward on the road to progress, by leaps and bounds, under the guardianship of the free parliament won by Grattan and the volunteers.

This great victory, as well as the previous recovery of commercial freedom, was long retarded by the restricted franchise and anomalous usages under which the parliament of the period was returned. The representation of many boroughs was literally owned by aristocratic proprietors; and presentation to a seat in the House of Commons was bought and sold like any other marketable title or commodity. The national party, under Grattan, now directed their attention to a reform of a system so fatal to public liberty. The British minister, on the other hand, the American war being over, had his hands free, and he determined to maintain a system which would enable him in a few years, by the expenditure of money in purchase of seats, to subvert all that Grattan had accomplished, and overturn the treaty arrangement of 22 Geo. III., chap. 28.

The struggle progressed for seven years with increas-



ing earnestness on each side, when suddenly an event occurred which threw the great game totally into the hands of the British minister, and swept the Irish popular party into a situation that proved disastrous. The French revolution of 1789 burst forth like the blaze of a tremendous conflagration. The governing classes all over Europe were stunned with horror and dismay. The friends of popular liberty hailed the event with joy. In Ireland, the property-classes, flinging all other considerations aside, rallied to the side of governmental authority, so as to strengthen the bulwark against republican principles. The government, thus reinforced, at once assumed a stern and haughty attitude towards anything in the nature of popular discontent or democratic manifestations. The Irish national reform movement, after struggling for a few years with such a state of things, eventually broke to pieces; its leaders differing widely on the new doctrines or principles launched in Paris. Some sided with the government rather than embarrass the arm of authority at such a moment; others were for pushing the movement forward on still broader lines; while many, Grattan himself included, retired from the scene, as if foreseeing what was about to happen.

The advanced section, driven from their open movement, all aflame with the new gospel of liberty, equality and fraternity, and infuriated by the English minister's design of betraying or subverting the settlement of 1782, enrolled themselves in a secret revolutionary conspiracy for the overthrow of British rule in Ireland. Although their main reliance was naturally on the bulk of the population, who were Catholics, the original founders and earliest adherents of the enterprise were Protestants, chiefly Ulster Presbyterians. Later on, men of all religious creeds, and unquestionably men of the purest motives and loftiest character, embraced the

design. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, son of the duke of Leinster, was at the head of affairs; its ablest organizer, Theobald Wolfe Tone, being stationed in Paris as accredited agent or ambassador to the French directory.

The government early discerned the advantage which an abortive insurrection would give them in persuading the property-classes to "draw closer to the centre of power and authority" by consolidating the parliaments; and for a time the proceedings of the revolutionists were viewed with secret satisfaction. By the end of 1796, however, this feeling gave place to alarm when it was found that the French directory had determined seriously to assist the Irish party. This determination was made plain by the dispatch of a powerful expedition under General Hoche toward the close of the year. A storm dispersed Hoche's flotilla, only a few vessels of which reached the bay of Bantry, on the south-west coast of Ireland.

The government now sought to force the hand of Lord Edward, by compelling him to take the field before another expedition could be prepared. To this end "martial law" was proclaimed, and shocking means were used to goad the populace quickly into a rising.

While it was yet uncertain how far these tactics would succeed, an overwhelming blow fell on the revolutionary party. Their central council or directory were surprised and seized in the very act of deliberating on the question of immediate operations; and a few days subsequently Lord Edward was captured, after a desperate struggle, in which he was mortally wounded. Less by concerted action than as an impulse of desperation, the insurrection now broke forth in four or five of the Irish counties—Antrim, Wexford, Wicklow, Kildare and Carlow. In Wexford the outburst was almost entirely the result of the forcing process above referred to. The people, half armed and wholly undis-



ciplined, took the field in rude array. Destitute as they were of military leaders, equipment or resources, they, nevertheless, through several months, fought a fierce campaign, which the entire available strength of the government forces barely sufficed eventually to subdue.

Like all other bursts of popular passion this rising was marked by some lamentable excesses; or rather, in a struggle in which "no quarter for rebels" was the watchword on the one side, and in which discipline in the popular camp could be but slender, episodes of savage vengeance were in a sense inevitable.

The rising in Ulster had been quickly and easily suppressed, and all the other counties of Ireland lay quiescent during the Wexford revolt. Disaffection and desire to rebel was intense; but a conviction prevailed that insurrection single-handed against Great Britain must absolutely fail, and another French expedition was expected. When it did arrive, under General Humbert, who landed at Killala, in the north-west of Ireland, in August, 1798, with a force of a little over 1,000 men, the government was flushed with victory and the populace utterly overawed. Humbert defeated a force of nearly 5,000 opposing British troops at Castlebar; but eventually had to surrender to an overwhelming force under Lord Cornwallis.

The after scenes of this insurrection were barely less tragic than the struggle in the field. The scaffold and the executioner long plied their dreadful work, completing what the fusillade began.

It was at such a moment Pitt produced his long-meditated scheme for breaking the treaty of 1782, and abolishing the Irish parliament. Even amid the gloomy horrors of 1799 his proposal was at first defeated in the Irish parliament; the constitutional nationalists, under Grattan, Curran, Charlemont, Parnell, Ponsonby, and

Plunkett, making a last desperate effort of resistance. By the next year, however, Pitt had expended nearly £2,000,000 in buying up what were called "proprietary boroughs," and otherwise purchasing votes sufficient to secure a majority, and in 1800 his scheme of "union" was carried through.

By this time Bonaparte had become the terror, as he subsequently very nearly became the conqueror, of Europe. England alone successfully defied and victoriously encountered him. On English soil alone, it may be said, constitutional government for the time dared to exist in the old hemisphere. For fifteen years all other political issues seemed abandoned or forgotten in view of the titanic struggle which culminated and closed at Waterloo.

Beyond a madly hopeless attempt of the youthful enthusiast, Robert Emmett, in 1803, to renew the insurrectionary enterprise of 1798, Ireland may be said to have lain sullenly dormant through the eventful years that saw the meteoric course of Napoleon.

When next an Irish question challenged public attention, new elements of political power, new leaders, new tactics, came into view.

Hitherto the Irish Catholics, nine-tenths of the population, being forbidden the rights of citizenship, had to depend for public advocacy on those noble-minded Protestants, like Grattan and Curran and Parnell, who, from a pure love of justice, espoused their cause. The Ireland which had legal or political existence in the eighteenth century, was merely the handful of Anglo-Irish Protestants settled in the country. The millions of Celtic bondsmen around them counted for nothing in the state, except as material for taxation. The bondsmen now arose and strode into the political arena, to determine their own fortunes. The political Ireland that appeared with the nineteenth century was



a Celtic Ireland ; or, rather, an Ireland that excluded none and embraced all Irish-born men of whatever race or class or creed. The question of Catholic emancipation had early enlisted the efforts of Grattan and other of the Protestant patriot leaders in Ireland, and even in 1799 had made such way in England that Pitt pledged himself to make it one of the first measures the united parliament would pass. George III. absolutely refused, however, to entertain the question, and it was put aside. Forth from the ranks of the Irish Catholics there came a leader of their own race and faith, destined to make king and cabinet alike feel his power. This was Daniel O'Connell, who, for nearly half a century, was the foremost political figure in Irish history. He aroused and combined the masses of the people ; he covered the country with the network of a vast organization, and soon five millions of people, fired with enthusiasm and determined to be free, were disciplined to obey his will.

The government sternly combated the movement ; forbade it, proclaimed it, prosecuted it, punished it—all in vain. O'Connell was no sooner suppressed in one shape than he reappeared in another. Again and again the king and the government declared that no concession could be made to demagogues and agitators ; that the law would be vindicated, and established institutions in church and state upheld. Although no actual outbreak occurred, the state of affairs in Ireland was critical in the extreme. In 1829 the Duke of Wellington, who had taken office expressly on a pledge of opposition to emancipation, announced to the king that it was a choice between its concession or civil war—civil war in which a vast body of English popular opinion would side with the Irish people, and in which the Irish regiments of the army dare not be called upon to act against their countrymen. King, cabinet, and

parliament forthwith saw the question in a new light, and the penal code was in effect expunged from the statute-book.

From this period may be said to date a series of efforts on the part of British statesmen to grapple with the more prominent or pressing of Irish grievances; seldom or never, however, until popular complaint of them, long neglected or resisted, had developed into disorder, disaffection and violence.

Between 1829 and 1835 the country was convulsed with a struggle against "tithes." The Protestant clergy were authorized to levy on the agricultural inhabitants, nearly all of them Catholics, a tenth of the produce of the land. After three or four years of stormy agitation, disfigured by deplorable outrage and violence, the people at length combined in a national "strike" against tithes. This proved effectual. A law was passed abolishing tithes in form; that is to say, adding them to the landlord's rent, and compelling the landlord, to whom the amount was paid in rent, to pay it over to the clergy *minus* twenty-five per cent for the trouble of collection.

These victories encouraged O'Connell to undertake an enterprise more serious and more formidable than any he had yet attempted, namely, an endeavor to recover the separate parliamentary constitution of Ireland, subverted by Pitt in 1800, or, as it was called, to "repeal the union." The Irish masses were now full of confidence in the ability of their leader to accomplish anything he took in hand. Their social and physical condition was still painfully low. The grinding exactions of exorbitant land-rent left the agricultural population, as a royal commission of inquiry under Lord Devon declared them to be, "the worst housed, the worst fed, and the worst clad peasantry in Europe." They retained, however, the hopeful buoy-



ancy of their Celtic nature, and the marvellous success of the total abstinence or "temperance" movement under Father Matthew (a Catholic priest of Cork city) had enormously elevated their *morale*. The abolition of the Irish parliament in 1800 had at the time been vehemently resisted by the ultra-Protestant party in Ireland; but when, in 1840, O'Connell, the Catholic leader, took up the question of its recovery, it was found that their attitude had totally changed. The parliament and the nation which they had contended for was one from which Papists were excluded. So far from favoring legislative restoration now that the Catholics had been emancipated, they ardently implored the government to maintain the union, and not deliver them up to "popish ascendancy."

O'Connell's movement, therefore, though it was sustained by more than three-fourths of the people of Ireland, encountered from the outset the mistrust, the dread or the hostility of the Irish Protestants. The full power of England was pledged to oppose it as an attempt to dismember the empire. The Irish leader found himself in a critical position. The government, so far from yielding to the popular demand, plainly meant to encounter it by force. Were England engaged at that moment in any serious foreign complication, concession would have been inevitable. But never in her history was she more great, more powerful, or more strong. She was at peace with all foreign nations, and, possessed of a giant's strength, was ready to use it in stamping out once and forever this dangerous Irish idea of national autonomy. O'Connell's embarrassment was all the greater because there had now grown up around him a race of young men who scorned his exaggerated love of peaceful ways of moral suasion, and who held the lawfulness of Ireland recovering the right she claimed by armed resort if practicable.

This conflict between the "moral force" and "physical force" principles of what were called respectively the "Old Ireland" and "Young Ireland" parties, rent the great Irish movement in twain.

In the midst of the controversy there fell on the country a calamity that buried all political thought or effort for the time. This was the Irish famine of 1847-49. In the autumn of 1846 the potato crop, which formed almost the sole support of the population, was struck with blight and rotted in the ground. All could see the awful consequences that were at hand; yet the action of the government was disastrously tardy, circumlocutory, blundering and impotent. The people perished in hundreds of thousands amid scenes of anguish and horror beyond human power adequately to portray. Howsoever culpable the inefficient action of the government in coping with the difficulty, the conduct of the English people was truly noble. They poured princely subscriptions into the treasuries of various relief-associations, and did the best that private effort could achieve to mitigate the dreadful affliction. Nearly every country in the world joined in the Samaritan endeavor; but foremost and first—far outstripping all the rest, England included—was the land that long had been the free asylum and happy home of expatriated Irishmen, the United States of America.

O'Connell died, aged and heart-broken, in May, 1847.

In February, 1848, revolution in Paris once more sent the impulse of insurrection through Europe; and once more Ireland yielded to its influence. The young Ireland party took the field, or rather vainly attempted to do so, under William Smith O'Brien. The leaders of this abortive movement were anything but good revolutionists. They were men of genius, poets, scholars, artists, orators; men of purest and loftiest aims, fired with the generous enthusiasm of youth, maddened by





JAMES CAREY, THE INFORMER.



PATRICK O'DONNELL.

Executed at London, Dec. 17th, 1883, for Shooting  
Carey, the Informer.

We love the brave O'Donnell,  
That type, he, of our race,  
His noble act removed at once  
Our Country's deep disgrace,

Oh! may that noble spirit  
Soon each Irish heart possess,  
And never let a chance escape  
To leave a traitor less.





the famine-scenes around them. But they were utterly incompetent as military conspirators, and their attempt broke down on the threshold. It cost Ireland, however, a heavy penalty in the dispersion of a school of intellectual culture and activity, even the early-checked literary labors of which have left a deep imprint on the literature and the politics of that country.

There followed upon the famine of 1847 and the abortive insurrection of 1848, a period of utter prostration. To the dreadful havoc of the famine there was now added wholesale eviction and expatriation of the ruined tenantry. In many parts of the island "clearances," as they were called, swept away the entire human population of the district, in order that vast bullock-ranges, sheep-runs, or grouse-moors, might take the place of homesteads and villages. The human suffering involved in this policy can only be estimated by those who know how passionately the Irish peasant clings to the spot, however humble, which has been the birth-place and the home of his forefathers. In truth, the eviction-scenes of that period, 1849 to 1860, rendered inevitable the events that have convulsed Irish society for the last twenty years. Hundreds of thousands of the eviction-victims perished by the roadsides or in the pauper barracks. Other hundreds of thousands fled or were deported to America. They went with bursting hearts, ready to embrace any enterprise, no matter how wild and hopeless, that promised vengeance on the power that had driven them forth.

As early as 1858 some of the exiled Young Ireland leaders conceived the idea of utilizing for revolutionary purposes this feeling on the part of the American Irish. The result was the organization of the Fenian conspiracy by Mr. James Stephens and Col. John O'Mahoney. Keenly alive to the cause of failure in 1848, the Fenian leaders aimed at careful preparation and extensive

military organization. Notwithstanding the strong opposition of the Catholic clergy, and the dissuasions or protests of those nationalists who believed insurrection impracticable and mischievous, they pushed their enrolment with intense ardor and earnestness, and succeeded in establishing the most wide-spread and formidable revolutionary movement known in Irish history since 1798. In armament they were utterly deficient, but their organization and discipline were on the whole remarkably perfect. The government throughout was kept well-informed by its spies in the conspiracy, and in 1865 swooped suddenly down on the leaders in Dublin, seizing the subordinates simultaneously all over the country.

The organization never recovered from this fatal blow, although for fully two years subsequently it made desperate and persistent efforts to reconstitute itself; and at length, in March, 1867, gave the signal for a national uprising. The moment the long formidable secret society came out into the open, its great spell was shattered. It was found to be just as deficient as the much-blamed Young Ireland movement of 1848, in the most elementary conditions of military existence. The fortitude, devotion and heroism, exhibited by its members in the dock and in the dungeon, enlisted for them the sympathy of thousands who had condemned that enterprise; and even among English statesmen the feeling spread that the Irish question must be dealt with by remedial, not by repressive, measures.

Mr. Gladstone, as leader of the liberal party of England, gave eloquent expression to this conviction; and announced that, to begin with, the Irish state church, as a badge of conquest and an oppressive burden, must be swept away. In the general election of 1868 he was returned to office with an enormous majority, and well fulfilling his promise, he forthwith carried through



parliament an act for disendowing and disestablishing the Irish Protestant state church. Practically the measure was one of disestablishment alone, for as to endowment, he was able so skilfully to arrange the financial portion of his scheme that not a shilling less income than before was secured to the church.

This reform he followed up in 1870 by an act which aimed at settling the still more important and much more exigent question of land tenure in Ireland. The latter attempt fell lamentably short of the real necessities of the situation ; a shortcoming which occasioned great disappointment.

Meanwhile, in the twelvemonth that followed on the disestablishment of the church, there ensued the most remarkable transformation ever witnessed in Irish politics. The Protestant "conservative" party—peers and commoners, landlords, merchants, and aristocrats—reached out hands to the Catholic millions, and openly offered to join them in a national movement for the restoration of Irish parliamentary independence. This, no doubt, was in some degree through resentment on their part against England for selfishly throwing them over and repealing the union between the churches. But it was also largely through genuine conviction that a wise compromise between total separation by rebellion, and national extinction by the domination of the London parliament, ought to be presented to the people so plainly determined not to acquiesce in the existing state of things.

Mr. Isaac Butt, an Irish Protestant barrister of great eminence, may be said to have negotiated the remarkable alliance or fusion of parties, creeds, and sections, which, under the name of the "Irish Home Rule Association," made its appearance in 1870. The programme of this movement was, on the one hand, reconciliation between Catholic and Protestant Irish-

men, between peers and peasants, liberals and conservatives; and, on the other, reconciliation between Ireland and England, on the basis of a federal union, whereby Ireland should enjoy such legislative and administrative autonomy as is possessed by a state in the American republic.

Even among the Fenian or separatist party this experiment was favorably regarded as presenting the minimum of a satisfactory compromise, and in a few years the movement took such hold on Irish public opinion that, tried by every test known to constitutional countries—parliamentary, municipal, and township elections—the national will has, ever since, year by year, with more and more determination declared itself for “Home Rule,” as the scheme is called.

In 1872 the old system of election procedure was replaced by ballot-voting, whereby for the first time the Irish people were enabled freely to manifest their views in the election of representatives. In the next following general election of members to the imperial parliament in 1874, the home-rule party carried fifty-seven out of one hundred and three Irish seats. In the elections of 1880, they carried sixty-five; and it is computed that on the next occasion they will return at least seventy-five or eighty members.

Despite the strong parliamentary majority from Ireland in favor of national autonomy, the cabinet of Mr. Disraeli in 1874, and down to 1880, backed by their powerful following in parliament, imperiously refused every measure of reform or amelioration which the Irish party demanded. With especial earnestness and perseverance the Irish members, year by year, besought the government to deal with the land-question as one which might any day lead to a catastrophe. Their warnings were disregarded; their efforts at remedial legislation were haughtily overborne by enormous ma-



majorities of British and Scotch votes. In 1878 the harvest was a failure in Ireland and in England. In 1879 it was almost a total loss in the former country; and a gloom of terror darkened the land. A repetition of 1847 seemed at hand. Now, however, there was seen a startling change in the spirit and action of the people, as compared with their conduct in that year. In stern and resolute tones they announced that the subsistence of a toiling population was a first charge on the land; and on the earliest whisper of landlord preparations for a gigantic eviction campaign, the whole island sprang to action, with a cry that the hour had come when feudal landlordism must fall.

Throughout 1880 and 1881 there raged in Ireland a fierce and implacable social war, with such evil concomitants of incidental disorder, violence, and outrage, as usually attend upon popular convulsions.

Mr. Gladstone and the liberal party were restored once more to power by the general election of 1880. In 1881 the great English statesman took the Irish question in hand; bringing in a coercion bill in January, and a land bill in April of that year. The former added fuel to the flame in Ireland, by its Draconian severity, exceeding anything known outside of Russia. The land bill, on the other hand, was a measure of noble and comprehensive character. It did not "disendow and disestablish" Irish landlordism, but it stripped it of the despotic power it had so mercilessly and disastrously used in the past. Justly irritated by the coercion act, and bitterly disappointed that the new land law did not wholly abolish landlordism, the Irish tenant-farmers at first received the latter measure in a sullen and almost hostile temper. The disposition manifested by Mr. Gladstone, however, in 1882, to supplement its beneficent provisions wherever needful, so that the measure might accomplish before many years the

establishment of a "peasant proprietary"—as originally proposed by Mr. Parnell and the Irish Land League—may be said to have brought the people of Ireland to recognize in the land act of 1881 a charter of liberty and a guarantee of a peaceful and happy future.

The character, temperament, and habits of the Irish people have naturally been influenced by vicissitudes of their stormy history. Among the peasantry the regrettable effects of their furtive life in the penal times can even still be discovered in various ways. It is only within the past half-century that the two races—the Anglo-Irish and Celtic-Irish—have fused in any marked degree. The people are brave, naturally quick-witted and intelligent, hardy, laborious, inured to toil, patient in privation, hospitable, warm in their affections, devoted in their fidelity to friends; but dangerously fierce and quick in anger, easily aroused and quickly allayed. Their deeply religious fervor, and their passionate love of country, are, perhaps, the most prominent traits in their character. In public life they are capable of great achievements under the influence of enthusiasm, hope, or confidence; but are impatient of results, and exhibit a lack of plodding perseverance and cool methodical action. In fine, the buoyant and volatile temperament of the Celt largely prevails; yet their more extensive intercourse with other peoples of late has considerably developed in them a steadiness and seriousness of purpose which has attracted general attention.

Since 1830 education has made great progress among the Irish people; and their material condition has on the whole been vastly improved; but the start was from a point painfully low. It must be long before they can fully recover from the dreadful effects of those not-remote centuries during which education was "felony by law." Throughout the period that gave to



English literature the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, and "rare Ben Jonson," of Dryden, Pope and Addison—the period during which it may be said the intellect of the modern English nation was being formed and cultivated, and its civilization moulded and refined—Ireland was having the eyes of the mind put out, and intellectual blindness and habits and tastes of barbarism forced upon her by law.

That dreadful policy has been abandoned, and at length the Irish race are being allowed access to the blessings of education. Between 1831 and 1840 a system of primary schools was established by the government, which, although ill recommended in many respects to popular confidence and favor, has been almost universally availed of: it may now be said that in every cottage in Ireland the school and the printing-press have wrought or are working a marvellous revolution.

Despite all disadvantages, Ireland makes a goodly show on the roll of scholars, poets, authors, *savants*, soldiers and statesmen of the world. Swift, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Moore, Banim, Griffin, Charleton and Lever, in literature; Burke, Grattan, Curran, Plunkett, Richard Lalor Shiel, O'Connell, Duffy, Magee (bishop of Peterborough), Butt and Lord Dufferin, in oratory, statesmanship and politics—are familiar names. In the last generation Wellington, and in the present the only two capable generals England has in command, Sir Garnet Wolseley and General Roberts, have been contributed by Ireland. Hogan, Foley, McDowell and Farrell, as sculptors; Maclise and O'Connor, as painters; Balfe and Wallace, as musical composers; Prof. Tyndall and Dr. Haughton, as scientists—all Irishmen, are honorably known. The two most competent historians of our own times in the English language, Mr. Lecky and Mr. Justin McCarthy, are Irishmen. In the camps and courts and cabinets of friendly

foreign states, from Vienna to Madrid, and from Paris to St. Petersburg, men of Irish race have long been marked to eminence and fame.

Finally, it may be said that the labor, industry and enterprise of Irishmen have largely contributed to the prosperity and power of those comparatively new states in the western and southern hemispheres that promise to exercise potential influence on the future of the world.



# *Talks About Ireland.*



*By James Redpath.*





DEDICATION.



TO

THE ILLUSTRIOUS IRISH STATESMAN WHO FOUNDED THE  
IRISH NATIONAL LAND LEAGUE;

TO

THE CLEAR-EYED IRISH PATRIOT WHO FIRST SHOWED HOW  
IRELAND MAY BE SOCIALLY EMANCIPATED;

TO

THE PURE-HEARTED IRISH HERO WHOM THE HEATHEN POWER  
THAT ARRAYS VICTORIA  
IN PURPLE ATTIRES IN A CONVICT'S GARB;

TO

MICHAEL DAVITT,

NOW IN A BRITISH DUNGEON, WITH AFFECTIONATE ADMIRATION,  
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.

JAMES REDPATH.

NEW-YORK, MAY 10, 1881.

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# TALKS ABOUT IRELAND.

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## I.

### FAMINE AND THE LANDLORDS.

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen :*

ONE day, about three months ago, I was riding in an Irish jaunting-car in the parish of Islaneady, in the County Mayo. My companion was the Rev. Thomas O'Malley. He had been the parish priest of Islaneady for more than twenty years. It was one of my first rides in the country and everything was new to me. As we drove out, we met large numbers of the country women—comely maidens, sturdy matrons, wrinkled grandmothers—trudging along with bare feet in the cold mud on their way to the market, at Westport. Nine women out of every ten go barefooted in the rural districts of the West of Ireland. Here and there, on both sides of the road, I saw, as you see everywhere in the County Mayo, the ruins of little cabins that had once been the homes of a hardy and hard-working and hospitable peasantry.

I turned to Father O'Malley and asked him :

“Have there been many evictions in your parish?”

“Yes!” said the old man; “when I was a young priest, there were 1,800 families in this parish, but ——” his face grew sad and his voice quivered with emotion as he added, “there are only six hundred families now.”

“Well,” I said, “what has become of the missing twelve hundred families?”

“They were driven out,” he answered, “by famine and the landlords.”

“Famine and the landlords!”

Now, if this answer had been made by one of the Irish Land Reformers—by Mr. Parnell [applause] for example, or Michael Davitt [renewed applause], I should have regarded the phrase as an excellent “bit” of rhetorical art—as a skillful coupling of two evils not necessarily mates—and I should have smiled at the forced marriage, and then thought no more about it.

But the words impressed me profoundly when they came from the lips of an old priest, a cadet of an ancient Irish family, a man of the most conservative temperament, whose training and whose office might have been expected to intensify his natural bias in favor of existing institutions and established authority. For the Catholic Church, as you know, is the most potent conservative force in our modern society. It teaches its adherents to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and it rarely arrays itself against the civil authority.

Yet I found that in Ireland wherever there was famine, there the Catholic priests did not hesitate to declare, both in private and in print, that the primary causes of Irish destitution were the exactions of the landlords.

So I shall take for the text of my talk to you to-night the words of the

old priest—"Famine and the Landlords"—the twin curses of Ireland.

Everybody knows that there is a famine in Ireland. But the extent of it, and its severity, have been so persistently understated, and the statistics that I shall give you so greatly exceed the estimates that have been published, that before I begin to tell you what I know about the famine—and especially what I know about it not from personal observation but from evidence—I feel that I owe it as a duty to the sufferers from the famine, for whom I shall plead to-night, to present the credentials, so to speak, that entitle me to represent the distressful districts of Ireland.

During my recent visit to Ireland I gave both my days and nights to the study of the famine. I interviewed the representative managers of the Duchess of Marlboro's fund, the Mansion House fund, the Philadelphia fund, the Herald fund, and the National Irish Land League fund. I interviewed Catholic priests and Protestant clergymen, British officials and American Consuls, Irish journalists and Irish drummers, Irish lords and Irish peasants—everybody I met, everywhere, who knew anything about the famine from personal observation. I never had to tell where I came from, because I asked so many questions that nobody ever doubted for a single moment that I was what Father O'Farrell called me the other day—"A pure, unadulterated Yankee." [Laughter.]

I read all the published reports and records and correspondence of the three great relief committees of Dublin. I read every letter that appeared in the leading Irish and London journals about the famine for more than six weeks. I read every letter that the Land League received for a week—more than five hundred letters from more than five hundred different districts of Ireland. I received over eighty long letters from prominent Catholic priests, each one of them describing the present condition of his

own parish. I received also, from nine of the Catholic bishops in the distressed districts, letters in which their lordships described more briefly than their priests, but more comprehensively, the existing destitution in their dioceses.

I succeeded in obtaining abstracts from the latest reports of the local committees of the Mansion House. There are six hundred and ninety local committees. Each committee represents a different district of destitution. Now listen to the composition of these local committees. There are on them one thousand three hundred and thirty-one Catholic curates and priests; five hundred and sixty-eight Protestant clergymen; seven hundred and twenty-two justices of the peace; five hundred and thirty-one medical officers; eight hundred and twenty-four poor-law guardians, and more than six thousand other lay members; in all, over ten thousand of the most respectable persons, both as to personal character and social standing, and all of them living in the distressful districts.

Now, whenever I do not quote from the letters of my own correspondents, or whenever I do not state the results of my own observation, I shall report the words and statistics of the Mansion House committees, because every one will see that the controlling members of these committees—all of their laymen loyal subjects of the queen, and friends or lackeys of the landlords—have the strongest political reasons for underestimating the numbers of persons in distress in their respective districts, and not a single motive, except the motive of humanity, for stating the exact number of the sufferers in their neighborhood.

In order to impeach or to discredit the statistics derived from the reports of the Mansion House committees, it will be essential, as you see, to show first that it is possible, and then that it is credible, that more than 10,000 gentlemen of Ireland, of both creeds and of every calling, should have conspired to deceive the world about the Irish



distress. I shall not call witnesses from the committees of the Land League, because *they* might be suspected of exaggerating the distress in order to demonstrate the evils of a government by landlords. I shall show the imperative need of the Irish Land League by the evidence of its enemies and the friends of the landlords.

From six hundred and ninety districts six hundred and ninety reports made to the Mansion House demonstrate the appalling fact that there are:

In the Province of Leinster...	28,000
In the Province of Ulster....	180,000
In the Province of Munster...	233,000
In the Province of Connaught.	422,000

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In all Ireland.....863,000

persons at this very hour whose strongest hope of seeing the next harvest moon rise as they stand at their own cabin doors, rests, and almost solely rests, on the bounty of the stranger and of the exiles of Erin. I have not a shadow of a shade of doubt that there are to-day in Ireland one million of people hungry and in rags—and by and by I may show you why—but I can point out province by province, county by county, and parish by parish, where eight hundred and sixty-three thousand of them are praying, and begging, and clamoring for a chance to live in the land of their birth. Eight hundred and sixty-three thousand! Do you grasp this number? If you were to sit twelve hours a day to see this gaunt army of hunger pass in review before you, in single file, and one person was to pass every minute, do you know how long it would be before you saw the last man pass? Three years and four months! [Sensation.]

Remember and note well that these statistics are not *estimates*. They are the *returns*, carefully verified, of the actual numbers on the relief rolls, or of the numbers reported by the local committees as in real distress.

You all know that statements and

tabulated statistics have little influence on public opinion. So, to show to you how great the famine is, and to help you to gauge it, I shall ask you to go with me rapidly from province to province, and from county to county, to locate and distribute the destitution. I shall not try to entertain you. I should despise any audience that expected to be entertained in listening to the story of a famine. I shall be satisfied if I succeed in stimulating you to continue to act the part of the Good Samaritan to this poor people, that lie wounded and bleeding—having fallen among thieves; while the part of the priest and the Levite in the parable is played by the British Government and the Irish landlords—from the miserly Queen on the throne down to the crafty Earl of Dunraven—[hisses]—who not only have passed by on the other side, but who have justified and eulogized, and who uphold the thieves. [Hisses.]

Mr. Redpath here stepped forward and asked:

“Whom are you hissing? Are you hissing me?”

VOICES.—“No!” “No!” “The Queen!” “Not you!” “The Queen!” “The Queen!”

MR. REDPATH.—Oh! Thank you! You do well to *hiss* her. She deserves to be hissed in America. Do you know that Queen Victoria even after she knew from the Duchess of Marlboro, that there was universal and terrible distress in the West of Ireland, contributed only one day's wages to relieve it? Why, a poor working girl of Boston, a seamstress, after she listened to my lecture here last Sunday, gave fifty dollars for the relief of the distress I had so inadequately described. She would not tell her name. She said: “God knows my name—that's enough.” That fifty dollars represented her savings for six months. Yet *she* gave it freely and without hope of the reward even of thanks or reputation in this world! In the Roll of the Hereafter, when the list of the “Royal Personages” of this earth is called, surely the name of



that poor seamstress will stand high above the name of the queen of England. [Applause.]

But I ought to say that I was not satisfied with the vast volume of documentary and vicarious evidence that I had accumulated. I personally visited several of the districts blighted by the famine, and saw with my own eyes the destitution of the peasantry, and with my own ears heard the sighs of their unhappy wives and children. They were the saddest days I ever passed on earth, for never before had I seen human misery so hopeless and undeserved and so profound. I went to Ireland because a crowd of calamities had overtaken me that made my own life a burden too heavy to be borne. But in the ghastly cabins of the Irish peasantry, without fuel, without blankets, and without food—among half-naked and blue-lipped children, shivering from cold, and crying from hunger—among women who were weeping because their little ones were starving—among men of a race to whom a fight is better than a feast, but whose faces now bore the famine's fearful stamp of terror—in the West of Ireland, I soon forgot every trouble of my own life in the dread presence of the great tidal wave of sorrow that had overwhelmed an unhappy and unfortunate and innocent people.

I must call witnesses less sensitive than I am to Irish sorrow to describe it to you—no, not to describe it, but to give you a faint and far-away outline of it. Or, rather, I shall call witnesses who feel, as keenly as I feel, the misery they depict, but who write of it, as they wept over it, alone and unseen.

But before I summon them, let us make a rapid review of the immediate or physical causes of the famine.

You will see when I come to distribute the destitution by counties that the further we go west the denser becomes the misery.

The famine line follows neither the division lines of creeds nor the boundary lines of provinces. It runs from

north to south—from a little east of the city of Cork in the south, to Londonderry in the north—and it divides Ireland into two nearly equal parts. The nearer the Western coast the hungrier the people.

The western half of Ireland—from Donegal to Cork—is mountainous and beautiful. But its climate is inclement. It is scourged by the Atlantic storms. It is wet in summer and bleak in winter. The larger part of the soil is either barren and spewy bogs or stony and sterile hills.

The best lands, in nearly every county, have been leased to Scotch and English graziers. For, after the terrible famine of '47, when the Irish people staggered and fainted with hunger and fever into their graves—by tens of thousands, and by hundreds of thousands; when the poor tenants, too far gone to have the strength to shout for food, faintly whispered for the dear Lord's sake for a little bread,—the landlords of the West answered these piteous moans by sending processes of ejectment to turn them out into the road-side or the poor-house to die, and by hiring crow-bar brigades to pull down the roof that still sheltered the gasping people. [Hisses.] As fast as the homeless peasants died or were driven into exile, their little farms were rented out to British graziers. [Hisses.] The people who could not escape were forced to take the wettest bogs and driest hill-slopes. These swamps and slopes were absolutely worthless. They could not raise enough to feed a snipe. By the patient toil of the people they were redeemed. Seaweed was brought on the backs of the farmers for miles to reclaim these lands.

The landlord did not spend one shilling to help the tenant. He did not build the cabin. He did not fence the holding. He did not drain the bog. In the West of Ireland the landlord does nothing but take rent. I beg the landlord's pardon; I want to be perfectly just. The landlord *does*



two things beside taking the rent. He makes the tenant pay the larger part of the taxes, and as fast as the farmer improves the land the landlord raises the rent. And whenever, from any cause, the tenant fails to pay the rent, the landlord turns him out and confiscates his improvements. [Hisses.]

The writers who combat communism say that communism means taking the property of other people without paying for it. From this point of view Ireland is a shocking example of the evils of communism, for the Irish landlords of the West are communists and the lineal descendants of a line of communists. [Cheers.]

The landlords charge so high a rent for these lands that even in the best of seasons the tenants can save nothing. To hide their own exactions from the execration of the human race, the landlords and their parasites have added insult to injury by charging the woes of Ireland to the improvidence of the people. Stretched on the rack of the landlord's avarice, one bad season brings serious distress to the tenant; a second bad season takes away the helping hand of credit at the merchant's; and the third bad season beckons famine and fever to the cabin door.

Now the summer of 1879 was the third successive bad season. When it opened, it found the people deeply in debt. Credit was stopped. But for the confidence of the shop-keepers in the honesty of the peasant, the distress would have come a year ago. It was stayed by the kind heart of the humble merchant. *Therefore*, the landlords have charged the distress to the system of credit!

There was a heavy fall of rain all last summer. The turf was ruined. Two-thirds of the potato crop was lost, on an average, of the crop of all Ireland; but, in many large districts of the West, not a single sound potato was dug. One-half of the turnip crop perished. The cereal crop suffered, although not to so great an extent. There was a rot in sheep in

some places, and in other places an epidemic among the pigs. The fisheries failed. The iron mines in the South were closed. Everything in Ireland seemed to have conspired to invite a famine.

But the British and American farmers were also the innocent causes of intensifying Irish distress.

In Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and the Western Islands, the small holders for generations have never been able to raise enough from their little farms to pay their big rents. They go over every spring, by tens of thousands, to England and Scotland, and hire out to the farmers for wages. They stay there till the crops are harvested. But the great American competition is lowering the prices of farm produce in Great Britain and the prices of farm stock; and, therefore, the English and Scotch farmers, for two or three years past, have not been able to pay the old wages to these Irish laborers. Last summer, instead of sending back wages to pay the rent, hosts of Irish farmhands had to send for money to get back again.

These complex combinations of misfortune resulted in universal distress. Everywhere, in the strictly agricultural regions of the West, the farmers, and especially the small holders, suffered first, and then the distress spread out its ghoul-like wings until they overshadowed the shop-keepers, the artisans, the fishermen, the miners, and more than all, the laborers who had no land but who had worked for the more comfortable class of farmers.

These malignant influences blighted every county in the West of Ireland, and these mournful facts are true of almost every parish in all that region.

Looking at the physical causes of the distress, every honest and intelligent spectator will say that they are cowards and libelers who assert that the victims of the famine are in any way responsible for it. [Cheers.]

Looking at the exactions of the landlords, none but a blasphemer will



pretend that the distress is an act of Providence. [Applause.]

I shall not attempt to point out the locality and density of distress in the different districts of the counties of Ireland. I could talk for two hours on each province, and never repeat a single figure or fact. I must content myself by summoning to my aid the stern and passionless eloquence of statistics, and, by showing you the numbers of the distressed in each county, enable you to judge, each of you for yourself, how wide-spread is the misery and how deep.

### THE PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

Let us run rapidly over Ireland. We will begin with the least distressful province—the beautiful province of Leinster. Leinster is the garden of Ireland. There is no finer country in the temperate zone. There is no natural reason why poverty should ever throw its blighting shadows athwart the green and fertile fields of Leinster.

There are resident landlords in the rural districts of Leinster; and wherever in Ireland the owners of the soil live on their own estates, the peasantry, as a rule, are more justly dealt with than when they are left to the tiger-mercy of the agent of the absentee. But it is not the fertile soil only, nor the presence of resident proprietors only, nor the proximity of markets only—nor is it these three causes jointly—that account for the absence of such a long procession of distress as the other provinces present.

In some of the fairest counties of Leinster, eviction has done its perfect work. Instead of toiling peasants you find fat bullocks; instead of bright-eyed girls you find bleating sheep. After the famine of 1847, the men were turned out and the beasts were turned in. The British Government cheered this infamy, for Irishmen are rebels—sometimes: but heifers are loyal—always. There is less distress in

the rural districts of Leinster because there are fewer people there.

In the 12 counties of Leinster, there are 38,000 persons in distress—in Dublin, 250; in Wexford, 870; in King's County, 1,047; in Meath and in Westmeath, 1,550 each; in Kildare, 1,567; in Kilkenny, 1,979; in Carlow, 2,000; in Louth, 3,050; in Queen's County, 4,743; in Wicklow, 5,450; in Longford, 9,557.

In Carlow, in Westmeath, in Louth, and in one district of the Queen's County, the distress is expected to increase. In Kildare and in King's County, it is not expected to increase.

You see by this list how moderate the returns are—how strictly they are confined to famine or exceptional distress, as distinguished from chronic or ordinary poverty; because there are thousands of very poor persons in the city of Dublin, and yet there are only two hundred and fifty reported as in distress in the entire county. They belong to the rural district of Glencullen.

Longford leads the list of distressed counties in Leinster. There are no resident proprietors in Longford. Up to the 1st of March not one of them had given a single shilling for the relief of the destitute on their estates. [Hisses.] The same report comes from Kilkenny. [Hisses.]

The distress in Leinster is among the fishermen and small farmers and laborers. In Wicklow the fishers are kept poor because the Government refuses to build harbors for their protection. In Westmeath “the laboring class and the small farmers are in great distress.” That is the report of the local committee, and I can confirm it by my personal observation.

The province of Leinster contains one-fourth of the population of Ireland, but it does not contain more than one-thirtieth part of the prevailing distress. So I shall take you to one parish only—to Stradbally in the Queen's County. It is not included in the reports of the Mansion House Committee.



Dr. John Magee, P. P., of Stradbally, wrote to me quite recently :

"In this parish, one of the most favorably circumstanced in Leinster, such has been their misery that for the last three months I have been doling out charities to one hundred and twenty families. Some of them I found in a state of utter starvation,—an entire day, sometimes, without a morsel of food in the cabin.

"But most miserable of all, and what makes the case so affecting, very many of our small farmers (whose pride would hide their poverty) are now reduced to the same plight,—the rack-rent (or excessive rent) having robbed them of every available salable chattel they possessed.

"I had missed for some time one of our farmers, holding about thirty-five acres. On inquiry, I found that he was confined to his house for want of clothing, and that he had eaten his last potatoes and the only fowl left on the place. To add to his misery, the rack-warner had waited on him the day before to come in with his rent.

"In the past week, I gave stealthily to one of our farmers—holding over sixty acres of land, and who used to have a stock of eighteen or twenty milch-cows—a bag of Indian meal, to save his family from starvation. The man, with tears in his eyes, told me that 'his children had not eaten a morsel for the last twenty-four hours,' and I believed him.

"Of the two hundred and forty families in my parish, one-fifth of them are in the same miserable condition,—without food, without stock, without seed for the land, without credit, and without any possible hope from the justice or the sympathy of the English Government."

Father Magee is not only a good Irish priest but a profound student of Irish history. Will you let me read to you what he wrote to me about the causes of Irish famines?

"If I were asked," he wrote, "why is it that Ireland is so poor, with abun-

dance of foreign grain and food in our ports, whence this famine that alarms even the stranger, my answer would be"—

Now listen:

"Speak as we may of short and scanty harvests, the real cause is landlords' exactions, which drain the land of money, and which leave nothing to buy corn.

"Landlord absolutism and unrestrained rack-rents have always been, and are at present, the bane and the curse of Ireland. If the harvest be good, landlordism luxuriates and abstracts all; if scanty or bad, landlordism seizes on the rood or cattle for the rack-rent."

This is the learned priest's accusation. Now let us listen to his speculations:

"I have in my own parish," he says, "five or six landlords—not the worst type of their class—two of them of Cromwellian descent, a third an Elizabethan, all enjoying the confiscated estates of the O'Moores, O'Lalors, and O'Kellys, whose sons are now the miserable tenants of these estates—tenants who are paying, or trying to pay, forty, eighty, and, in some cases, one hundred and twenty per cent. over the Government valuation of the land. Tenants who are treated as slaves and starved as beggars. If these tenants dare gainsay the will of the lord"—

Father Magee doesn't mean the will of Heaven, but the caprice of the landlord. [Laughter.]

"If they gainsay the will of the landlord, or even complain, they are victimized on the spot.

"This land system pays over, from the sweat and toil of our inhabitants, ninety million dollars yearly to six or seven thousand landlords, who do nothing but hunt a fox or hunt the tenantry." [Cries of "Shame!" and hisses.]

These good landlords, you know, have a "wicked partner"; and I want you to hear what Father Magee knows about the "wicked partner."



"The [British] Government, that upholds this cruel system, abstracts thirty-five millions more from the land in imperial taxation, while there is left for the food, clothing, and subsistence of five millions of people not more than fifty million dollars, or about ten dollars per head yearly." [Sensation.]

Isn't that just damnable? [Applause.]

"This is the system," says Father Magee, "that produces our periodical famines; which shames and degrades us before Europe; which presents us, periodically, before the world as mendicants and beggars before the nations. \* \* \* And will any one blame us, cost what it may, if we are resolved to get rid of a system that has so long enslaved our people?"

Blame you! Blame you! Faith, no matter what you do to get rid of such a system, devil a bit will I blame you, Father Magee! [Laughter and applause.]

It was in this province that I gained my first personal knowledge of the fierce celerity with which the Irish landlords, in years of distress, rally to the assistance—*not* of their tenants but the famine. I went down from Dublin to attend an indignation meeting over an eviction in the parish of Ballybrophy, near Knockaroo, in the Queen's County.

As we drove from the railway station I noticed that three men jumped into a jaunting-car and followed us. I asked my companion if he knew who they were? "Oh, yes," he said, "it is a magistrate and two short-hand writers paid by the Government; they follow us wherever we go to get evidence of seditious language to try and convict us; they have constabulary with loaded muskets at all our meetings; they think they can overawe me but they only exasperate me." It was Michael Davitt. [Cheers.]

Sure enough, when we got to the meeting, there was a platoon of armed constabulary at it. No one pretended that there was any risk of a riot at

Ballybrophy, for everybody there belonged to the same party. Next week a party of Orangemen threatened—in advance—to break up a meeting of the Land League in a county in Ulster. Not a constable was sent there, and the Orange rioters were allowed to disperse the audience and shed the blood of peaceful citizens. [Hisses.]

Why was this meeting called at Ballybrophy? Malachi Kelly, a decent old man, with a wife and five children, had been turned out of his house into the road by his landlord—a person of the name of Erasmus Dickson Barrows. Mr. Kelly had paid his rent, without failing once, for thirty consecutive years. All his life long he had borne the reputation of an honest and temperate and industrious man.

His rent at first was five hundred and thirty-five dollars a year. He made improvements at his own cost. The rent was instantly raised to six hundred and forty dollars. The landlord solemnly promised not to raise the rent again, and to make some improvements that were needed. Relying on this pledge, Mr. Kelly spent fifteen hundred dollars in erecting permanent buildings in 1873. The landlord instantly raised the rent again—this time to seven hundred and seventy-five dollars. In other words he fined Mr. Kelly one hundred and ten dollars a year for the folly of believing a landlord's pledge and for the offense of increasing the value of his landlord's estate. Last season Mr. Kelly's crop was a total failure, and the old man could not pay the rent for the first time in his life. So he was turned out in his old age, homeless and penniless; and the buildings that he had erected at his own cost became the property of his landlord. ["Shame!"]

Michael Davitt made a speech on this eviction, and I did not notice that the loaded muskets of the constabulary overawed him. [Applause.] All the time he was talking I kept wondering to myself: How is it that Mr. Davitt knows what I wanted to say? He



uttered my opinions, for he denounced the landlord. [Applause.]

## THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

English writers and their American echoers have so persistently asserted that Ulster is always prosperous—and they have so unanimously attributed this prosperity to the superior fertilizing qualities of the Presbyterian faith [laughter]—that some of you will be surprised, perhaps, when I assert, as my belief, that there are probably two hundred thousand persons in distress at the present moment in this “prosperous” province.

Thrusting aside for a moment the Presbyterian political pretenses, it is of vital importance, on entering this province, to emphasize the fact that the system of land-tenure in Ulster, or rather in the Protestant counties of Ulster, was and still is as different from the system of land-tenure in the Catholic provinces as the American freedom of to-day is different from the Southern slavery of the past. I weigh my words. And it should be stated, with an equal emphasis, that the tenant-at-will system that blights the Catholic counties of Ireland to-day is one of the sad legacies of that long reign of terror known in Irish history as the era of “Protestant Ascendancy.”

Ever since the days when the old Irish were driven by English conquest—to use a famous phrase—into “Hell or Connaught,” the tillers of the soil in the Ulster Plantation have been protected—by an unwritten law called the “Ulster Custom”—in the rights that they earned by their labor on their farms.

The English and Scotch emigrants brought over with them their English and Scotch theories and usages. It was not usual for the landlords to give formal leases, but the Ulster Custom gave the tenant not only a legal right to the value of his improvements, not only substantial perpetuity of tenure,

but also the good-will of his farm—that is to say, a prior right to his tenancy from which he could not be arbitrarily evicted without compensation. This tenant-right was justly regarded as a valuable property. It was marketable. The good-will of a farm was often more valuable than the tenant’s improvements on it.

In the Catholic provinces of Connaught and Munster there was no such custom as the Ulster custom. There was no such stability of tenure. There was no such right to the good-will of the farm. There was no such recognition of the tenant’s rights of property in improvements that had been made by his own labor and capital. The tenants in the Catholic provinces have always been tenants-at-will—and a tenant-at-will is merely a serf of the soil. But it is not everywhere in Ulster that tenants’ rights are respected. It is only in the strictly Protestant parts of Ulster, and even there the small farmers are beginning to see and to feel that they have no *adequate* protection against the pitiless exactions of the landlords as exhibited in an excessive increase of rent.

Pharaoh is hardening his heart up in Ulster; and Aaron and Moses—or, in modern language, Parnell and Davitt—will soon “sound the timbrel o’er Egypt’s dark seas.” [Applause.]

And now allow me to expose the hypocritical pretext that it is owing to Protestantism that Ulster is prosperous.

The face of oppression is so hideous even to its own eyes that it always wears the mask of some power that the human race respects. Legree posed as Moses. The auction-block of the slave-trader was built behind the altar of the Christian church. In Ireland the pitiless persecutions of the Catholics have been palliated by the pretext that they were needed to maintain Protestant ascendancy, which was identified with Christian civilization.

With the doctrine of the right of private judgment in its mouth, political



Protestantism in Ireland has persecuted the Catholics for conscience' sake for nearly three centuries.

The American Protestant youth are taught, that the Roman Catholic Church has been the only religious persecutor in modern times. When I was a little boy I was taught that the Church of Rome and the Church of England were the only religious persecutors—for my father was a Scotch Presbyterian, and he never forgot to inculcate the lesson taught by the history of the Lowland Covenanters. Yankee boys, and Scotch boys, and English boys are never told the sad and blood-red story of the persecutions of the Catholics of Ireland.

The history of the persecutions of the Irish Catholics by the Protestant political power in Ireland, is one of the saddest chapters in the annals of modern Europe. It is a history of penal laws framed in Hell and executed by fiends in the name of Jesus Christ. [Applause.] It swept the entire gamut of crime. Its seven notes were proscriptions, perjuries, confiscations, priest-huntings, hangings, massacres, and calumnies.

Landlordism and Protestantism play the part in Irish history that the two chained giants whom John Bunyan called Popery and Paganism play in that famous Puritan story—"Pilgrim's Progress." They curse and howl at the victims whom they can no longer torture. For, when the progress of civilization rendered it imperative for England to extract the fangs of Protestant hate in Ireland, it began that career of calumny that has not yet closed.

One reason why the Protestant province of Ulster is more prosperous in parts than the Catholic provinces of Ireland is, because Protestant estates were never confiscated there—for Protestants were the receivers of the stolen estates of Catholics; because *their* clergymen (unlike the Catholic priests) were never hunted and hanged or banished; because it was never a

capital offense to teach *their* children to read—as it *was* a death penalty to teach the Catholic youth; because the Protestants of the North were protected by the English Government, while the Catholics of the South were persecuted by it. [Applause.]

It is true that these crimes belong to the past, but it is also true that the *results* of these crimes remain.

It was Macaulay who gave the widest circulation to the theory that it was Protestantism that had fertilized Ulster, and Catholicism that had blighted Connaught. Well, although "what I know about farming" does not exhaust the science of agriculture, it does seem to me that one ton of guano is better for a crop—especially a crop of potatoes in Connaught—than all the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, with the five points of Calvinism thrown in.—[Laughter.]

And, ladies and gentlemen, one ray of common sense by any common man is vastly more valuable to the intellect than the most dazzling calcium-light brilliancy even of a Macaulay.

If it was the Catholic religion that blighted the Catholic provinces of Ireland, why was it that the French Catholic peasants *were* as wretched before *they* owned their lands as the Irish Catholic peasants *are* to-day?

It is not a question of spiritual theses, but of temporal leases; it is not what faith we hold about our home in the next world, but what hold we have on our home in this world. [Applause.]

Macaulay knew these facts. Macaulay professed to believe in the mysteries of the Christian religion. Macaulay was familiar with the history of Protestant rule in Ireland. Do you know that I have sometimes wondered, when Macaulay sat down to write this indictment of Irish Catholicism, that a terrible vision of the Day of Judgment, on a background of hell-flames, did not rise up before him and paralyze his hand? [Loud and prolonged applause.]



I am not a Catholic, and I do not recall these crimes to condemn Protestantism, nor to seek Catholic applause. I am a Protestant of Protestantism. I conciliate nobody, and I ask favors of no man; but I hate with a hatred inextinguishable every form of oppression, and I shall strike at it in the future as I have done in the past, without waiting to inquire its name, or to look at its flag. Protestantism in Irish history has only been another name for the spirit of caste. [Applause.]

In the province of Ulster, on the first day of March last, the local committees of the Mansion House, 131 in number, reported that there were in distress, in eight counties, 160,880 persons—in Antrim, 220; in Down, 800; in Armagh, 10,455; in Monaghan, 7,447; in Cavan, 34,709; in Fermanagh, 12,768; in Tyrone, 7,447; in Donegal, 87,034. Fourteen of the Ulster committees report that the distress is likely or certain to increase. The most moderate estimate, therefore, of the army of hunger in the province of Ulster—including the county of Londonderry—would put the figures at 180,000. It is more probably 200,000.

Yet this vast aggregation of human misery exists in a province in which the Belfast manufactories employ large numbers of boys and girls, and so to a considerable extent relieve the agricultural classes, both by sending back wages to the cabins in the country, and by affording a home market for their produce. And, in justice to the Catholic provinces, let it be remembered that the reason why there are no manufactories in Connaught and Munster, is because the English Parliament for several generations, by positive legislation, prevented their establishment, and because, since these infamous laws were repealed, their disastrous results have been conserved by combinations among the English manufacturers.

In Antrim, in Down, in Armagh, in Monaghan, in Cavan, in Tyrone, and in Donegal, the committees report

that the distress is increasing, or certain to increase.

The Catholic Bishop of Clogher wrote to me about the distress in his great diocese. Nearly all of his diocese is in Ulster. It comprises the County of Monaghan, most of the County Fermanagh, a large tract of Tyrone, with portions of Donegal and Louth. It has a population of 235,000 souls. The diocese is divided into forty parishes. He writes that in ten of these parishes there is considerable distress, going much beyond the state of things in ordinary years, but nothing to excite grave alarm. But in the remaining thirty parishes there exists *grievous distress*, varying in amount and extending over 100 to 200 families in some parishes, 300 to 500 in others. Ten per cent. of these families have no food at all—not a *mouthful*—except what they receive from charity, and all the rest are suffering more or less severely from want of food and clothing and seeds. The laborers everywhere, who have no farms, were suffering more than in ordinary times, because the farmers can no longer afford to pay them. His Lordship added that it is hard to see why our destitution in food and clothing must not continue, and even go on increasing, until the arrival of the next harvest.

Now, let us rapidly glance at the different counties of Ulster as they are described by the local committees of the Mansion House:

In the County Antrim, the Mansion House committees report that “the people are impoverished to an extent unknown since '47, and the clergy and gentry are besieged by the people for aid.”

There is only one report from the County Down—from Kilcoo, where there are eight hundred persons in distress, whose numbers it is stated, “must increase,” and where “the distress is decidedly grave.”

In the County Armagh, in five districts, the first local estimate of the



number of persons in distress was ten thousand. Later reports show that the numbers are increasing. At Creggan, in this county, the poverty is so general that the county court judges expressed their astonishment at the vast number of civil decrees, and in many cases stayed execution.

In these three counties there are two Catholic dioceses, and I received letters from the bishops of both of them.

Bishop Dorrian, of Down and Connor, wrote that in his diocese:

"We have much distress in many parts, but hunger and want in some three or four parishes, in the mountainous and glen districts. . . . I fear many small holders cannot labor or seed their lands but shall have to give up their farms and become homeless."

The Bishop adds:

"If remunerative employment had been started at first, all might have gone on well; for the wages of one would have, in a sense, supported the entire family, and upheld self-respect without idleness and degradation supervening. It is now too late, I fear. It is a dark page on which we read of distress, and yet nothing but the degrading sympathy of process-servers, or sending round the hat for alms, as if we were unwilling or unable to earn our bread—resources of industrious work by land and sea on every side around us."

The diocese of Dromore includes part of the County Down, the County Armagh, and a small portion of Antrim.

Bishop Leahy wrote to me:

"In four or five parishes of this diocese there prevails a fearful amount of distress, and unless relieved it will probably become more terrible before the ripening of the potatoes. . . . The poor who hitherto were able, though with difficulty, to support their families from the produce of their scanty holdings, are ashamed to solicit alms and go, under cover of night, to the parish priest to make known their wants."

From the County Monaghan there are reports from twelve districts, in which there are seven thousand four hundred and forty-seven persons in distress. Four districts report that the distress will increase. At Emyvale the people are "without food and fuel"—one thousand of them. At Killeevin, there is "no corn, no seed potatoes, no credit; they are living on half the necessary amount of food." From Trydavnet they write: "Every shilling from every source exhausted; thirty families to-day, with not even meal to help them." At Castleblaney the people are "in dire distress; suffering every hardship that poverty and destitution can inflict." At Drum, "fever of a violent type has broken out from sheer want."

In County Cavan there are reports from thirty-six districts. The first local estimates reported over twenty-six thousand (26,185), the latest returns thirty-five thousand, with six predictions of the probability or certainty of an increase. I have not the time to quote even a single sentence from each of these thirty-six reports. I can only select a sentence or two from half a dozen of them. In Arva "very many have not wherewith to purchase a day's provisions. They are so deeply sunk in debt, their credit gone, they are now reluctantly obliged to seek the bread of charity. Farmers who were accustomed to employing laborers are now themselves pressing for relief." In Ballinagh there are over one thousand four hundred persons in distress, the "distress in many cases amounting to absolute destitution." In Ballymachugh and Drumlummon eight hundred and eleven persons are "in need of the first necessities of life." From Bailieborough (where there are eight hundred and fifty destitute persons) comes the sad report: "Last week a man who held six acres died of want; if no relief, many struggling farmers will be driven to the work-house." From Glengevlin comes the cry: "Very



many are actually starving; others on the brink of starvation. For God's sake, send something at once." In Killeshandra the "poor farmers are now eating their seed potatoes and last store of meal; will have nothing to maintain themselves till next crop." From Templeport comes the report: "Distress has been borne in silence till they reached the very point of starvation."

These are not isolated instances; it is everywhere the same sad story of want heroically borne by a peasantry who would never beg if they could get work to do.

From the County Fermanagh, I have reports from eighteen districts. The reports show that there were nearly thirteen thousand in Enniskillen. The distress is characterized as "deep" and "universal"; in Ballaghameehan, as "deepest"; in Tallaghy, as "great"; in Blackbog, as "extreme"; in Clenish, as "terrible." In Derrygonnelly, the people are "in great want; no food; no fuel; starvation facing them." At Maguiresbridge, nearly four hundred are in a starving condition. From Tempo, the report is one six words long: "No food, no fuel, no work." At Mulleek, six hundred and thirty-four persons are in distress—mostly small farmers, who get a meager living by turf-making. The committee write from Mulleek:

"It is sad to see hundreds crowded at the committee-door, waiting from twelve o'clock, noon, till eight at night, under a drenching rain. Several poor men and women came to the priest's house and fainted with hunger and exhaustion. The appearance of the poor is appalling."

From the County Tyrone there are returns from eleven districts. They report eleven thousand four hundred and ninety persons in distress, and that the distress is increasing in three districts. In Dromore, "The distress is very general: no potatoes, no seed, or such as, if planted, will produce famine next year." In Fintona, "Un-

less prompt and generous assistance arrives, numbers will die of hunger." In Egorten, "Great distress: no fuel, no potatoes." In Kildren, "Many small farmers in sore distress, without even the necessaries of life." In Pomeroy, "No money, no credit, scarcity of food and fuel." And so on!

Donegal is the north-western county of Ireland. I have a large number of letters and forty-eight official reports from Donegal.

In every part of this county the destitution is appalling,—not a parish escapes,—and the distress is everywhere increasing. The whole county is a-hungered and in tatters. Entire parishes of families have absolutely no means of subsistence. The population of the county is two hundred and thirty-seven thousand. The number of persons on the Relief lists is eighty-seven thousand—more than one-third of the population of Donegal.

Major Gaskill is one of the inspectors of the Duchess of Marlboro's Committee. I found that he invariably underestimated the distress; yet he admitted that he was astounded by the scenes of misery that he witnessed in Donegal, even after he had visited Galway and Mayo.

The aggregate of eighty-seven thousand persons in distress includes those unfortunate people only who depend almost solely on charity for their support. It does not count those to whom every purse in America would open if Donegal were an American State, instead of an Irish county.

In the parish of Donegal, for example, "two hundred families are really in need who are left unattended to from want of funds." In Culdaff "four hundred and twenty-five families are in great destitution." In Fannet "very many people are in actual starvation." From Kilcor, the committee writes: "If we fail one week in relieving, the consequences would be fearful." In Lower Templecrone and Arranmore Island, "the poverty of the people is such that if immediate steps



be not taken to relieve the distress, deaths from hunger must be the immediate result." From Killaghter comes the report: "The whole of the population of St. John's Point are on the very verge of starvation, depending upon a chance fish for support." At Glencolumbkille, the Mansion House Committee report: "*Some are eating the black sea-weed.*"

Father Logree, of Kilcor, wrote to me:

"I can safely declare that along the sea-coast there are over one hundred families who have no bedclothes."

He means in his own parish only.

Father James Stephens, of Killybegs, describes one family in his parish:

"Thomas Gallagher, of Correan: eleven of a family; five of them with bass-mats tied around them for clothing. No fire; no bed, but straw."

Father J. Maguire, of Cloumany, wrote to me:

"I was called to attend a man who the doctor declared was dying from a disease brought on from want of nourishment. The man was rolled up in what once had been a shawl. This and an old sheet were the only covering he had on him. The house was destitute of every kind of furniture. The children were literally naked and gathered around a few smoldering sods."

The seas that lash the stormy coast of Donegal are full of fish, and yet the dwellers by the sea-shore are famishing for food. Why? The English organs of the Irish landlords say because the people are improvident and lazy. It is a lie. [Loud applause.] Deep-sea fishing requires strong boats. These people have been plundered by their absentee landlords so mercilessly and long that very few of the fishermen can afford to build strong boats. But deep-sea fishing along this coast cannot be carried on at all until piers and sheltered landing-places are built by the Government to protect the fishermen. The Government refuses to build them unless the people of the

district contribute one-fourth of the amount. The starving tenants cannot contribute that proportion; and the landed gentry who *could* afford it refuse to contribute a single shilling. [Hisses.]

Do you ask me as Americans have often asked me—Are the landlords doing nothing amidst all this distress? Certainly, they are doing something in the province of Ulster. Listen to a report of how one landlord, "a noble lord," helped the distress on his own estates in the County Cavan.

It is the Rev. Father Joseph Flood who speaks:

"In the midst of cries of distress around me, while Protestants and Catholics, here as elsewhere, are struggling to keep together the bodies and souls of this year's visitation, I was hurried off to witness the heartless eviction of five whole families—thirty souls in all—of ages varying from eighty years to two years. [Cries of "Shame!"]

"At twelve o'clock to-day—in the midst of a drenching rain—when every man's lips are busy discussing how relief can be carried to this home and that, an imposing spectacle presented itself through a quiet part of the parish of King's Court.

"A carriage containing Mr. Hussey, jr., son of the agent of Lord Gormanston; behind and before it, about a dozen outside cars—with a resident magistrate, an inspector of police, about forty of her majesty's force, the sheriff, and some dozens of as rapacious-looking drivers and grippers as I ever laid my eyes upon.

"There is a dead silence at the halt before the first doomed door. That silence was broken by myself, craving to let the poor people in again after the vindication of the law.

"The sheriff formally asks—'Have you the rent?'

"The trembling answer is:

"'My God! how could I have the whole rent—and such a rent—on such a soil—in such a year as this?'







ABBEY OF MOYNE.



“‘Get out!’ is the word, and right heartily the grippers set to work. [“Shame!” and hisses.] On the dung-heap is flung the scanty furniture, bed and bedding. The door is nailed. The imposing army marches on to the next holding, till every house has been visited and every soul turned out.

“At this moment there is a down-pour of rain on that poor bed and bedding, and on that miserable furniture; and an old man, whose generations have passed their simple lives in that house, is sitting on a stone outside with his head buried in his hands, thinking of the eighty-three years gone by. [Sobs.] And are these tenants to blame? No! It is on the records of this parish that they were the most simple-minded, hard-working, honest and virtuous people in it.” [Sensation.]

This is the sort of contribution that the landlords have made to the distress in the province of Ulster. [Hisses.]

## THE WEST OF IRELAND.

Let us now, in spirit, take the shoes from off our feet as we draw nigh the holy ground of Connaught and Munster. There is nothing on this earth more sacred than human sorrow. Christianity itself has been called the Worship of Sorrow. If this definition be a true one, then the Holy Land of our day is the West of Ireland. Every sod there has been wet with human tears. The murmurs of every rippling brook there, from time out of mind, have been accompanied by an invisible chorus of sighs from breaking human hearts. Every breeze that has swept across her barren moors has carried with it to the summits of her bleak mountain slopes (and I trust far beyond them) the groans and the prayers of a brave, but a despairing, people. The sun has never set on her sorrows, excepting to give place to the pitying stars that have looked down on human woes that excel in numbers their own constellated hosts. [Applause.]

I have heard so much and I have seen so much of the sorrows of the West, that when the memory of them rises up before me, I stand appalled at the vision. Again and again, since I came back from Ireland, I have tried to paint a picture of Western misery; but again and again, and as often as I have tried,—even in the solitude of my own chamber, where no human eye could see me,—I have broken down, and I have wept like a woman. If I could put the picture into words, I could not utter the words. For I cannot look on human sorrow with the cold and æsthetic eye of an artist. To me a once stalwart peasant—shivering in rags, and gaunt, and hollow-voiced, and staggering with hunger—to me he is not a mere picture of Irish life; to me he is a brother to be helped; to me he is a Christian prisoner to be rescued from the pitiless power of those infidel Saracens of the nineteenth century—the Irish landlords and the British Government. [Prolonged applause.]

I know not where to begin nor what county to select in either of these unhappy provinces.

Let us first glance at

## THE PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

There are six counties in the province of Munster. The Mansion House has two hundred and fifty local committees there. Their reports show that there are in distress two hundred and thirty-two thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine persons in this province—in

Waterford (in round numbers) ..	8,100
Tipperary “ “ “ ..	17,000
Limerick “ “ “ ..	17,000
Clare “ “ “ ..	43,000
Cork “ “ “ ..	70,000
Kerry “ “ “ ..	75,000

In Waterford, in Limerick, and in Tipperary—with their aggregate of forty-two thousand persons on the re-



lief lists—the distress is quite severe in some districts, but it is neither so general nor so extreme as on the coast. The miners, the mechanics, the laborers, the turf-makers, the fishermen, the cottiers, and the small farmers with “long families,” are the chief sufferers in these counties.

In the County Cork there are less than one-eighth of the population in distress. Eastern Cork is a fertile county. It contains the great city and port of the South of Ireland. There is no unusual poverty in the east of it; but in South-western Cork, and in Kerry, the same scenes that I called local eye-witnesses to describe in Donegal, and that I shall summon other eye-witnesses to describe in Connaught, are common in every barony and in every parish. I met several Catholic priests from South-western Cork in Dublin, and I received more than a dozen letters from as many different districts of it. Their stories were all alike,—only the scene differed,—always the same cries of distress. I could talk an hour about the suffering in these counties alone.

County Clare is not so destitute as Kerry or South-western Cork, for the famine broods everywhere along the coast, and in some places it has called on fever to assist her—and the landlords—to crush the spirit or to exterminate the Irish race. But even from Clare we hear of “little children and infants crying in vain for food”; of whole districts—I quote the words of the committee—“actually starving, or threatened in the near future with starvation”; and at one parish—Coolmeen—of “a crowd of a hundred people ready to fall from hunger.” More than one-fourth of the people of the County Clare depend for their daily food on foreign benevolence. What need of words in presence of this one fact?

Out of every hundred persons in County Kerry, thirty-eight depend on charity to keep them from death by starvation. From every part of the

county comes the same sad message: “No work, no food, no fuel, no clothing.” In Valencia Island, last winter, there were families of children literally naked,—with not a rag to shield their little bodies from the cold Atlantic winds. Father Lawler wrote that, out of one hundred and twenty families he visited, one hundred were without a blanket of any shape or description.

Hunger haunted the coast. Father Maurice O’Flaherty wrote: “No amount of word-painting at my command will be able to convey to you the impoverished and wretched state in which these poor creatures, living along the sea-coast, are steeped. I know, as a fact, that many—very many—among them have been living on turnips once, and sometimes twice a day for the last three weeks. I am aware that several, especially heads of families, have gone to bed fasting, in order to spare something for their starving children, who were crying for food. Some of these poor creatures have to do with one meal of “stir-about” for twenty-four hours. (“Stir-about” is Indian meal boiled with water and a little salt.) In all, or nearly all, the cases we visited, two hundred in number, not one had a cow, or pig, or sheep, or seed potatoes, or credit, or anything else, except the few stones of meal they have got from our Relief Committee.”

I will just give one short extract from one report out of fifty reports to the Mansion House. It occurred in a letter from Ferreter Dingle:

“The word ‘distress’ very inadequately describes the situation and suffering of many and many a family here. They are suffering from that most brutalizing of feelings to which humanity is subject—the gnawing of hunger. Fancy fathers and mothers going to bed supperless that their children may have something left to stay the pangs of hunger, and, after all this self-sacrifice, these children without any food for twenty-four hours!”



I said that in the three inland counties of Munster—Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary—the distress is not so extreme as in the coast counties. Yet you will err if you think that the poverty there is of the same type as we find in our American cities. What we call distress in America, the Irish peasants would thank God for as comfort.

Dean Quirke, of Tipperary, for example, wrote to me that, although in his vicinity nobody had actually died from hunger, yet he personally knew men in his own parish whose lives had been shortened by the famine. And the committee at Clogher wrote to the Mansion House that “farmers holding twenty to thirty acres of mountain land, come down to the Chairman, under cover of night, to get a little Indian meal to keep their families from starvation.”

But now I must do my duty to the landlords, and tell you what they are doing in this year of distress in the Province of Munster.

When I wrote to Dean Quirke, of Tipperary, and asked him the cause of the distress, he promptly answered: “Rack-rents, bad land laws, insecurity of tenure.” After he described the poverty in his own neighborhood, he added: “The farmers throughout the whole county of Tipperary, seeing they had no means of paying their rents and their debts, held public meetings—generally attended by the clergy—at which they showed the impossibility of paying the amount of rent that they had paid in prosperous years. I presided at one of these meetings. Not one disrespectful word was said of any landlord.”

I hope you understand that it is Dean Quirke who is speaking, and who was chairman. If I had been chairman, I think there would have been disrespectful remarks made of the landlords. [Laughter and applause.]

“The farmers,” continued Dean Quirke, “requested an abatement of rent for the present year of distress, on account of the failure of the crops and

the low price of produce. . . . Only some six or seven paid any attention to this reasonable appeal, . . . while the bulk of the landlords treated the whole proceeding as *Communism!*” [Hisses.]

They seem to have the same breed of landlords in County Clare. Father Kenney, the parish priest of Scarife, wrote to me:

“There are two hundred and ten families now in want in my parish. When I have appealed to the landlords to take into account the depression of the times, that answer has been that political agitators have raised the cry for their own political purposes.”

Of course, it is always the lamb that dirties the water away down the stream when the wolf is drinking at its source! [Applause.]

When I was in Dublin, I had a long talk with Lord Randolph Churchill, the son of the Duchess of Marlboro. [Hisses.]

Oh! don't hiss him. He's a pretty good fellow—for a lord. [Laughter.] We can't all be born in the upper ranks, you know—it was n't his blame that he was not born an American citizen. [Laughter.]

Well, I am going to tell you what Lord Churchill said, in illustration of the folly of the reforms that are advocated by the Land League. I am violating no confidence in repeating his conversation, because he knew that I would report it. I wrote down his remarks in stenographic notes, and submitted the manuscript for his correction before I printed it.

In talking about Cork, Lord Churchill said that there were six thousand cases of “absolute want”—those were his words—out of a population of thirty-one thousand persons at Skibbereen. The Committee of the Mansion House, at Skibbereen, at a later date, report that:

“The poor people are coming to us, starvation depicted in their looks, with the bitterest tales of woe. We are hearing hourly enough to melt the hardest hearts.”



Father Davis, the parish priest of Skibbereen, wrote to me:

"*Four-fifths* of the entire population are at this moment destitute and begging for aid."

This is a very much larger estimate, you see, than Lord Churchill's. The lord said one-fifth; the priest said four-fifths.

"In Castletown," said Lord Churchill, "out of a population of 14,000 there are 1,600 cases of distress."

The Mansion House reports show that there are now 2,232 persons in distress in Castletown; "in the most abject state of destitution," they say, "without food, without clothing, without seed."

"In Castletown," continued Lord Churchill, "there are 600 occupiers of land rated under £4, and there are 700 more who rate at under £10. Here we have a Union, with 1,300 persons, the annual value of whose holdings does not exceed £10. This raises an interesting question of peasant proprietorship. There are politicians who want to convert these tenants into owners. These unfortunate people have not got—at the present moment—any available means of subsistence, any capital with which to cultivate the land, any stock, or any credit; and yet it is proposed to make them owners of the soil. When they are in such distress, *even when they have landlords to rely on in some degree to alleviate it*—for, of course, it is for the interest of the landlord to stand by his tenants—what would be their condition if they had no one to fall back on?"

Well, let us see how the landlords stand by their tenants in this very district that Lord Churchill selected, when he made this challenge for them.

At Drumbogue, where there are 1,300 persons in distress, there is "not a single resident landlord in the district, and only one of them is giving work."

At Goleen, the Mansion House

Committee say that exorbitant rents are the cause of the distress there.

At Kilcaskin, the distress is attributed to bad land laws.

At King William's Town, high rents are linked with bad crops as the causes of the poverty of the farmers.

At Cloyne, "excessive rents" are named as the cause of the distress—and it is added, "the landlords of the farmers in distress are absentees."

Bear in mind that the Mansion House has no sympathy with the Land League, and that this is the evidence of their local committees.

Now let me quote from my own correspondents:

Good old Canon Brosnan, in writing from his parish in Kerry, near by, after describing the homes of his people, adds:

"These miserable holdings are let at double and treble the Government valuation—frequent instances not being wanted in which such crushing amounts are exceeded."

Father Davis, the parish priest of Skibbereen, writes to me:

"This entire district is held under two landlords—Sir Henry Beecher, Baronet, and the trustees of Lord Cranberry. These two proprietors have exacted the rents without the reduction of one cent—and, they have not contributed one penny to the meagre funds of our committee." [Cries of "Shame!" and hisses.]

*This* is the way, my Lord Randolph Churchill, in which the tenants can rely on their landlords. [Applause.]

## THE PROVINCE OF CON- NAUGHT.

And now let us enter Connaught—the land of human desolation.

Connaught has a population of nine hundred and eleven thousand three hundred and thirty-nine souls. Out of this vast multitude of people, nearly one-half—or, to be statistically exact, four hundred and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty persons—are



reported to be in extreme distress by the local committees of the Mansion House. From every county come *official* announcements that the destitution is increasing.

A geographical allocation of the distress gives to the County

Leitrim	(in round numbers)	47,000
Roscommon	"	46,000
Sligo	"	58,000
Galway	"	124,000
Mayo	"	143,000

These round numbers are thirty-seven hundred and fifty under the exact figures. What need of verbal evidence to sustain figures so appalling?

From each of these counties on the western coast, and from every parish of them, the reports of the committees give out the same dirge-like notes: "No food," "no clothing," "bed-clothing pawned," "children half-naked," "women clad in unwomanly rags," "no fuel," "destitution appalling," "privation beyond description," "many are suffering from hunger," "seed potatoes and oats are being consumed by the people," "their famine-stricken appearance would make the stoniest heart feel for them," "some families are actually starving, and even should works be started the people are too weak now to work." [Sensation.] These saddening phrases are not a bunch of rhetorical expressions: each one of them is a literal quotation from the business-like reports of the local committees of the Mansion House! ["Shame!"]

In the province of Connaught, the destitution is so general and profound that I could not tell you what I myself saw there, within the limits of a lecture. I shall select one of the least distressful counties—the County Sligo—and call again eye-witnesses of its misery.

And my first witness shall be a distinguished bishop, at that time unfriendly to Mr. Parnell—Bishop McCormack.

The Bishop wrote to me that in

each of the twenty-two parishes of his diocese there prevails "real and undoubted distress"; and that, from the returns made to him by his priests, he finds that the number on the parochial relief lists is from seventy to seventy-five per cent. of the whole population of the diocese. His Lordship adds that this state of destitution must last till August.

Good words are like good coins—they lose their value if they are uttered too freely. I have used the word distress so often that I fear it may pall on you. Let us test it in the fire of the sorrow of Sligo.

Dr. Canon Finn, of Ballymote, wrote to me that the priests in his parish tell him that the little children often come to school without having had a mouthful of breakfast to eat, and that vomiting and stomach sickness is common among them.

Why?

"I know whole families," writes the Canon, "that have to supplement what our committee gives by eating rotten potatoes which they dig out, day by day." [Sobs.]

Father John O'Keene, of Dramore West, wrote to me that "there are four hundred families in his parish dependent on the relief committees, and one hundred almost entirely in want of clothing, and the children in a state of semi-nudity." ["Shame!"]

Four hundred families! Let us look at the mother of just one of these four hundred families.

Listen to Father O'Keene:

"On Sunday last, as I was about going to church, a poor young woman, prematurely aged by poverty, came up and spoke to me. Being in a hurry, I said: 'I have no time to speak to you, Mrs. Calpin. Are you not on the relief list?' 'No, Father,' she said, 'and we are starving.' Her appearance caused me to stop. She had no shoes, and her wretched clothing made her a picture of misery.

"I asked her why her husband had not come to speak to me.



"She said: 'He has not had a coat for the last two years, and as this is Sunday, he did not wish to trouble Thomas Feeney for the loan of one, as he sometimes lends one to him.'

"'Have you any other clothes besides what I see on you?'

"'Father, I am ashamed,' was the reply; 'I have not even a stitch of underclothing.'

"'How many children have you?'

"'Four, Father.'

"'What are their ages?'

"'The oldest, a boy, eight years; a girl, seven; another, four, and a little one on the breast.'

"'Have they any clothes?'

"'No, Father. You may remember that, when you were passing last September, you called into the house, and I had to put the children aside for their nakedness.'

"'Have you any bed-clothes?'

"'A couple of guano-bags.'

"'How could you live for the past week?'

"'I went to my brother, Martin MacGee, of Farrelinfarrel, and he gave me a couple of porringers of Indian meal each day, from which I made Indian gruel. I gave my husband the biggest part, as he is working in the fields.'

"'Had you anything for the children?'

"'Oh, Father,' she said, 'the first question they put me in the morning is: 'Mother! Have we any meal this day?' [Sobs and groans.] If I say I have, they are happy; if not, they are sad, and begin to cry.'

"At these words she showed great emotion, and I could not remain unmoved.

"This," adds Father O'Keene, "is one of the many cases I could adduce in proof of the misery of my people."

Are the landlords doing nothing for these people? Certainly. There are nine hundred families in the parish of Bruninadden, in the county of Cork. Canon McDermott is the priest there. Hear what he wrote to me:

"The lands are in part good; but the good lands are chiefly in the hands of landlords and graziers. You can travel miles over rich lands and meet only the herds or laborers of some absentee landlord. Thirty landlords own this parish; twenty-seven of them are absentees. The three resident proprietors are poor and needy themselves. You can judge of the condition of the tenant-farmers and of their relations with their landlords by a statement of facts.

"There are in my parish two iron huts,—one to protect the bailiff of an absentee landlord, the other to protect a resident landlord.

"Again, in a district containing one hundred and sixty families, eighty-nine processes of ejectment were ordered to be served by the landlords; but, in some cases, the process-servers declined to act; and, in others, the processes were forcibly taken from them."

It is not always a pastime to serve processes of ejectment on a starving and desperate peasantry. [Applause.]

The good Canon continues: "Allow me to state the condition of some of those on whom processes were to have been served:

"Pat Grady, of Lugmore, has fourteen children, thirteen of them living with him in a small hut. He holds about five acres of unreclaimed land, for which he pays at the rate of £1 12s. (\$8) an acre. He owns neither a cow nor a calf. He has not a morsel to feed his children except the twenty-five pounds of Indian meal I dole out to him each week. To-day I saw his ticket from a pawnbroker for his very bedclothes. His children sleep on straw, or on the bare floor."

But the landlord wanted his rent for all that. [Hisses.]

"Pat Gormanly," writes the Canon, "with five in a family, is precisely in the same destitute condition. He is threatened with an ejectment for non-payment of rent, while his family are



starving for want of the commonest food. [Hisses.]

"I could adduce," he concludes, "hundreds of cases quite as bad.

"Matthew Dasey came three times for his meal. His mother had been two days without food. He himself staggered and fell twice from hunger, on his way home." [Groans and sobs.]

These starving and staggering peasants, when they ask for food, receive from their landlords processes of ejectment. [Hisses and sobs.]

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I shall call no more witnesses, although I could summon hundreds, of character unimpeached and unimpeachable, who would tell you tales of wretchedness quite as harrowing, from every barony and parish of the West of Ireland. I have chosen to quote local testimony rather than to give my own evidence, because some hearers might have thought, if I had described only what I saw myself, that the truth of my reports of Irish destitution had been warped in the fires of my indignation against oppression; and because, as I have always, I trust, preferred to fight on the side of the falling man, that the wrongs I saw had been unduly magnified by the lenses of my sympathy for their victims. At another time I may tell what I saw in Ireland. To-night I must sum up my evidence in the fewest words.

I have seen sights as sad as most of my witnesses have described.

I have seen hundreds of barefooted and bareheaded mothers standing for an hour in the rain and the chilly wind, patiently and anxiously waiting to get an order for Indian meal to feed their famishing children at home.

I have seen a family of five boys dressed like girls, in garments rudely fashioned from potato-bags, because their parents were too poor to buy boys' clothing.

I have visited a dozen populous parishes where four-fifths of the entire population depended for their daily bread on foreign charity.

I have been in several villages where every man, woman, and child in them would have died from hunger within one month, or perhaps one week, from the hour in which the relief that they now solely rely on should be refused, because the men have neither a mouthful of food nor any chance of earning a shilling, nor any other way of getting provisions for their families until the ripening of the crops in autumn.

I have entered hundreds of Irish cabins in districts where the relief is distributed. These cabins are more wretched than the cabins of the negroes were in the darkest days of slavery. The Irish peasant can neither dress as well, nor is he fed as well, as the Southern slave was fed, and dressed, and lodged. Donkeys, and cows, and pigs, and hens live in the same wretched room with the family. Many of these cabins had not a single article of bedclothing, except guano-sacks or potato-bags, and when the old folks had a blanket it was tattered and filthy.

I saw only one woman in all these cabins whose face did not look sad and care-racked, and she was dumb and idiotic. [Sensation.]

The Irish have been described by novelists and travelers as a light-hearted and rollicking people—full of fun and quick in repartee—equally ready to dance or to fight. I did not find them so. I found them in the West of Ireland a sad and despondent people; care-worn, broken-hearted, and shrouded in gloom. Never once in the hundreds of cabins that I entered—never once, even—did I catch the thrill of a merry voice nor the light of a joyous eye. Old men and boys, old women and girls, young men and maidens—all of them, without a solitary exception—were grave or haggard, and every household looked as if the plague of the first-born had smitten them that hour. Rachael, weeping for her children, would have passed unnoticed among these warm-hearted peasants; or, if she had been noticed, they



would only have said: "She is one of us." [Sobs.] A home without a child is cheerless enough—but here is a whole land without a child's laugh in it. Cabins full of children and no boisterous glee! No need to tell these youngsters to be quiet. The famine has tamed their restless spirits, and they crouch around the bit of peat-fire without uttering a word. Often they do not look a second time at the stranger who comes into their desolate cabin.

My personal investigations proved that the misery that my witnesses have outlined is not exceptional but representative; that the Irish peasant is neither indolent nor improvident, but that he is the victim of laws without mercy, that without mercy are enforced; and my studies, furthermore, forced me to believe that the poverty I saw, and the sorrow, and the wretchedness, are the predetermined results of the premeditated policy of the British Government in Ireland, to drive her people into exile. [Hisses.]

This, also, I believe and say—that Ireland does not suffer because of overpopulation, but because of over-spoliation; because she has too many landlords and not enough land-owners. [Applause.]

Irish landlordism is in the dock to-day charged with the high crime and misdemeanor of starving a great people. I am one of the jury that has sat and taken evidence. "Guilty or not guilty?" My verdict is—guilty. [Tremendous applause.] The Irish people will never be prosperous until Irish landlordism is abolished. [Long continued applause.]

Let me say a few words to my auditors of American birth.

Americans believe that it is England that rules Ireland; and that the Irish in Ireland enjoy the same rights that the English enjoy in England. The belief is an error. England delegates the most important of all legislative powers—the power of taxation—to the absentee landlord; and he assigns the odious task of impoverishing

the people to his irresponsible agents. Every Irish landlord is a little local Plantagenet with no salutary fear of a veto by strangulation; and the British Government is only his vassal and his executioner.

The Irish landlord has no more pity for his tenant than the shark has for the children of the sailor who falls between his jaws. [Applause.] If American landlords, even in law-abiding New England, were to act as the Irish landlords act, they would perish by the eager hands of vigilance committees. [Applause.] If Shakespeare had known them, he would have made Shylock an Irish landlord. [Applause.] If Dante had seen the misery that these miscreants have wrought, as my own eyes have seen it in the West of Ireland, he would have gone there to paint more lurid pictures of human wretchedness than he conceived in his *Inferno*. [Applause.]

From 1847 to 1851, one million and a half of the Irish people perished from famine and the fevers that it spawned. [Sensation.] This appalling crime has been demonstrated by a man whose love of Ireland no man questioned, and whose knowledge of her history no man doubted—John Mitchell. [Applause.] These victims of landlord greed and British power were as deliberately put to death as if each one of them had been forced to mount the steps of a scaffold. And why? To save a worse than feudal system of land-tenure—for it is the feudal system stripped of every duty that feudalism recognized [applause] — the corpse that breeds pestilence after the spirit that gave protection has fled—a feudal system that every Christian nation, excepting England only, has been compelled to abolish in the interests of civilization. [Applause.]

Now, what are the duties of the friends of Ireland? Our first duty is to feed the people who are starving. If I have opened your hearts, I beg of you that you will not say, "God help them!" Just help them yourself.



They don't need more prayers. They need more meal. [Applause.]

I trust that I have shown you to-night, by the testimony of more than ten thousand witnesses, that the accounts of the Irish famine have not been exaggerated in America. I know that not one-tenth of the sad truths have been told about it. It is true, I hope, that not more than a score or more of peasants have died from hunger. The organs of the landlords say so; and it is almost the only truth that they have told. No thanks to the landlords for this mercy! If the peasants had depended on the landlords for help in this their time of need, one hundred thousand of them would lie mouldering in the graves from which the charity of Australia, and Canada, and America has rescued them.

My statistics were brought down to the 1st of March. But the latest dispatches from Ireland by cable show that the distress is not decreasing, but increasing. The bishops and the priests whom I met or who wrote to me before I left Ireland, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin, within a week, agree in sanctioning the declaration of the Mansion House Committee that, "if the experience of former famines be a guide, the greatest distress will be found in the months of June, July, and August," and that "it is to be apprehended that, whilst the crops are ripening, the people will perish."

A few days ago, the London *Times* said either that the "distress was diminishing," or that it "was likely to decrease now." Don't believe it! The London *Times* rejoiced when the famine of '47 swept the Irish peasantry by thousands into their graves. [Hisses.] It has had no change of heart. The landlords would like to see the Irish expelled, even by famine or by death. It is no longer the old cry of—"To Hell or Connaught!" The landlords have got Connaught now, and by and by I believe that they will get —. [Roars of laughter.] You seem to misunderstand me. [Laughter.] What

I meant to say was that, whereas, once the British Government drove the Irish into Connaught, now it wants to drive them out of it. [Laughter.]

What is the next duty of the friends of Ireland? After you have fed the hungry peasant, how can you help to improve his condition, permanently, without acting in violation of your duty as citizens of the United States?

I answer without hesitation, and with the emphasis that profound conviction alone can justify, you can help him by holding up the hands of the Irish National Land League in the irrepressible conflict now begun between the people and the aristocracy for peasant proprietorship. [Prolonged applause.]

The English themselves established the precedent of giving international aid to foreign agitation for the abolition of social wrongs in other lands. They gave money to our antislavery societies. Let us pay it back with compound interest. [Applause.]

They cast their bread on the American waters, and now I hope it will return to them before many days. [Renewed applause.]

There are honest Americans, true friends of the Irish race, who sincerely believe that your duty should begin and end with alms-giving. I do not agree with them. I honor the good Samaritan for binding up the wounds of the traveler, but I also believe that the thieves who waylaid him should have been brought to the scaffold. [Applause.] As long as the landlords have the power to rob, the peasant will be his victim. His power must be broken. [Applause.]

And now, with all my heart, I congratulate the Irish people that they have thrown out a banner, beneath whose folds beneficent every man of every creed of the Irish race can do battle—the Banner of Peasant Proprietorship. [Applause.] A banner that the Home Ruler may carry without abjuring his just aspirations for legislative independence. [Applause.] A banner



that the Separatist may adopt without abandoning the other, and I hope the coming flag of a Republican Nationality. [Loud applause.]

It is a banner of peace and of progress. For what was statesmanship in Germany and France cannot be Communism in Connaught and Munster. [Applause.]

Archimedes said that if he could find, outside of this planet, a fulcrum for his lever, he could overturn the world. The fulcrum that is needed to overthrow British tyranny in Ireland is the homestead of the peasant. [Applause.] The man who owns his farm

is a social rock; the tenant-at-will is a thistle-down.

Plant a race of peasant proprietors, and by and by a crop of armed men will spring up [applause]—a race of men who will not beg for justice, but demand it; a race of men who will not agitate for independence, but declare it. [Applause.]

The flag that will yet lead to Irish nationality was first unfurled by the son of an evicted tenant—Michael Davitt [applause]; and it is now upheld by that rarest of all rare men in Ireland, a decent landlord—Charles Stewart Parnell. [Applause.]

## II.

### FAMINE AND THE PRIESTS.

[At a farewell banquet given in Boston, Massachusetts, to the Rev. Father Fulton, S. J., Mr. Redpath made a speech on the "Irish Famine and the Irish Priests." The subjoined passage of it, published originally in the New York *Irish-American*, has been translated into nearly every language of Europe:]

**I** DISCOVERED a new character in Ireland—not new to Ireland, for he has been a thousand years there—but new to me; for, although I had heard enough and had read enough about him, I found that I had never known him. It was the Irish Priest.

My father was a Scotch Presbyterian, and I was reared in the strictest traditions of that faith. No undue influence was ever brought to bear on my youthful mind to prejudice me in favor of the Catholic Church. [Laughter.] I can recall that I once heard read, with a somewhat tempered approval, certain kind and conciliatory remarks about the devil—written by a famous Scotchman of the name of Robert Burns; but I cannot remember a single generous or brotherly expression of regard for the Roman Catholics or for their faith. They were never called Catholics. They were "Papists" always. The Catholic Church was com-

monly referred to in my boyhood under the symbolic figure of a famous lady—and not an estimable lady—who had a peculiar fancy for scarlet garments, and who lived and sinned in the ancient city of Babylon. [Laughter.]

I believed that I had put away these uncomely prejudices of my early education—but the roots of them, I found, must still have remained in my mind; for how else could I explain the surprise I felt—even the gratified surprise—that these Irish priests were generous and hospitable, and warm-hearted and cultivated gentlemen? For so I found them always; and I met them often and everywhere. I believe that I have no more cordial friends anywhere in Ireland than among the Irish priests; and I am sure that in America there is no man—the words of whose creed do not keep time to the solemn music of the centuries-coronated anthems of the Ancient Church—who has for them a



more fraternal feeling or a sincerer admiration. [Applause.]

The Irish priest is the tongue of the dumb Samson of Ireland. But for the Irish priest thousands of Irish peasants would have been dead to-day, even after ample stores of food had been sent from America to save them. Many a lonely village, hidden among the bleak mountains of the West, would have been decimated by famine if the priest had not been there to tell of the distress and to plead for the peasant.

The Irish priest justifies his title of Father by his fatherly care of his people. He toils for them from dawn till midnight.

It is a vulgar and a cruel slander to represent the Irish priests as living in idle luxury when Irish peasants are famishing around them. I have entered too many of their lowly homes—as a stranger unexpected—but, as a stranger from America, never unwelcome—I have seen too often and too near their humble surroundings to listen with indifference or without indignation to aspersions so unworthy and untrue. I can hardly conceive of a severer test to which sincerity and self-sacrifice can be put than these Irish priests endure without seeming to be conscious that they are exhibiting uncommon courage or proving that they have renounced the world and its ambitions; for—educated men with cultivated tastes—they live in an intellectual isolation among illiterate peasants, in poverty and obscurity; and they neither repine at their fate nor indulge in the subtle pride of self-conscious self-consecration. [Applause.]

For one—and, albeit, one of *this* world only—I profoundly honor self-sacrifice and self-renunciation—whatever banner they carry, whatever emblem they cherish, or whatever tongue they speak. [Applause.]

I saw one scene in Ireland that lingers lovingly in my memory. It was at a meeting, in the West, of a local committee of the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund. An Irish "lord" was

the chairman, not a bad man, either—for a lord; but *every* lord has the spirit of an upstart, and this lord, at times, was insolent to his betters—the toilers—and a little arrogant to his equals—the tradesmen of the district.

There was a deputation in the room of dejected peasants from one of the islands in the bay near by.

It had been reported to this committee that, at a sub-committee meeting, where the orders for Indian meal were distributed, the tattered and hungry crowd had been somewhat disorderly; that is to say, they were starving, and had clamored impatiently for food, instead of waiting with patience for their petty allocations. "My lord" rebuked their ragged representatives, harshly, and in a domineering tone; and, without asking leave of his associates on the committee, he told them that if such a scene should occur again their supply of food would be stopped. I was astonished that he should presume to talk in such tones before any American citizen—he, who ought, I thought, to have his hand on his mouth and his mouth in the dust, in presence of the damnatory facts that he lived on an estate from which peasants, now exiles in America, had been evicted by hundreds, and that neither he, nor his brother, a marquis, whom he represented, had given a shilling for the relief of the wretched tenants on his wide domains, nor reduced his Shylock rental, although thousands of these tenants, at that very hour, were living on provisions bought by the bounty of citizens of the United States and of other foreign lands.

One of the ragged committee pressed the claims of his famishing constituency with an eloquence that was poor in words, but rich in pathos. "My lord" said that he would try to do something for them; but he added, and again in a dictatorial tone, "that although her Grace, the Duchess of Marlborough, might consent to relieve them, they had no right to expect it; that the funds were hers not theirs;



that the noble lady was under no obligations to relieve them."

The poor man, hat in hand, was going away, sorrowful.

I sat, a heretic, beside a priest, a republican beside a lord; and I thought, with no little inward indignation, that I was the only person in the room, and I a stranger, whose heart throbbed with pity for the stricken man. For my hands were gnawing with hunger—just famishing—for a taste of his lordship's throat. [Laughter.]

But, as I looked around the room, I saw a sudden flash in the priest's eye that told of a power before which the pride of ancestral rank is but as grass before a prairie fire.

"I beg your lordship's pardon!" said the priest, with a sublime haughtiness; "I do not agree with you. The money does *not* belong to 'Her Grace.' She holds the money in trust only. We *have* a right to it. It belongs to the poor!" [Applause.]

The lord was cowed; the peasant won. [Applause.]

No man but a priest, at that table, would have dared to talk in that style to a lord.

More than eighteen centuries have passed since a Roman judge said to a Missionary of the Cross: "Almost, thou persuadest me to become a Christian." I do not believe that

there has lived a man since then who felt more profoundly than I did at that moment the spirit that prompted that immortal declaration. As long as that priest was in that room, I think I was a loyal son of the Church. [Applause.]

I started as if I had been in a dream. Was this the nineteenth century or the fifteenth? For, again, I saw the arm of the lordling raised to smite the poor man; again I saw rise between them the august form of the Mother Church; and again I saw the weapon of the oppressor broken into fragments against the bosses of her invincible shield. [Applause.] And, as I looked at these fragments, I saw, among them, the shattered relics of the pharisaical conceit that I had been the solitary sympathizer with the poor man. I did not pick them up. I shall have no use for them in this world again. I had thrown down an invisible gage of battle; the priest had taken it up, and I had been defeated. The Cross had conquered me. [Applause.] And henceforth,—under what flag soever I may fight,—whenever I see the white banner of the Irish priest pass by, I shall dip my own colors in salutation to it, in memory and in honor of his beneficent devotion to the famishing Irish peasant during the famine of 1880. [Long-continued applause.]

### III.

## A WELCOME TO AN IRISH STATESMAN.

[On the 22d of May, the Irish-Americans of New York gave a great out-of-door reception in Jones's Woods in honor of Michael Davitt. After speeches by Mr. Davitt, Mr. John Dillon, and Mr. Mooney, editor of the *New York Star*, Mr. Redpath was introduced and received with great enthusiasm. He said:]

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

ONE of the great poets of the olden time has said that the gods look down in admiration on every brave man struggling with adversity. If this utter-

ance is a truth, then the men whom the gods most admire are the peasantry of Ireland. [Cheers.] For they have bravely struggled with adversity for seven hundred years. [Cheers.]



'The truest test of human greatness is not to be found in the power to rise in the world—for sometimes, you know, both in American society and American politics, the buzzards rise as well as the eagles. [Laughter.] The touchstone of character is not what a man does when he is standing and strong, but what he does when he is weak and on his back. Weak men and weak races are conquered when they are once overthrown; but great men and great races spring to their feet again and fight. [Cheers.] The Irish people have been overwhelmed, the Irish people have been prostrated, again and again, but the Irish people have never yet surrendered—the Irish people have never failed to strike back whenever they have had the opportunity, and they have never failed to make the opportunity. [Cheers.] . . .

You all know that the history of Ireland is rich in dramatic episodes. Let me tell you one of them that her coming historians, I think, will chronicle, and her poets of the coming time will sing. During that long reign of terror in Ireland—from 1847 to 1852—when the Irish people fainted and staggered, from hunger and fever, into their graves by tens of thousands and by hundreds of thousands, the landlords of Ireland, pitiless as death, unpitying as famine, armed crowbar brigades to pull down the roofs that still sheltered these gaunt and gasping peasants. [Hisses.] During one of those black years, the crowbar brigade came to the cabin of a farmer in Mayo. He was an honest man and honored by his neighbors, and he had never failed to pay every debt. But the failure of the crops had ruined him. The landlord, deaf to pleas for time, turned this farmer and his wife and their children into the roadside. Down came the roof that had sheltered them, down came the cabin that they had built. [Hisses.] Among the children thus flung into the world penniless, unsheltered, was one bright-eyed boy. He looked on in silence at the work of destruction. This boy had

been brought up (as all the boys in the West of Ireland had been brought up) in the belief that the lords of the soil were not the social only but the moral and intellectual superiors of the "common people," and that it was right and proper to respect and even reverence them. But this demonry caused this boy to begin to doubt and think; and when the sons of the people begin to doubt and think it is time for tyrants to begin to pray and tremble. [Cheers.] By and by, that boy's thoughts ripened into aspirations and his aspirations into actions. He soon saw—to use an illustration from recent history—that if to pull down the Vendome Column was an act of vandalism, it was equally an act, and a greater act, of vandalism to pull down the cabin of a peasant. [Cheers.] He saw that if to take property without recompense from the owner of property is communism, then the great landlords of the West of Ireland are the wickedest communists now living. [Cheers.] That boy, when a young man, was arrested and by perjured witnesses he was sent for seven years to prison. In the English house of bondage he served a full apprenticeship to liberty, and he left it a master mechanic in the noble art of destroying despotism. [Cheers.]

Last spring, that boy—now a bearded man—went down to visit the ruins of his father's house. His friends had been there before him. They had built over the ruined walls of his father's cabin a platform, and on that platform, fearless and incorruptible and unconquerable—time's latest incarnation of the indomitable spirit of the Irish peasantry—Michael Davitt stepped forth to unfurl the banner of peasant proprietary! [Cheers.] I do not know in our own American history a more dramatic episode, save one only—and that was when our boys in blue tramped through Virginia and sang, ten thousand voices strong, as they passed the spot where the martyr of Harper's Ferry died for a race oppressed, "John Brown's body lies a-molder-

ing in the grave, but his soul goes marching on!" [Cheers.] That ruined cabin where Michael Davitt threw out the flag of the Irish Land War will be pointed out in time to come as the Runnymede of the Irish people. For a greater victory than Magna Charta was won there. The English barons wrested from King John a compact that has been praised for centuries, and yet it is the charter not of English liberty but of English bondage. It granted privileges to the aristocracy—but not a single right to the people. The barons demanded everything for themselves and granted nothing to their followers. Michael Davitt asked nothing for himself, but everything for the people. [Cheers.] That meeting at Irishtown, in the County Mayo, was the ceremony of the coronation of liberty in Ireland. On that platform, for the first time in Irish history, the Irish people themselves came to the front—no longer looking up to leaders or champions, no longer following men of a higher social order, but marching breast to breast, as if in military array, and receiving the words of command from a man in their own ranks. [Cheers.] It was no longer the Irish patrician claiming rights for his clients. It was the dumb Samson of Ireland himself who had found his voice and was uttering his demands for justice. I congratulate Ireland for having given birth to a man who has taught in liberty what he learned in bondage. He has broken the Irish Samson's fetters and they can never be riveted again! [Cheers.]

But he has a higher claim on your support and admiration. I think he is the greatest statesman that Ireland has ever produced. [Cheers from the audience. Mr. Davitt blushed, and said, pleadingly, "Oh don't, don't!"]

I mean no blarney—I didn't kiss the stone. [Laughter.] I mean exactly what I say. What is statesmanship? It is not the power to see and to denounce a national evil. That is the function of the reformer or agitator. The statesman is he who has the gift to see a wrong and the cause of it, and to apply a remedy that will cure it. Among all Irish leaders, Michael Davitt, and he only, has clearly seen the cause of Irish misery, and he only has had the courage to prescribe the true remedy. [Cheers.] If you think that I am extolling our honored guest extravagantly, I ask you, when you go to your own homes, to review the history of Ireland, and you will find that while one leader urged that this branch, and another leader urged that another branch of the upas-tree of English misgovernment should be lopped off, Michael Davitt was the first man whose clear eyes saw, and whose brave tongue said: "Cut down the whole tree—trunk and branches [cheers], and then dig up the roots." [Cheers.] Until the power of the Irish landlords is utterly destroyed; until there is not a landlord—good, bad, or indifferent—in all Ireland; until every farmer owns his own land, and tills it—Ireland will never cease to be a rebel at home and a beggar abroad. [Cheers.]



## IV.

## A SOUPER-JEW'S IRISH POLICY.

[Mr. Redpath was a guest at the banquet given to Mr. Parnell, at Cork, on his return from the United States. He was invited to respond to the toast of "America." Mr. Redpath said:]

*Gentlemen :*

IF I had been called on to respond to the loyal toast that usually opens British festivities, I should have peremptorily refused to do so, for the reasons that I was a man before I was a guest, and that I am too old a man to become a flunkey. [Applause.] But for a very different reason I must decline with equal peremptoriness to respond to the toast of America. [Cries of "Why? Why?"]

MR. REDPATH.—Because America is so great and so good a country that there is no man either great or good enough to represent her. [Cheers.] So, I must speak, if I speak at all, not for America, but as an American. [Applause and cries of "Go on!"]

I am going home. [Cries of "No, no."] British politics are too much for me. In my own country—in the Mark Lane *Express* of the mind market—I think I would have been quoted as ranging "from fair to middling" in intelligence; but here, I confess, I cannot understand even the alpha and omega, the first and the last verbal symbols of British philosophy. I refer to Jingo and Decomposition. [Laughter.]

After a humorous account of the origin of the word Jingo, Mr. Redpath continued :

And now comes that word of direct import—the philological specter, evoked from the tomb of a dead language to frighten Anglo-Saxon men withal, by the distinguished countryman of the Witch of Endor—Beaconsfield's *Decomposition*! Heavens! what a fright it gave England! Irishmen do not get scared quite so easily as Englishmen; for where *banshees* are as common as good landlords are rare it

needs a more terrible ghost than Beaconsfield can raise to frighten them. [Laughter.]

But, gentlemen, I cannot talk with levity about this man Beaconsfield. I have no respect for any man who does not love liberty, and who would not fight for liberty—not for himself only, or his own race only, but for all men and for all races. I especially despise men, members of races that have been oppressed, who aid in the oppression of other races. I never met an Irishman in the United States, when slavery existed there, for whom, if he supported the oppression of the black man, I had ever more than two words: *Damn him!* [Loud cheers. Here a priest rose and drank Mr. Redpath's health.]

MR. REDPATH.—I beg the reverend Father's pardon. [Shouts of laughter.] I did not mean to swear, and I did not swear—I only used an American expression to show my contempt for a recreant Irishman, and every Irishman who does not love liberty for all men is a recreant to his race and faith! [Cheers.] But with all my heart and soul and strength I especially despise that man who, by his genius, his fame and his high rank, is entitled to be regarded as the representative Hebrew of our times—the representative of a race that for nineteen centuries has been persecuted for religion's sake—who, false to his adopted creed, and false to the grand traditions of his people, within a few days has sought (as Beaconsfield sought by his letter to the Duke of Marlborough) to arouse against the Irish people, for partisan purposes, the religious animosities of the English nation. [Cheers.] For that is what he tried to do. [Cheers.]

Ireland demands Home Rule.



Beaconsfield asserts that Home Rule means the DECOMPOSITION of the British Empire. All Jingodom replies: "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching us that word," and truly they seem to roll it as a sweet morsel under their tongues.

What *does* it mean? I have traveled in every province of British North America from the ocean to the lakes—in Newfoundland, in Prince Edward's Island, in Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick, in Quebec, and in Ontario. Each of these provinces has an independent legislature, and an independent executive, and five of them have clubbed together to support a sub-imperial Parliament. Newfoundland, with about half the population of Dublin, has not only a legislature and executive for the Island, but a city government for St. John—with such privileges as Dublin never yet has secured—and she refused to join in the New Dominion Confederation, although all the moral and social influence of the Imperial Government was brought to bear to induce her to join it. Is not this Decomposition? Six Home Rule Governments and one Home Rule sub-Imperial Parliament for a population about one-third less than the population of Ireland! And what is the result of this Decomposition policy? The Dominion is largely settled by French Catholics whom England conquered. These original colonists have kept themselves aloof both in social life, in religion, and in politics from British society, British churchianity and British politics. But they never rebel. The Dominion is largely populated by Irishmen from Connaught and Munster. They hate England as cordially as they hated her at home. But they never rebel. Why? They can't invent an excuse. [Laughter.] They have Home Rule. [Applause.] British soldiers and Irish constables are as thick in Ireland as lice and flies were in Egypt during the land agitation there. Ireland is disloyal. There is not a British soldier from the Atlantic

to the Pacific—not one; the Canadians know that if they wanted to rebel, men by thousands and money by millions would pour over to their aid; yet Canada and her sisters are loyal. Now, if this is the work of Decomposition, wouldn't it be a wise policy to try the effect of that sort of manure in Ireland [laughter], where the crop of loyalty is a greater failure than the potato crop ever was? [Applause.]

Now, take an aerial trip around the world in forty seconds, and you will find in Van Dieman's Land, in New Zealand, and in Australia, again, independent legislatures and independent executives: Home Rule everywhere and loyalty everywhere, although there are Irishmen everywhere. [Laughter.] There are tens of thousands of men in those colonies who hate the British monarchy, and yet you could not kick the newest world out of the British Empire. Why? Decomposition!

I have been in two disaffected countries under British rule—Jamaica and Ireland. There is no Home Rule in Jamaica and no Home Rule in Ireland. The principle of the Integrity of the Empire (as this souper-Jew calls imperial misgovernment) is enforced in the tropics as well as in this island of yours. No race ever owed so deep a debt of gratitude to a foreign government as the black and brown men of Jamaica owe to the people of England. The people of England forced their Government to stretch its strong right hand across the Atlantic and break the shackles of the Jamaica slave. But the blacks are poor and discontented; and the browns are poor and disaffected; and the whites growl whether they are really discontented or not. Why are the people discontented? Because they do not govern themselves. Why are they poor? Why is Ireland poor? The toiling and hard-fisted absentee landlords and their organs say because you are lazy, and because the soil is poor and overpeopled. Well, the laziest



man might make a good living in the tropics, and the negroes are not lazy. It cannot be said that Jamaica is over-peopled or that her soil is poor. If God ever made a more beautiful or a more fertile island than Jamaica, He did not put it on this planet. It is the brightest gem of ocean that ever dropped here from the coronet of the Creator. [Applause.] Jamaica is poor as Ireland is poor, because England maintains there, as she supports here, the power of the absentee landlord, and delegates to him, unquestioned and unchecked, the power of arbitrary taxation in the form of rent. And Jamaica, like Ireland, will never prosper until the absentee is made a permanent absentee; until no man is permitted, under any pretext, to possess land that he does not dwell on and till. [Applause.]

I thought statesmanship was a practical science—to be judged by its

fruits; and yet I hear your Prime Minister applauding a policy that everywhere produces poverty and disaffection, and denouncing as Decomposition a policy that yields abundant increase of loyalty and prosperity. I hear great statesmen, so called, extolling his utterances.

I cannot understand it. I am going home. [Laughter.] I am too old to comprehend such statesmanship. [Laughter.] I am going home—to a land where no appeals are made to arouse religious animosities, because even toleration is not tolerated where all men are free and all men are equal; to a land where every poor man can have a home that neither crown nor landlord can confiscate or disturb; to a land—I say it with the profoundest reverence—after God's own heart [cheers], because its government is a government of the people, and for the people, and by the people. [Cheers.]

## V.

### CONFISCATION AND EXCOMMUNICATION.

[Mr. Redpath was at the village of Leenane, in Connemara, on August 28, 1880. It was a fair day. He was called on to make a speech. "I saw before me," he said in a recent letter, "a roadside full of barefooted women and frieze-coated men; I knew that there was a fierce spirit brooding among them at the exactions of the landlords, and that if some bloodless, but pitiless, policy was not advocated, there would soon be killings of landlords and land agents all over the West; and so I made up my mind to advocate a thorough system of social ostracism—I called it social excommunication—it is now called Boycotting—for the protection of the tenants, whom American charity had kept alive since the preceding autumn. I did not know that there was a short-hand writer present until a full report of my talk appeared in the Dublin papers. This report was immediately telegraphed to all the leading journals of England and Scotland, and if I didn't 'wake up and find myself famous,' it was because I woke *them* up and found myself famous. Even down to the Coercion debate this speech and the Clare Morris speech were represented in England as an appeal to incite an insurrection in Ireland!" The report subjoined is from the *Dublin Nation*. Mr. Redpath, after the cheering had subsided, putting on his hat, after having lifted it to the audience, said:]

YOU will excuse me if I keep on my hat. We Americans never speak with uncovered heads to any one, and never lift our hats except to return a salutation. [Cheers.] There is too much hat-lifting in Ireland. I want you to promise me that you will never lift your hat to any man because he

owns land or because he is rich. [Applause.] Never do honor to men who do no honor to human nature.

This is the second time I have visited the West of Ireland. I came over here last winter to find out whether the Irish people were starving, and if they were starving why they were starving. When



I went back, the Americans asked me what was the cause of the misery I described. Was it the potato-blight? No, I said, it is the landlord-blight. [Cheers.] I told the Americans, and I say here to-day, that the exactions of the landlords have done more to ruin the Irish people than the potato-blight and the famine-fever combined. [Cheers.] I do not come to Ireland to make speeches, but to hear them. But now that I'm here——

A VOICE.—“You're welcome.”

MR. REDPATH.—I will tell you how Irish politics look to an American. The first meeting of this kind that I attended in Ireland was in the Queen's County. I saw there, as I see here, a number of constables in attendance, armed and equipped as soldiers. I asked Michael Davitt——

A VOICE.—“Three cheers for Davitt.” [Cheers.]

MR. REDPATH.—Whether there was likely to be a riot. No, he said, the constables were there to try and overawe the people. But, he added, they can't do it. [Cheers.] When I described that meeting in the American papers, I think nothing I wrote created more indignation against the British Government than the fact that the people of Ireland cannot assemble peaceably to discuss their wrongs without having a squad of constabulary on the spot to overawe them. I lectured in America about the famine here, and I was the means, simply by telling the truth, of raising money for the starving people of the West. The organ of the Archbishop of Boston said I raised £20,000. Now, I think we Americans have a mortgage on your crops, and I have come over to look after our mortgages. I didn't raise that money for the landlords; and I am here to-day to find out whether you're going to give it to the landlords? [Cries of “No! No!”]

MR. REDPATH.—Faith, I think that if the Irish people pay over American money to the landlords, the best thing that could happen to Ireland would be a blight of the men and let the ould

seed die out and wait till the young crop of champions get ripe. [Laughter and cheers.] I know that the young Irish children—the new crop—are going to assert their rights.

At the house where I board in Dublin I heard the lady laughing the other day, and I asked her why she was laughing. She said she had just come from the back-yard where her children, two girls and a boy, were playing. The boy was marching up and down with a broomstick on his shoulder like a gun, and the girls were pretending to be weeping beside a lot of boards that were thrown down.

The lady asked what was the matter.

The boy said: “We're playing at evictions, and the constables have torn down our house, and I'm waiting till the landlord comes to shoot him.” [“Hear, hear,” and cheers.]

The young crop is all right and I've faith in the ould seed too. [Laughter.]

A VOICE.—“Down with the constables.”

MR. REDPATH.—No; let them alone. Most of them are right good fellows with Irish hearts; they sympathize with their people; they know they are doing mean work, but it is their duty, and *they* are not the men to blame. [Applause.] Now, I'll tell you how the Irish land agitation looks to an American. When any one asks for money from an American he never gets it unless there is a good reason for giving it. Before we would pay rent we would ask a landlord for his title. Suppose the Irish people were to do that, what would be the result?

There are three good and valid titles to land, and only three. The best title would be a title from the Creator. The Bible tells us that Moses gave that title. Nobody could dispute such a title. But, then, Moses never was in Ireland, and so we needn't discuss this supreme title to land. The next best title to land is founded on the truth that the land of a country belongs to all the people of the country. Now if all the people, by their representatives, give titles to pri-



vate property in land, that title is absolutely good, subject to whatever subsequent modifications may be needed for the promotion of the general welfare. That is the title by which private property in land is held in the United States. But there is no such title to land in Ireland. The Irish people never agreed to sell their lands to the stranger.

A VOICE.—“Never.” [Applause.]

MR. REDPATH.—Before the English invasion the land belonged neither to the Irish kings nor chiefs, but to the sept; and the legal heirs to the old Irish septs are the whole people of Ireland of to-day. The third good title to land is the title conferred by military conquest. That is an absolutely valid title in law—but it is good only until the conquered people re-assert their rights [cheers]—not a day longer! Now, this is not a philosophical theory—it is international law. Two or three hundred years ago, the Germans were at war with France, and France seized and held two German provinces. A few years ago, France and Germany went to war again, and Germany seized and kept its old provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and every Government in Europe, including the English Government, recognized the right of Germany to hold those provinces. Well, that shuts their mouths when you say that the lands that Cromwell stole are yours, and that the descendants of the psalm-singing savages who butchered men and women and unborn babes and stole their lands have no legal claim either to rent or purchase-money. No man should be paid for property until he can show that he has a just title to it. I have no respect for the Irishman who talks of fair rents and fixity of tenure as a solution of Irish distress. No rent *can* be fair unless the man who claims it has a valid title to the land.

Fixity of tenure is only a pretext for legalizing and perpetuating the curse of Cromwell. The larger part of the soil of Ireland is held by titles given by Elizabeth, Cromwell, or, viler

still, by William of Orange—titles rendered possible only by the shameless violation of the treaty of Limerick. Why, the descendants of the men who now hold these lands ought to be right glad to give up their land without money and without price. They should be grateful that you do not insist that they shall pay back all the rent that they have collected for the last two hundred years. [Cheers.] They ought to be made to pay you compensation for disturbance to your ancestors! I suppose there are Fenians here? [Cries of “Yes,” and cheers.]

MR. REDPATH.—Well, now, let me talk very plainly about two tender topics. I honor every man who sheds his blood for his country, or who is willing to do it. But there is no need of bloodshed. You can get all your rights without violence. Don't play into the hands of the English Government or the landlords by doing acts of violence. They would like to get you into trouble. They have ruled you for centuries by playing off one party against another—Orangeman against Catholic, and now Catholic against Atheist. Don't be fooled! It is of no sort of consequence to you whether a man goes to the Catholic church, or the Protestant church, or to no church at all—it is none of your business—but no matter what he believes or does not believe, if he fights for Ireland, stand by him. [Cheers.] I despise, from the bottom of my heart, every Irish M. P. who denounced Bradlaugh, who has always been the friend of Ireland, and then supported the souper-Jew, Beaconsfield, who has always been your enemy. Denounce both or neither; but if you must denounce one, curse the man whom O'Connell called the lineal descendant of the impenitent thief. [Cheers.]

Now, I shall talk very plainly about another thing. I understand that an attempt was made to disorganize this meeting or prevent it, because a priest somewhere here did not approve of it. If that is the truth I can afford to speak



my mind, and I shall do it. No man in America has uttered such eulogistic words about the Irish priests—words of sincere and heartfelt admiration for their conduct during the famine—as I have written and spoken. But if any priest tells you that it is your religious duty to pay rack-rents, or if he defends the landlords in their exactions—then tell him that you will pay him the duty you owe to him as a Catholic in spiritual affairs, but that you will mind your own business in worldly affairs without his help. I honor the Irish priests because they are Irish patriots, and because, with all the wealth of England and the landlords to bribe them, so very few of them have been muzzled by money or cheap pasturage. But because you must shed no blood and do no violence, you must be men and not allow any human being to dictate to you. If an Irish priest is a patriot also—only a handful of them are not both—then honor him both as a priest and patriot; but if he is not a patriot, obey as a priest only. I have been told that there are in some parts of Mayo priests who say you should pay rents in order to obey the injunction, “Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s.” Why, Cæsar is dead. [Laughter.] He never was in Ireland, and a man of the name of Brutus once rendered unto Cæsar the only tribute justly due to a tyrant—a dagger through his heart. Now, don’t render unto any sort of Irish Cæsar such a tribute. There was no sort of need of violence at all. Will any good Catholic tell you that you rightfully owe tribute to the men who hold lands that were stolen from your forefathers because they refused to give up the Catholic faith—because they refused to swear that the Mass was an abomination? You dishonor your martyred sires by advancing such a plea. Was Cromwell—the demon of Drogheda—a second Moses, empowered for ages to tax this people, and dispose of their lands? Englishmen will not grant the Crown supplies for more than one year at a time—they know they can’t trust

the aristocracy—and yet it is claimed that it is right for the dead Cromwell’s taxes to be levied in Ireland for two hundred years after his death for the benefit of the descendants of the soldiers who massacred your forefathers—not in battle only, but in cold blood. If any priest teaches such doctrine tell him to go to church and mind his own business—that there, and there only, you will obey him. [Cheers.] It is time for plain talk all round!

We Americans, without regard to Cromwellian theories, do not believe that any class of men, and especially the Irish landlords, have any right to drive the native population off in order to put sheep and bullocks on their homesteads. There will be no prosperity in Ireland until every tenant is his own landlord, and every landlord his own tenant. [Cheers.] How are you going to conquer? I told you not by bloodshed. Don’t play into the hands of the landlords in that way. Do nothing that the constables or military can arrest you for doing. If you do England can throw fifty to one against you, and that is what the landlords want. [Cheers.] Organize! If every tenant-farmer in Ireland stood shoulder to shoulder the English Government would be powerless to help the landlords. They could never evict a whole people. Be united, do no violence, and by the operation of the law and the result of your union, the landlords will soon be thrown into the courts of bankruptcy. [Great cheers.]

Call up the terrible power of social excommunication! If any man is evicted from his holding let no man take it. If any man is mean enough to take it don’t shoot him, but treat him as a leper. Encircle him with scorn and silence. Let no man or woman talk to him, or to his wife or children. If his children appear in the streets, don’t let your children speak to them. If they go to school take your children away. If the man goes to buy goods in a shop, tell the shopkeeper that if he deals with him you



will never trade with him again. If the man or his folks go to church leave it as they enter. If even death comes, let the man die unattended, save by the priest, and let him be buried unpitied. The sooner such men die the better for Ireland! If the landlord takes the land himself let no man work for him. Let his potatoes remain undug, his grass uncut, his crop wither in the field. This dreadful power, more potent than armies—the power of social excommunication—has only been used in our time by despots in the interests of despotism. Use it, you, for justice! No man can stand up against it except heroes, and heroes don't take the land from which a man has been evicted. In such a war, the only hope of success is to wage it without a blow—but without pity.

You must act as one man. Bayonets shrivel up like dry grass in presence of a people who will neither fight them nor submit to tyranny.

Americans will never give money again to the Irish tenants if they take it to pay landlords. If the landlords are poor let them work as we do. If some one must starve in Ireland let the landlords starve. [Cheers.] Turn about is fair play, and it is their turn now. But be united; don't quarrel among yourselves. The landlords have ruled you long enough by stimulating dissension in your own ranks. They are united. Every quarrel among patriots is worse than a hundred evictions.

[Cheers.] Act as one man! [Cheers.]

[Mr. Redpath subsequently found that the parish curate at Leenane (although he did not name him) had been unjustly accused of hostility to the Land League; that he was absent on clerical duty in the islands at the time of the meeting; and that he was not only friendly to the movement but president of a local branch. The unpleasantness originated in some hereditary feud between two prominent families in the neighborhood. Mr. Redpath, on being invited by Father Ganly to speak at his meeting at Maam, replied as follows:

CLONBUR, September 25.

MY DEAR SIR: I regret that my duties will not permit me to accept your invitation to attend the land meeting at Maam on the 3d of October next, and the more especially as I am convinced that I did you an unintentional injustice in believing that you were hostile to the great and beneficent movement that seeks without violence to restore the land of Ireland to the people of Ireland. If priests and people will coöperate and work with a hearty zeal for this noble end, the landlords of Ireland will soon be made to feel that it is impossible to impoverish a race without their consent, and that in the presence of a united people constables are impotent and armies unavailing.

Very truly yours,

JAMES REDPATH.]

## VI.

## "A MOST TREASONABLE SPEECH."

[Mr. Redpath was at Clare Morris, County Mayo, in September, 1880. During his stay, he was told that the more fiery spirits among the Fenians, or "advanced Nationalists," angry at the refusal of the Dublin Land League to appropriate money for the purchase of rifles, had sworn that they would break up the next Land League meetings in that neighborhood. Mr. Redpath was urged by a leading member of the Land League to make a speech at a meeting to which the leading Fenians would be invited, in order to show them that, in his judgment, the only hope for the Irish peasantry lay in the adoption of a bloodless policy, and that to oppose any sincere effort to lighten the burdens of the people would be as disastrous to the hopes of the Separatists as to the methods of the Agitators. The speech had the effect of producing harmony among the people. It was telegraphed quite fully to the English and Scotch journals, and aroused a whirlwind of abuse. It was pronounced "a most treasonable speech." This report is from the *Castlebar Telegraph*, with the passages that had to be suppressed as seditious restored.]

A LARGE meeting of the Clare Morris branch of the Land League was held on Sunday.

The Rev. James Corbett, C. C., was called to the chair. He spoke in very flattering terms of the services of Mr. Redpath, both in arousing American sympathy for the starving tenantry of Ireland during last winter in America, and thereby sending large sums of money to save them from starvation, and also by his vindication of the character of the Irish peasantry against the persistent and malignant aspersions of the English press. [Applause.] No man in Ireland or out of it had done more than Mr. Redpath to expose the iniquities of Irish landlordism, and to bring the Irish land question in its true light before the civilized world, and thereby force a just settlement of it before the English Parliament. [Loud applause.] His name was a household word in every cabin in Ireland, and his tribute to the Irish priests one of the most touching and eloquent vindications of their spiritual guides that had ever appeared in the English language.

MR. REDPATH, on rising, was received with loud cheers, and cries of "A thousand welcomes, and long life to you," and "Three cheers for the Stars and Stripes." He said:

*Reverend Father and Gentlemen:*—This is my second visit to Clare Morris.

I was here last winter to see and to describe the distress that then existed here, and one of the sunniest memories of my life will be the knowledge that my reports of the misery I witnessed in this county were the means of increasing the American contributions for the relief of the starving peasantry of Connaught. I am here now not at the invitation exactly, but at the suggestion of one of your Mayo landlords—a person who carries the double-barreled name of Lord Oranmore and Browne. [Laughter.]

A few weeks since I made a way-side talk to the people of Leenane. I told them that after I went back to America, whenever I was asked whether it was the potato-blight that had brought on the famine, I said, "No; it was the landlord-blight," and I showed them how these landlords who shouted out so fiercely against confiscation owed their property to titles founded on the foulest confiscation, and I told them that not in justice only, but in law, these titles were good only until the Irish people could re-assert their rights and take back their lands. Every lawyer in Christendom knows that this is good law.

Your Lord Oranmore and Browne denounced this argument in the House of Lords. He ended his brainless if not brayless speech by advising me to "attend to my own business." That



is why I am here. My business in Ireland, *this* time, is to explain to the American people why the Irish are so poor, although they are, as I say they are, one of the most frugal, and thrifty, and industrious races on the face of this earth to-day. Then why is Ireland the Lazarus Nation of our age—ever showing its wounds, and ever begging at the gates of the world's banqueting halls? I say it is because, under English rule, just as fast as the Irish toiler makes money, he is robbed of it by the lords of the soil, backed by British law. [Applause, and cries of "That's so!"] My business in Ireland is to expose the crimes of the Irish landlords, in order to vindicate the Irish people. [Applause.]

Now, I don't like to be lectured by a social inferior, and every king, queen, and lord in Europe is the inferior in rank of every republican on this globe. [Cheers.] No man is entitled to any respect who lives on the toil of others and renders no service to society. [Applause.] Kings and lords are the human vermin of society, who lurk and feed in its festering sores. [Applause.] I think Lord Oranmore and Browne—one or either or both of them [laughter]—was guilty of gross discourtesy in attacking me in the House of Lords, which no American would degrade himself by entering. [Laughter.] He might have sent me his advice by a half-rate message, or a postal-card that I could have answered without self-abasement. [Laughter.] But, as a cat may look at a king, so even a less worthy creature—an English lord—may give good advice to an American citizen, and therefore I overlooked the impertinence of this person, and came down here to investigate his pretensions to be regarded as the good landlord that he claims to be.

Here I am, in a room so near to Lord Oranmore's castle that the report of a rifle fired at the door could be heard in his bedroom—if he were in it. He said in the House of Lords that he never evicted a tenant. Men of Clare

Morris, don't you all know that this is a falsehood? [Cries of "Yes."] Don't you know that, although he has never had the courage to run the risk of forcible evictions, yet he raised the rent so often and so much that he drove out from his estates all the more enterprising tenants? [Cries, "We do, we do."] Don't you know that as fast as the tenants between this village and his demesne improved their land, that he forced them from it, under the torture of the rack-rent, until they were all banished? [Cries of "Yes," and "We all know it."] Don't you know that his estate once supported hundreds of people, where it now supports only a few families? [Cries of "Yes."] Don't you all know that he never paid a shilling for the improvements made by his tenants that he confiscated? [Cries of "Yes."] Don't you know that every acre of his fine grazing farms was reclaimed from the wet bog at the expense of his tenants, and by their own unassisted toil? [Cries of "Yes."] Don't you know that as fast as he drove out men and women and children, he put in cattle and sheep and game? [Cries of "Yes."] Don't you all know how he induced his tenants who had good holdings to remove to the edges of a bog, under the pretext that he would give them fifteen acres of good land; and that he never redeemed his promise, but has reduced the people who were there then and the people who removed there, to one dead level of pauperism? [Cries of "We all know it."] Don't you all know one man who was driven insane, and is mad to-day, by these constant robberies and persecutions? [Cries of "Yes."] Don't you know that he broke all his pledges about cheap pasturage to the people whom he transplanted, and, instead of giving them fifteen acres, took not only half the land of tenants who had ten acres before, but even took half of the cabins, that they had built themselves, and put these "transplanted" tenants into them, without consent of their owners, or compensation? [Cries of "Yes, yes."] Don't



you know that he is not content with robbing his tenants under the protection of the law, but that he is constantly annoying them about their religion, although he owes his title to the services of the Catholic clergy rendered to his father? [Cries of "Yes."] And don't you know that, although his tenants were all starving last winter, he never gave a single shilling to relieve them? [Cries of "Yes."]

Well, so do I know these things; and when I get time to "attend to my own business" I shall tell them to the whole world. [Applause.]

[Mr. Redpath here described some scenes that he had witnessed in the County Mayo a few months before.]

Some of these scenes moved me so profoundly last winter that I could not see them, nor speak of them, nor even think of them, in America—three thousand miles away—without tears rushing to my eyes. I have not done so much crying this time. If his reverence wasn't here I might confess that I had done a good deal of private swearing this time [laughter], and if your good priest called me to account for it I would tell him that a Yankee chaplain once saw an act of cruelty in the army and swore at it, and then defended himself at mess next morning by saying that no man could be a good Christian who would not swear in such circumstances. [Laughter and applause.] I can't look on with a pulseless indifference when I see a race of noble women, the wives of hard-working men, the mothers of splendid boys and of comely girls, trudging along without bonnets, without shoes, and thinly clad in all weathers, instead of being dressed as they ought to be dressed—warmly and in good attire all the time—and in purple and fine linen on Sunday and holidays. [Applause.]

Queens have had these feminine trappings quite long enough. I don't begrudge them such luxuries, not because they are queens and ladies, but because they are women, for no woman, I think, ever yet was dressed as well as

every good woman ought to be. [Cheers and laughter.] But it is a high crime and misdemeanor for queens or the wives of lordlings to be sumptuously dressed by the robbery of the poor. [Cheers.] It is not the will of God that such things should be. [Cheers.] God tolerates such things as He tolerates other crimes, but it is blasphemy to say that God decrees one class of His creatures—and the meanest class—to live in riotous luxury, while the true nobles—the class who work—go naked and inhabit foul cabins and sleep beneath dirty rags, and live on potatoes and Indian meal all the year round. [Cheers.] Down with the blasphemers who say so! [Long continued cheering.]

It has been asked: "What is the remedy?" Ireland will never be as prosperous as the character and industry of her people entitle her to be until the land is owned by the tillers of the land [cheers] and by nobody else [cheers]—until there is not a man in Ireland who has the right to levy a tax unless he is a member of Parliament. [Cheers.]

Rent in the West of Ireland is a system of taxation by hereditary and irresponsible tax-masters. ["Hear!"] Rent in England, and elsewhere, for the most part is simply an interest on investments. If a landlord in England has a farm to let he improves it, he fences it, he drains it, he builds houses and offices on it at his own expense. The tenant only furnishes the stock in trade to work it. Here the tenant gets a bog that would not raise enough to feed a snipe, and he improves it himself at his own expense, and just as fast as he improves it up goes the rent. Isn't that true? [Cries of "Indeed, it is," from nearly all the audience.]

Talk of compensation to these hereditary robbers of the poor! One day Michael Davitt was listening in America to some talk about compensation to landlords. He asked my opinion. "Well," I said, "the landlords ought to be made to pay back every shilling that they ever took for rent for 200



years, unless they and their ancestors bought the land, and then they ought to be sent to work at hard labor for life to make up the balance due if they had not enough to pay the whole of it"; but as a compromise measure I suggested: "Suppose you sent them to the penitentiary for ten years a head." [Cheers.] If ever they get a shilling,—these men who hold estates by confiscation,—it should be paid, not as their right, for they have no equitable right, but as you would give ransom money for a brother who has fallen into the hands of bandits. ["Hear, hear."] Landlords who bought land or whose ancestors bought land should be paid for it by the state, but no man should be allowed to hold an acre in all Ireland that he does not live on and till. [Cheers.]

Land for the people is not enough; you ought never to cease to insist that Ireland must be ruled by the Irish. [Cheers.] After you have got the land and an Irish Parliament, then, if the people of Ireland demand nationality—a separate nationality—they have the right and it is their duty to work for it. [Cheers.] But this last right should be discussed apart from the other rights of Home Rule and of land for the people. I cannot understand how any Irishman would be satisfied even with the land for the people and Home Rule. If I were an Irishman I should never cease to work for the independence of Ireland. [Cheers.] Yet to me it seems self-evident that you will never achieve independence except by the sword; and if you believe that I am a friend of Ireland I shall tell you why. [Cries of "Go on!" and applause.] You should never allow any one but a friend even to discuss this question with you; for it is an insult to every Irishman to assume, as all arguments against Irish nationality assume, that Ireland has not the right of self-government, in the sense of independence, and that she could not govern herself as well as Switzerland, or France, or Belgium or any other nation. [Cheers.]

As for England, she never has governed herself—a small class has ruled her people always.\*

But first let me say that there is a power before which all nations and legislatures now must bow—a power that as Irishmen you ought especially to respect, for it was first called into political action by an Irishman and the greatest of all Irish leaders—Daniel O'Connell. [Cheers.] It is organized public opinion. I think that by that power alone you can secure the land for the people, and secure Home Rule. Let me tell you how.

How has England kept its hold over Ireland for seven hundred years? Just as it got it at the beginning—by the quarrels of the Irish among themselves. How have the landlords been able to keep you all in rags and wretchedness? By your quarrels among yourselves. If Ireland had ever been united, England would have been forced to do justice to her. The remedy for Ireland's ills is so simple that, like the prophet's order—"Go wash in the Jordan and be clean"—I fear it may seem less attractive than learned disquisitions about the Brehon law or Portadown leases, or those quack prescriptions that never cure—commissions of inquiry. *Unite!* Ireland will never secure her full rights unless and until all the great classes and factions of the "common people" are united in one purpose, bloodless in its method, but inflexible in its spirit, until Catholic and Protestant, saint and sinner, Ulster as well as Connaught, are fused into one resistless body to demand that the land of Ireland shall become the property of the people of Ireland, and that the laws of Ireland shall be framed by the people of Ireland in an Irish Parliament. [Applause.]

The toilers of Ireland must do as the English mechanics have done; they

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\*"English liberty," said Mr. Redpath, at Chicago, "is the right that the ruling classes of England enjoy of robbing the toiling classes under the forms of law."



must form an organization that can be wielded as if it were a single body, each member of it loyally protecting every other member, so that the poorest fisherman in Donegal, the hungriest conacre man in Connaught, and the most ragged tenant in Kerry may believe and know that before a rapacious absentee landlord can bring the crowbar to destroy his humble cabin, he must first pass through the solid phalanx of the people of Ireland. [Applause.] You have all heard the trades-unions of England denounced, but whoever has studied their history will tell you that they saved the English mechanic from the condition of a serf.

When an honest tenant, unable to pay his rent on account of bad crops, is evicted from his farm, let no man take it; but if any man does take it, do not speak to him, or buy from him, or sell to him, or work for him, or stand at the same altar with him—let him feel that he is accursed and cast out from all your sympathies, he and every member of his family. Unless you do so, there is no hope for you, because as long as tenants will hire landlords will evict. [Applause.] Until this is done, until you have a solid Ireland, it is idle to believe that the absentee landlords will consent to sell their estates in Ireland. But as soon as this union is made perfect, as soon as all Ireland is a "United Irishman," the landlords will be powerless; for a universal strike against rent will at once force the English Parliament to act, and the world to listen and inquire into the causes of this national action. Irish landlordism is so monstrous an iniquity that it can live only in darkness; drag it to the blazing bar of the world's public opinion, and no plea except the plea of guilty would be entered against it. [Applause.] Suppose, for example, that every peasant in the West of Ireland was moved by one spirit, what could Lord Oranmore and Browne, or the Earl of Lucan, or the Marquis of Sligo do if

every man refused to work for him, as a herd, or a laborer, or a gamekeeper? They could not bring in strangers? [Cries of "Oh! no!"] They would be obliged to sell their estates, or restore the tenants to the rich lands from which they were so pitilessly evicted after the famine of 1847! [Applause.] This great reform, as you see, can be achieved without shedding a drop of blood, without violence, without breaking any law—English, human, or divine (and they are three separate and distinct codes over here!)—and by *thus* accomplishing your object you will do more to prove to the world that England has slandered you for generations than if you were to wade to it through a lough of blood and over a causeway of corpses.

[Mr. Redpath then showed the value of resolute Parliamentary action illustrated in the earnest methods of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar as contrasted with the mock-fight tactics of Mr. Shaw and Mr. Mitchell-Henry. "Most of the Home Rule Irish Members," he said, "are mere dress-parade soldiers—there is no fight in them." This part of the speech was not reported.]

Do I tell you in thus speaking to abandon your aspirations for nationality? I would rather that my tongue should wither; for I hope to live long enough to see Ireland an independent republic. [Cheers.] But if you think that independence can be secured by the sword only, then—as I have seen a little war myself—I advise you to deliberate gravely before you act, and to remember that war is a science needing vast supplies and drilled soldiers, experienced generals and a complex and expensive organization, and that steam and the telegraph have annihilated distance—that Kerry is nearer London to-day for military purposes than Liverpool was in the days of the illustrious Wolfe Tone. [Cheers.] My friends, it is impossible for Ireland at this time to successfully fight England. The odds are too great against her. Strike



out of the list of fighting men in Ireland all the Orangemen, all the landlords and their henchmen, all the well-to-do farmers and the vast majority of the Eastern and Northern tradesmen—the loyalists, the pacific and the indifferent—everybody whom love, or fear, or trade, or religion could influence—and England and Scotland, which would be a military unit against you, would have a terrible advantage, even if it were to be a hand-to-hand fight. But you are unarmed, undrilled, and poor; and England has unequalled facilities to hire men and to impress men, as well as absolutely illimitable resources in the machinery and material of war. Father John, brave as he was, and skillful as he was, could not repeat his career to-day,—nor could Wolfe Tone,—because this is the age of the steam cannon and the *mitrailleuse*, and of vast disciplined armies, and, above all, of the steamer and the locomotive. On Napoleon's estimate of the difference made by machinery in the fighting capacity of nations, you would have to overcome a disparity of eighteen against one. This is not my dictum; it is the dictum of the greatest soldier of modern times.

Be patient! Patience is not cowardice. It needs the highest courage. Seven hundred years of tyranny cannot be overthrown in a day in Ireland. Until the people are planted firmly on their lands, I can see no hope of a successful military revolt against English misrule. For that reason, and that reason only, if I were an Irishman, I

might prepare for war, but I would certainly postpone any revolutionary efforts until the men on whom such a movement must rely for success could go forth to do battle consoled by the thought that, if they died for their country in the field, they did not leave their families in the power of petty landed despots, who would be glad to fling them out into the road-side to die. [Cheers.] All great men and all great races have succeeded by obeying the golden rule of success—do one thing at a time.

But, I beg of you, don't fight among yourselves. There is no need of it, and no sense in it. Land Leaguer, Home Ruler, and Nationalist, each in his own way is struggling for the welfare of Ireland, and each of them can have fight enough to satisfy even an Irishman [laughter] by striking at the landlords and the British Government. The land system of Ireland is the key-stone of the house of tyranny. Kick it out, and then I hope and I believe that on a free soil, and with a people free, the blood of Ireland's myriads of political martyrs will quicken and blossom into a resplendent Irish nationality. [Cheers.]

[“ Mr. Redpath,” said the report of the *Freeman's Journal*, “ spoke rapidly for an hour and a quarter, and his speech was most enthusiastically received by all present. The conclusion especially, in which he urged unity of action between the three parties, many of whom were present, was most warmly applauded.”]

## VII.

## HARVESTING FOR THE LAND LEAGUE.

[Under the head of "An Extraordinary Scene," the following special dispatch appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, a few days after the report of the foregoing speech :]

(*Special Telegram from our Correspondent.*)

CLARE MORRIS, Tuesday Night.

FOR the last week the following placard has been posted in Clare Morris and some adjoining parishes :

"Hold the harvest! Last spring 2,000 men collected at Ballintaffy to sow the Land League farms. The crops are now ripe, and again the same men are called on to reap them. At his post then, every man! Come without fear and show your pluck, and that you are determined to keep your crops. Bring your scythes and hooks, and let every man who has a horse and cart bring them also to carry away in triumph the fruits of labor free of rent and taxes. The day is coming when every man's crop shall be free. To the front, then, on next Tuesday, the 14th inst. Men of Clare Morris and Gallen! Noble women and brave peasant girls, come you also and help to bind up the first sheaves of corn free of rent and taxes that have ever been reaped in Ireland. The land for the people! The crops for the people! Hold the harvest! God save Ireland!"

About eleven o'clock this morning a brake, in which were seated the members of the Clare Morris brass band, stopped at the presbytery for the Rev. James Corbett, C. C., and then at Ansborough hotel for Mr. Redpath, the American journalist, and Mr. J. P. Quinn, the Land League representative. The brake was driven through the streets of the town, the band playing "God Save Ireland." A large number of cars followed, and as the cavalcade went through the streets toward Ballintaffy, women, men, and children rushed to the doors shouting, "God

bless you, Father Corbett!" Ballintaffy is four miles from Clare Morris. On the way the party overtook dozens of carts and large numbers of men on foot carrying scythes and sickles. I arrived at Ballintaffy about noon. More than an acre of "the Land League oats," as they are called here, had already been cut. About one hundred men, women, and young children were employed cutting and binding the oats. The arrival of the Rev. Mr. Corbett was received with loud and long-continued cheering by the reapers and binders. Men and women arrived until there were five or six hundred persons present, each of whom worked. Women apologized for the absence of their husbands by saying they were in England "earning the rint." Men and women were present from Clare Morris and the surrounding parishes, including Kiltrinagh, Bohola, Balla, Facefield, Barnacarroll, Lagatample, Cloonconnor, Futagh, Drumkeen, Killeen, Ballyknave, Facefield Bries, Castlegar, Irishtown, Ballindine, Crossboyne, Mayfield, Aughervilla, Drimineen, etc. Quite a delegation of ladies from Clare Morris, Westport, and Balla, elegantly attired, were present to witness and take part in the work. I noticed some ladies dressed in the highest of fashion taking off their kid gloves, going down among the barefooted peasant women, and binding the sheaves.

Mr. Redpath assisted in carrying the sheaves to the carts. Five or six acres of oats were cut and carried to the carts, which conveyed them to Clare Morris in a few hours.

After the work was completed a meeting was held.



The Rev. James Corbett was moved to the chair, which was composed of a stook of oats.

The Rev. Mr. Corbett praised the people for having exhibited such a spirit of independence in coming to the defense of the rights of their own class. He explained some circumstances connected with the holdings, and then introduced Mr. James Redpath, who was received with loud cheers for "the Stars and Stripes," "The land of the free and the home of the brave," etc.

Mr. Redpath praised the patriot priest who had brought out his people last spring and planted these oats under the very shadow of British bayonets—for the constabulary, angry and armed, were there that day. Where were they to-day? Conquered by an unarmed and heroic priest and people. [Cheers.] This should teach the Irish nation a lesson—the irresistible force of moral courage and determination. Mr. Redpath then made an appeal for union of action and harmony among Irishmen of all classes. He reviewed briefly the history of Ireland, and showed that although the Irish were the "fightingest" race on this planet, England had been able to conquer them and maintain its conquest by making Irishmen fight among themselves. Mr. Redpath spoke in eulogistic terms of the noble conduct of the "barefooted ladies" who had shown that, whenever they were called on to do duty-work for Ireland, they would rally, but he hoped they would never do "duty-work, here"\* for the landlords again. Mr. Redpath described British rule in Ireland as "the most tyrannical Government on the face of the earth." [Loud cheers.] Why, England could

not endure a heptarchy, the rule of seven despots, and yet she insists on putting the Irish under the absolute control; not of seven, but of seven thousand irresponsible despots called landlords! He contrasted in sarcastic terms the conduct of the barefooted ladies before him, who cheerfully worked for their country, with the conduct of the Queen, who gave only one day's wages to the starving poor of Ireland. Landlordism in Ireland must die, if the Irish were ever to be a happy, contented, and prosperous people. [Cheers.] Irish landlordism had better tell its heirs and executors what sized coffin it wore; for the horologe of time had given warning that its hour of doom had come. But Ireland's liberation must come from Irish unity and courage, and not from English justice or patronage. He did not join in the eulogiums of Bright and Forster that some Irishmen uttered. He called them "buck-shot Quakers," and earnestly urged the tenantry to refuse to listen to pleas for fair rents and long leases, but to insist on a peasant proprietary. Half a loaf was *not* better than nothing if they could get the whole loaf—and the loaf was theirs. At the conclusion of Mr. Redpath's speech three cheers were given for him, and three more for the American republic.

A large number of carts were employed all day in carrying the oats to Clare Morris. When the work was done the largest brake, containing the band, followed by a long string of outside cars and a number of carts loaded with oats, moved back to Clare Morris. On passing the residence of a landlord, some one shouted out: "Death to landlordism!" and Mr. Redpath requested the band to play a funeral dirge. The band struck up the "Dead March in Saul," amid great applause. On the seat of the brake was a president of a branch of the Land League, carrying in his arms a sheaf of the oats. Every man in the cars wore an ear of the corn in his hat, and the ladies and

\* "Duty-work" is a relic of feudal serf labor still enforced in the West of Ireland. By its terms, in addition to exorbitant rents, the hapless and helpless tenants are obliged to work for from one week to one month for their landlord every year without wages, and feed themselves while working.



children were similarly decorated. On arriving at the outskirts of the town the band struck up "See, the conquering hero comes," and the streets were

thickly lined with men, women, and children, who cheered for the Rev. Mr. Corbett and the Irish National League.

### VIII.

#### "BETWEEN TWO LORDS SLAIN."

[Writing to a friend in America from Clonbur, County Galway, on Monday, September 26, 1880, Mr. Redpath told of an exceptional experience as a speaker in the West of Ireland.]

I MADE a speech here yesterday that I intended to be my last speech in Ireland. I was never in a position that needed so much tact and nerve. My friend, Father Conway, the Catholic curate here, had coaxed me to promise to make a speech at a Land Meeting to be held yesterday. I was wretched after I had agreed to speak, because I knew that many of the same people would be here who heard me at Leenane and Claremorris, and I could not think of any speech that it would be proper for a stranger to make, and I would not repeat myself. As I was walking up and down the lane near the church, I noticed the image of St. Patrick and that gave me an idea for a speech. As I was working it out in my mind, a citizen of the place joined me. One after another, seven or eight "outside cars" passed me on their way to the constabulary head-quarters. Each jaunting-car had four armed constables on it. I asked why they were coming?

"Oh!" said my companion, "don't you know the Government has sent down a short-hand writer to report your speech to-morrow, and these constables are here to protect him?"

That information inspired me. As these cars reached the head of the lane, a gentleman dressed in light clothing stopped each of them and spoke to the constables.

"Who is that man?" I asked.

"Lord Montmorris."

"And who is he?"

"A landlord near here," was the answer.

As Father Conway drove up,—he had been at Ballinrobe,—I looked at my watch. It was a quarter before six.

We staid up rather late, as the curate was waiting for a friend. A little after ten o'clock a parishioner came in and announced that Lord Montmorris had been murdered, and his body found on the road-side about a mile from Clonbur!

Next morning,—yesterday,—thousands of people came to Clonbur to attend the Land Meeting. I mingled among them, but heard no expressions of sympathy for the slain lord. The nearest approach to pity was the remark of an old woman, "Sure, he wasn't worth killing!" Lord Montmorris died unwept as he had lived unloved—a corrupt magistrate and a profligate man. He had long since been hated and despised by all classes. Still, I knew how this murder would be regarded in England, and I suggested that the Land Meeting should be postponed. No one agreed with me that it would be wise to postpone it. So, I *must* speak and denounce the murder among a people indifferent to it, and advocate social excommunication after I had been told that this sort of advice *might* possibly be construed as sedition—and there was the Government reporter to take down my words!



The platform was built inside the church-grounds, and against the walls of the church. Right opposite, on the other side of the lane, were the high walls that inclosed a lawn that had once been Lord Leitrim's estate. Imagine my position—behind me, two miles away, Lord Montmorris, slain; at my back, a reporter, who came as a spy and informer; around me a crowd of people who had hated the murdered lord, and some of whom had just cause to hate him; in front of me, a detachment of the Irish constabulary, and behind them the estate of Lord Leitrim! I stood between two slain lords, and I thought, as I rose to speak, I wonder if the man or men who killed Lord Montmorris are cheering me? Talk about inspiration from audiences—*here* was the regular *poteen* of oratory!

[This report is reprinted from the *Castlebar Telegraph*, with one or two "seditious" passages supplied from memory within a few days after the delivery of the speech.]

*Rev. Chairman, Rev. Fathers, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

I have noticed that it is the custom of Irish audiences, in a good-natured way, to interrupt a speaker—sometimes by asking questions, and sometimes by interjecting remarks, not always quite in consonance with the views of the speaker. This custom has a tendency to divert the current of a speaker's thought, especially if he is not accustomed (as I am not accustomed) to address public audiences. I ask of you the favor to listen to me in silence. For every man who addresses you should weigh well his words this day. Whatever he says, or may refrain from saying, if a single word he utters, or even if his silence, can be distorted by malice, your enemies will seize on it to seek to injure your cause. He will be charged with inciting a spirit that he reprobates, and approving crimes that he abhors. The dark deed of an individual, or of individuals, will be charged on this community, and whoever is re-

garded as your friend will be held responsible for offenses of which you are as innocent as your calumniators.

On the other side of that wall in front of us lies one of the estates of the late Lord Leitrim, who was slain in Donegal. Two miles behind us lies the body of Lord Montmorris, who was slain last night. Around us are representatives of the armed constabulary by whom the town is garrisoned. At my side is a reporter, paid by the Government to write down every word we utter here. It is a time to be brave, but to be wise as well; to proclaim the truth, but to give no weapons to your enemies.

Let me congratulate John Bright that at last I see a peaceful audience assembled in Ireland to discuss their grievances without having detachments of constabulary, with loaded muskets, among them; that the time has come when the constabulary, although they are here, attend your meetings as private gentlemen. [Applause.]

It was time that these outrages on the right of free speech should cease, or that John Bright should withdraw from a Government that practiced them, or that Americans should blot out the name of that man, as a lost leader, from the roll of Englishmen whom they have been taught to love.

I hope when next I visit Ireland, I shall be able to report that not only have the constabulary been removed, but that John Bright no longer sullies his once noble record by consenting to belong to a Government that still employs stenographic spies!

The tragic death of the unhappy lord who lies dead to-day will be charged by your enemies to the land agitation. I never heard the name of the dead lord until a day or two ago, and I had already forgotten it when the dreadful crime of last night brought it to every man's lips. But this I do know—that wherever in Ireland the Land League is strong, there not one drop of the blood of sheep or cattle or of man has been shed. Here, as



you all know, the Land League was weak, and you know how the landlords in this neighborhood tried to suppress it.

Lord Montmorris dead is a stronger ally of Irish landlordism than Lord Montmorris living. The man or the men who slew him have not injured Irish landlordism. They have injured the cause of the Irish tenantry—for although you are innocent, the landlords have still the ear of Europe and your defense will not be heard there. O'Connell said that whoever commits a crime strengthens the enemy. The crimes of the Irish landlords have strengthened your cause in America. Europe is beginning to listen to the story of your wrongs, and, if you avoid crimes and sternly repress them, the verdict of Christendom will soon be rendered in your favor. Every crime delays the day of justice to Ireland. Give violence no countenance, but regard every criminal as your enemy.

But do not submit in silence to slanders! Give blow for blow, and spare no man who libels you! Let me set you an example! In the last number of the *Nineteenth Century*, James Anthony Froude, the most malignant enemy of the Irish race, characterizes the assassination of Lord Leitrim as an agrarian outrage, and then dares, I am told, to call the noble patriots, who surround Mr. Parnell "the patrons of anarchy and defenders of assassination." I am talking now, am I not, to hundreds of men and women who knew Lord Leitrim and were his tenants? [Shouts of "Yes!" from the audience.] Did Lord Leitrim not bear the reputation of being one of the vilest lepers in social life? [Shouts of "Yes!"] Don't his tenants say that he flung a score at least of young girls into the brothels of Liverpool and New York? ["Yes!"] Was not that his reputation? ["Yes!"] Is it not believed by every one that he was killed on account of his personal offenses? ["Yes!"] Yes; these facts are as well known in Galway and Donegal as the similar

offenses of Nero and of Henry the Eighth. Yet Froude dares to charge the Irish political leaders with being "patrons of assassination," because this leprous Lord Leitrim was slain. I denounce James Anthony Froude before Christendom as the patron of seduction and the defender of debauchery. [Loud cheers.] It is time to talk plainly, and to brand the slanderers of your race as they deserve. [Cheers.] I dare James Anthony Froude to say that he would have introduced his wife or daughter to Lord Leitrim. [Cheers.] [Turning to the Government reporter:] Has John Bright's spy got that down? [Cheers from the audience.]

I am not defending the slayer of Lord Leitrim: I am only vindicating the Irish character. Assassination helps no good cause. Napoleon said that in war a blunder is worse than a crime; and assassination is not only a crime, but a blunder. I will tell you how to obtain your just rights without a crime, without shedding one drop of blood, without doing anything that the Queen of England does not do, that the aristocracy of England have not done for generations, that the Irish landlords do not countenance at this hour, and that the Catholic Church has not sanctioned and practiced for centuries. I will not tell you to do anything in conflict with British laws and the British Constitution. Now, don't frown when I say British Constitution! My friends, it is true of the British Constitution what the old lady said of the doctrine of total depravity: "It's a very good thing if it's only lived up to!" [Laughter.] The trouble in Ireland has been that only the landlords have been able to take advantage of the British Constitution!

Why have the landlords so much greater power in Ireland than in any other civilized country? You know, but the world does not know, and, therefore, it is so hard for foreign nations to understand your wrongs. The despotic power of the Irish landlords comes from the fact that there is no



diversity of industry in Ireland—that in this western country every one must live by the soil, or *die*. Why are there no manufactures here? Because England destroyed the woolen manufactures in William of Orange's time, and then prohibited the establishment of other industries for long generations. She has given the soil of Ireland to aliens; her laws have imperiously prevented the transfer of the soil; and she has thus made it impossible to develop the mineral and even the fishing resources of the West. Her evil eye has blighted every industry, excepting agriculture only, and that industry she suffers to exist at the price of the serfdom of the tillers of the soil. She makes the landlord the absolute master of the lives and fortunes of her people. He can drive them into the road-side, or into the poor-house, or into exile, or into the grave; leaving the land a desert, or a game-cover, or a grazing farm; destroying every village trade, and every calling, and every profession at his sovereign will and pleasure, and then blaspheming the God who made this earth for the people thereof by calling this heartless, this heathen system, the enforcement of the rights of property. The landlord confiscates not the wages of toil only, but the visible results of it; and this is not defended by English opinion only, but enforced by English law. Whoever dares to deny the right of any man to drive an innocent people into exile is called a communist by these brawling parasites of the greatest communists on earth!

To destroy the power of the landlord you must refuse to help him in his cruel work of eviction and confiscation. If a landlord evicts a poor tenant, do not take that farm, nor work on it for any one; you violate no law in refusing to take or to labor on such a farm, but you do rivet the chains of your people if you do *not* refuse to take it, or do not refuse to work on it. [To the reporter:] Has

John Bright's spy got that down? [Laughter.]

But if a man *does* take a farm from which a poor tenant has been evicted, I conjure you to do him no bodily harm. [To the reporter:] Get ready, John Bright's spy! Act toward him as the Queen of England would act to you if she lived in Clonbur! Act toward his wife as the Queen of England would act toward your good wife if she lived in Clonbur! Act toward his children as the Queen of England would act toward your children! The Queen of England would not speak to you, she would not speak to your wife, she would not speak to your children. She would not regard you, your wife, nor your children as her equals. Now, imitate the Queen of England, and don't speak to a land-grabber, nor to a land-grabber's wife, nor to a land-grabber's children. [Cheers.] *They are not your equals!* Do as the Queen of England does, and you will violate no law of England! [To the reporter:] Has John Bright's spy got that down? [Laughter.] Oh! my friends, be loyal! [Laughter.]

If a land-grabber comes to town, and wants to sell anything, don't do him any bodily harm; only act as the rich landlords in Mayo and Galway have acted toward my friend from Clare Morris here [pointing to Mr. Gordon, who stood on the platform]. You all know that Mr. Gordon is the best boot-maker in Connaught [cries of "Sure we do!" "He is, indeed!"], and that he once employed about a dozen workmen. He made all the boots and shoes for the gentry in this part of the country. Just as soon as he addressed a Land League meeting, his custom fell off, the landlords wouldn't buy shoes from him, and my friend Gordon was almost ruined. Now, imitate these landlords. If you see a land-grabber going to a shop to buy bread, or clothing, or even whisky, go you to the shop-keeper at once; don't threaten him; it is illegal to threaten any one, you know; just say to him that under



British law he has the undoubted right, that you wont dispute, to sell his goods to any one,—don't forget to say all that,—but that there is no British law to compel you to buy another penny's worth from him, and that you will never again do it as long as you live, if he sells anything to a land-grabber. The landlords wont buy their boots from Mr. Gordon because he is *your* friend; now, don't you buy your goods from any shop-keeper who is their friend. [Cheers.] [To the reporter:] Has John Bright's spy got that down?

Don't buy anything from a land-grabber. This policy is truly loyal and conservative British policy. The British laws make it almost impossible for you to buy a lot of ground from a landlord—so don't buy anything from his friends until they repeal their laws. Imitate the landlords! [To the reporter:] Has John Bright's spy got that down? [Laughter.]

If the land-grabber sends his children to school, don't drive them away. They have the right to go there. Act as the Queen of England would act if your children forced their way to the same school with her children. Take your children away. [Applause.] You have a right to do so, and if you did so it would soon cause some of the teachers who have been muzzled by the landlords to become advocates of your rights. [Cheers.] [To the reporter:] Has John Bright's spy got that down? [Laughter.]

If the land-grabber goes to the Mass, don't drive him away. One by one, quietly and decently, without disturbing the services, go out of the church, and leave him and his family alone with the priest. They need praying for. [Laughter.] If a noisy and drunken man entered the church, the priest would tell you to withdraw, so that there might be no disturbance in the chapel. Act in the same way when the land-grabber enters it—for he is worse than a drunkard and a brawler.

For centuries the royal families and

the aristocracies of Europe and the landed gentry of Ireland have socially excommunicated—they call it, ostracized—whole classes and professions, and even races. Follow their example, not in the interests of social pride, but in the interests of sacred principle—and they will find that this sword is two-edged, and that they have no longer a monopoly of the hilt! [Cheers.] Surely, my friends, if kings can do no wrong, and if aristocracies *are* the nobility, and if the gentry are in fact, as well as pretense, a superior class—you would not only violate no law, but you would be entitled to great praise for imitating their illustrious example. [Cheers.] [To the reporter:] Has John Bright's spy got that down? [Laughter.]

This is no new policy. I am advocating only a new application of an ancient policy. Once Europe was a vast camp of armed men. And yet we read that the haughtiest emperor of Europe was once forced to kneel in the snow, a suppliant, for three days and nights at the door of a priest who had not an armed soldier to obey his orders. What power brought the armored prince to the feet of the unarmed Pope? It was the terrible weapon of religious excommunication. That weapon you cannot wield in defense of your rights; but the next keenest weapon—the power of social excommunication—is yours, and no law of the state nor of the church forbids you to draw it. [To the reporter:] Has John Bright's spy got that down?

[Pointing to the statue of St. Patrick over the church door, Mr. Redpath continued:]

Since the sandals of St. Patrick first pressed the soil of pagan Ireland—since he planted here, never more to be overthrown, the radiant banner of the Christian faith, there, never yet has sprung from the illumined heart of any Irish patriot a project so worthy of that flag and that faith as the movement that the Land League is now sending forth its heralds to summon you to join.



Its creed is pure; its ways are wise; its aim is divine. It is the latest and the ripest fruit of the sacred seeds that St. Patrick sowed. [Applause.]

The saints and heroes of a century that has been dead for centuries devoutly prayed and bravely fought for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher and the rescue of the Holy Land from the "infidel Saracens." You are called to a kindred crusade—to rescue the holy land of Ireland from the infidel Saracens of the nineteenth century—the Irish landlords! Never has "The Isle of Saints" given birth to a man so saintly that his white robes would have been sullied by fighting the battles of this new crusade. Ah, no! they would have shone with a more luminous purity thereby. [Cheers and applause.]

And in this holy land there is a prize more precious than even that empty sepulcher, forever sacred, in which once lay buried the Holy Body. You know Who it was Who said that whoso feeds the hungry, and clothes the naked, and breaks the chains of the captive, gives bread to, and raiment, and liberates, not the earthly disciple needy, but the Heavenly Master in want. This sublime and sacred utterance consecrates and sanctifies the West of Ireland—this old home of wrinkled sorrow—as the Holy Land of our day, the Holy Land in which, ragged and hungry, and at the mercy of men without mercy, the living Lord Himself inhabits every wretched hovel in these sterile hill-foots and these stony mountain-slopes. [Loud cheers.]

It is a heroic Christian crusade—this bloodless warfare that you are waging—for the recovery of the holy land of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

The Saracens were called robbers because they held a Holy Land by virtue of a military conquest. The Saracens were called infidels because they did not believe in the truths of the Christian religion. For the same reasons, and by the same token, are

not the great landlords of the West of Ireland the infidel Saracens of our day? You can tell a man's real religion in one way only—not by listening to what he says, but by looking at what he does. By a cuttle-fish rhetoric a man may hide the truth, but his acts will betray him. [Cheers.]

What is the real religion of the great landlords of the West of Ireland? Translated into words—not by their lips, but by their deeds—the religion of these landlords is the most purely pagan religion of any age or of any race on this planet to-day. [Loud applause.]

I shall not sully my lips by repeating every article of the landlord's creed, but I shall quote two or three of the more fundamental dogmas of it.

The first article of the landlord's creed is this: "I believe that the Creator intended that the land of a country should be owned, not by the native inhabitants of the country, but by any accidental conqueror of the country, and that it should be divided, not even among the soldiers who made that confiscation possible, but exclusively among a few favorite officers who strengthened and extended the power of a foreign king, or among the parasites of a regal court, who served his selfish purposes, or flattered his vanity, or yielded to his lust." On these two dead branches of a upas-tree hang most of the titles of the great landed proprietors of Ireland to-day.

The second article of the landlord's creed is like unto the first article. It reads: "I believe that the land of Ireland and the people of Ireland were created for the sole purpose of administering to the comfort and convenience of the Irish landlords." [Loud applause.] You all know, men of Galway, with how remorseless a thoroughness the great landlords of the West of Ireland have enforced this article of their heathen creed. Thousands of schools, and churches, and villages in the West of Ireland; tens



of thousands of the cabins of the toilers of the soil and of the sea; and hundreds of thousands of laborers, and mechanics, and artisans, and teachers, and scholars, and priests—by individuals, and by districts—have been swept away as if a pestilence had passed over them, throughout all this Land of Sighs, by these hereditary "Huns and Vandals," who use not the flaming sword of a "scourge of God," but the civil decree of the process-server—Huns who hide their cowardly heads in foreign gambling hells; Vandals who hire a native constabulary to destroy the homes of the people of Ireland. [Loud cheers.]

The third article of the landlord's creed is that the Irish family has no rights that the Irish gamekeeper is bound to respect; that whenever the little holding of the farmer, by his own toil, or by the toil of his forefathers, reclaimed from barrenness, is necessary for the welfare of his hares and rabbits and grouse, the fathers, and mothers, and little ones must be driven out that the ground game and wild fowl may fatten. [Applause.] Every one of you can testify that the tourist traveling from the sea in any direction in this county must pass through a wild and deserted country, desolated not by conquerors in the interest of their race, but by landlords in the interest of their rabbits.

Americans regard their Government as an organization for the protection of the rights of men. The Irish landlords regard the British Government as an institution, not for the protection of human rights, but for the more perfect conservation of feudal prerogatives—prerogatives everywhere, elsewhere, even in England, either so tempered by usage that they have lost their ancient power to oppress, or abolished by law, or abrogated by custom or contempt.

The people of England and Scotland are governed by the laws of Eng-

land. If the people of Ireland were governed by the laws of England, then their grievances might be justly, however ungenerously, classified as sentimental grievances.

But the West of Ireland is not governed by the people nor by the laws of England, excepting as they are auxiliaries to the despotic government of the landlords. The people of England would not endure the wrongs you suffer from the tyranny of the landlords; nor, I believe, would they permit you to endure them if they knew the true story of your wrongs. But, breathing the moral malaria of London social life, that so soon poisons even Irish Parliamentary patriots, the leaders of the British parties and the British press—and especially the self-named "Liberal" journals—papers like the *Daily News*, for example, and the *London Times*, edited by intellectual eunuchs for intellectual serfs—one and all persistently refuse to report the whole truth about Ireland, or to listen with patience to her story.

And yet, there is no more important question for England than the Irish question, whether it is regarded from a national or an international point of view. The Irish landlords have made a tool of the British Government and a fool of the British people for generations. When I go back to America, I shall say, and I shall prove by examples—giving names and dates, and figures and estates—that there is no parallel to the oppression that the Irish peasantry endure in all Europe to-day, excepting in the Christian provinces of Turkey, where the taxes are farmed out to Mohammedans. [Loud cheers.] These landlords have escaped exposure before Christendom, because by their law of libel they can ruin any editor who tells of their cruelties. [Applause.] Standing at my side is a Mayo editor who received a threatening letter from the great landlord in this parish, warning him of the consequences if he did not publish a paragraph that the statements of your honored and heroic



curate were false.\* That letter was a legal letter, written in legal terms; not in a disguised hand, but by a solicitor. The laws of England protect Lord Ardilaun in sending it. But the law of English libel does not run in America, and my Lord Double X will find that journalists are an international fraternity, and will stand by each other against any invader of their rights. [Cheers.]

What would England have said if three millions of Christians had been expelled from Turkey, or starved into the grave, for no offense except that for a single famine year they could not pay extortionate taxation? England would have flung the Sultan and his hosts out of Europe headlong into Asia. But the Irish landlords have driven three millions of Irish Christians into their graves and from *their* native country, and England has looked on and helped them, and sternly punished every effort of the people to resist this expulsion. [Cheers.] For three centuries, the rule of the landlord has been one long record of ruin and disaster; and yet to-day, as in the days of Cromwell, the only remedy of the lords of the soil is—exile or exterminate the Irish! Once their cry was, “To hell or Connaught!” Now it is, “To the poor-house or America!”

Do the British statesmen never pause to ask themselves whether, in continuing to be the lackeys and executioners of the Irish landlords—whether, in driving away these sore-hearted Irish

exiles—they may not be sowing the winds that will ripen into a hurricane of hatred against England? Where do these peasants go, who have been expelled to give place to pheasants? I will tell them. They go to a land that has not one cause to love the British Government, and many reasons to hate it. Every Irish exile becomes a missionary of hate, to quicken, to keep alive, and to fan every spark of animosity against England. [Cheers.] There are already in America, at the lowest computation, sixteen millions of citizens of Irish birth and Irish descent. Their numbers and their influence are daily increasing. If there is any man in America of Irish descent who does not hate the British Government—barring here and there a solitary Orangeman—I never met that man, nor ever heard of him.

How is it with the native Americans? The Americans have a kindly regard for the English people; but, North and South, they have no good-will to the British Government. American flunkies in England often fawn on English society, and our ambassadors, as in duty bound, prophesy smooth things. Do you know why we send poets to England? Because poets are of imagination all compact; and when an American talks in England of American friendship for the British Government, he needs must depend wholly for his facts on his imagination. [Applause.] But British statesmen should know the truth; and, however distasteful the truth may be, it is a fact that the leaders of the South hate the British Government, because they believe that they would have succeeded if England had recognized their Confederacy, and that the people of the North have neither forgotten nor forgiven the destruction of our commerce and the hostile spirit of British statesmen and the British press during our long years of national agony. [Applause.]

Is it wise to drive missionaries of hatred by the millions to America?

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\* The editor was Mr. James Daley, of the *Castlebar Telegraph*, who—like Mr. Gordon, previously referred to—is now [May 1, 1881] in jail, without trial or accusation, at the instance of the recreant Quakers, Mr. Secretary Forster and Mr. John Bright, who act as the pious figure-heads for this infamous suppression of free speech and a free press in Ireland. The Lord Ardilaun is Sir Arthur Guinness, whose family was “ennobled” by Beaconsfield. The Guinesses have always been partisans and parasites of English tyranny in Ireland; they have grown rich—and “noble”—by selling Dublin porter, and thereby debauching five generations of Irishmen.



Would it not be better, looking to the long future, to abolish the system that furnishes fresh fuel to such a smoldering fire?

But what care the Irish landlords? What care they for an American alliance? They must keep their rabbits and get their rents, even should races perish or empires grapple in the strife.

The creed of the landlord is paganism. The fruit of his rule is serfdom.

Don't be afraid of hard names. These pagans call you communists, because you demand peasant proprietary. Why, all the great minds of modern political science have advocated the institution of peasant proprietary; and, what is better even than their approval, the example of a prosperity unparalleled before, wherever peasant proprietary has been established, is the conclusive and irrefutable answer to these brawling inanities. What was statesmanship with Hardenburg and Stein in Germany cannot be communism with Parnell and Davitt in Connaught. [Cheers.]

Who opposes the landlords? The Land League. [Cheers for the Land League.]

What is its creed? The Land League teaches that God endowed all men with equal rights to the soil; that the land of a country is the property of the whole people of the country, which they alone can alienate, and then only in perpetual trust, always subject to such laws as shall promote, not the selfish interests of a class, but the general prosperity; that the system that breeds, and for centuries has bred, hunger in hovels, wretchedness in rags, indigence and ignorance—empty stomachs and empty heads—to the end that rich brewers may hunt over the sites of ancestral homesteads, and rich brokers\* may mock Heaven by attempting to revive feudalism in

the nineteenth century—that pheasants may fatten and peasants grow gaunt—that the existing system of feudal land tenure in the West of Ireland is in its origin immoral, despotic in its government, and by its influence destructive alike of material prosperity and intellectual development—and that, therefore, having being weighed in the balances of time and found wanting, it shall be thrown down and destroyed utterly and forever. [Cheers.] The triumph of the Land League will be a triumph of civilization over barbarism—a triumph of democracy over feudalism—a triumph of human rights over blood-rusted prerogatives.

Again, men of Galway, it is the old battle with new banners and new war-cries, but waged against the same old foe.

Again, it is the auroral dawn of a civilization of liberty and light that is dispelling the Egyptian darkness of an ancient despotism.

Again, it is the people against the aristocracy.

Again, it is the spirit of St. Patrick, with unlifted hands, invoking the aid of Heaven against the oppressors of God's poor.

Under which banner, men of Galway, will you fight—under the green banner of the Irish saint, or under the black flag of the Irish lord? [Cries of "St. Patrick," and cheers.] "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve," and having chosen, stand firm, listening to the voice of no charmer, charm he ever so wisely; and, ere long, without a crime, but without a doubt, Ireland will be held by her people and tilled for her people, and, once thus held, this prayer-perfumed Isle of Saints, the home and altar of the Virgin Mother of the Nations, who has wept for centuries in grief, but never once blushed in shame, at the slaughter of her first-born, slain for the sweet love of her—this Holy Land of Ireland, for a thousand generations to come, liberated from tyranny and luminous with virtue, will be the chosen heritage and

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\* Many of Mr. Mitchell-Henry's tenants were at this meeting.



perpetual inheritance of the Irish race. [Loud and long-continued cheering.]

"Mr. Redpath," says the *Dublin Nation*, "was serenaded at the resi-

dence of Father Conway in the evening by two bands and a great concourse of people. He made a second speech, which he announced would be his farewell speech in Ireland."

## IX.

### ST. BRIDGET AND BRIDGET.

[This speech, published in the *Boston Pilot*, is preceded by a letter from Mr. Redpath, dated New York, December 3, 1880, in which he writes: "MY DEAR BOYLE O'REILLY: As you have published the speeches that I delivered in Ireland, I send you a speech that I wrote *to be* delivered in America, but which must remain an unspoken speech, because I cannot read it aloud. *You* liked my other speeches, but this is the speech *I* like. I intended to make it in response to the toast of 'St. Bridget and Bridget,' at the little supper you and my other Irish friends promised me at my next visit to Boston. I wrote it one day in Dublin, about three months ago, after I had come back from Mayo, and had again seen the agonies of separation at the railway stations—scenes that nearly drove me wild last winter, and that I can never recall without keen suffering. The thoughts these scenes give rise to I noted down, intending, by and by, to put them into a more perfect form. But I send them as I wrote them, with only two or three slight alterations. I can never deliver the speech, because when I come to tell of the partings I do not see the words I wrote, but the agonies I witnessed, and my heart chokes. If you care to publish it, you can do so and welcome. Ever your friend, JAMES REDPATH."]

THERE was once a saint in Ireland who bore the name of Bridget. From the nature of the discussions, largely carried on by American ladies, that appear from time to time in the Boston dailies, I long ago came to the conclusion that, if a consensus of Yankee opinion could be obtained, it would be found to be a quite common belief in our beloved land that St. Bridget left no successor of her own name.

"One-half of the world does not know how the other half lives." This famous utterance is the dim shadow of a finger-post that shows how far away yet is the good time coming, foreseen by the poets and the prophets. A century often separates our kitchens and our parlors. The struggle that is going on in Europe to-day between the Coming and the Past, between Democracy and Feudalism, is felt, in another form, in almost every wealthy household in America. There, in the Old World, Feudal Oppression still strives to conserve its power to dominate and debase; here, in the New World, the

homes of the nineteenth century are often made unhappy by the mischief that it has already wrought. There, the oppression of the feudal classes has driven millions into hovels so wretched, and has kept them in squalor so foul; it has forced them to lodge in cabins, without other floors than the damp earth, without stoves, without grates, without mirrors, without wash-stands, without wash-tubs, without towels, without sheets, without blankets, often without windows and without chimneys; it has doomed the young Irish peasant girls and Irish peasant mothers, and the gray-haired Irish grandmothers, and even the great-grandmothers, to go for months, and sometimes for years, without shoes and stockings, without decent underclothing, without any single article of feminine adornment or luxury; it has fed them for generations on a diet fit only for the beasts that perish—on potatoes or Indian meal and skim-milk thrice a day, with meat only once or twice a year; it has kept them in compulsory ignorance for so many



centuries past, and up to a period within the memory of men still living, by every device that selfishness could devise and cruelty could enforce, feudal England has so pitilessly suppressed the Irish intellect and oppressed the Irish heart that, when it coronates its crimes by expelling the Irish poor by city-fulls from the land of their birth, her champions have found it easy to convert other nations, and especially our people, to their own infamous creed that the sufferings of the Irish people are the natural result of their own vices and faults of character. England, by her policy in Ireland,—not for this or any one generation only, but for seven red centuries,—has fed and lodged the Irish peasantry as we feed our pigs—although American farmers house their pigs in greater comfort. England has sternly and remorselessly, for seven hundred years, kept the Irish peasantry outside the pale of European civilization, by a wall made of bayonets; and now, when she hurls them by the million into our complex and affluent civilization, when we find their children awkward in the handling of utensils that they had never even heard of at home, careless as to a cleanliness that it was impossible to cultivate in their dark and smoky cabins, and apt—as all newly emancipated people are apt—to forget that discipline is not only not incompatible with social democracy, but essential to an order based on liberty,—England, by her hirelings and parasites, pointing to poor “Patrick’s” and “Bridget’s” short-comings, plays the part of “Dick Deadeye” with the pomp of a “Turveydrop,” and says: “I told you so! I told you so!”

When I was in Ireland I found that whatever the British tourists said about the Irish peasants, as a general rule, was the exact opposite of the truth. When the Southern “Ku-Klux” shouted that the negroes were committing outrages, everybody knew, if he had studied the history of the ten years after Appomattox, that the haters of the blacks had been doing

some mischief, and were trying to conceal it. It is the same in Ireland. The methods and the apologies for tyranny are essentially the same in every country. It is always the rich robber who shouts “Stop thief.” In Ireland, it is the landed class who commit agrarian outrages—who accuse the landless toilers of agrarian outrages. And, in the case of Bridget, it is the class who have kept her in enforced ignorance at home, and in compulsory penury, who should be held responsible for her ignorance of the machinery of opulence in America. She is not to blame, and she ought not to be blamed for it. When our American ladies suffer annoyance at Bridget’s want of skill, they should not be angry at their servant, but at feudal England, for it. And, if they would take the trouble to try and learn from their “Irish servant-girls” the true story of their life at home, they would sometimes make a discovery that would surely astound them—that St. Bridget *had* left successors who bore her name; that many of these Irish servant-girls, who so often “try” American patience by their ignorance, and provoke American petulance by their awkwardness, have braved dangers of the sea and perils of the unknown lands that the Puritan saints have been almost canonized for confronting; and that they have faced and overthrown temptations which Catholic saints *have* been canonized for resisting. They might discover at the same moment that some of the traits that American ladies most strongly condemn in the character of their “hired girls” are neither vices nor faults, but only the reverse sides of the medals of the heart that bear on the other sides the sacred figures of self-sacrifice and filial affection.

New England, on its “Forefathers’ Day,” celebrates the heroism of the Puritans who crossed unknown seas to a land unknown—who faced the known terrors of the ocean and the unknown terrors of the wilderness—







SISTER M. F. CLARE.



"that they might worship God according to the dictates of their conscience." I honor New England for honoring these heroes, and I do not condemn New England for forgetting to remember that these Puritans had their faults; that they, too—these fugitives from religious oppression—became in their turn the oppressors of other men who sought to worship God according to the dictates of *their* consciences. But, if ever the Irish race in America establish a "Foremothers' Day," I shall regard them as cowards if they do not place side by side with the Pilgrim fathers of the seventeenth century the Irish servant-girls of the nineteenth century. Heroism is heroism, whether it sings psalms or says its beads; whether it lands on Plymouth Rock or at Castle Garden; whether the motive that inspires it is love of God or love of man, of Heaven or home.

We have all seen the "Departure of the Pilgrims from Holland." New England genius has drawn aside the thick curtain, woven by the jealous spirit of three centuries to conceal it; and, throwing on that immortal scene the tender lights of poetry and painting, it has exhibited that kneeling group, with bended knees and hands clasped in prayer, as they were ready to embark on a stormy sea for an inhospitable shore.

In the West of Ireland, this very year, I have witnessed many scenes more pathetic and as noble: groups of young Irish maidens clinging to their sobbing mothers, and weeping, and shrieking, and quivering in anguish, and tearing themselves away; and then trying to enter the cars, but instantly rushing back again, and wildly clasping the desolate old women to their bursting hearts once more. Suddenly, the whistle of the engine sounded; and then arose such a chorus of sobs and shrieks and moans; there was such a frantic flinging up of trembling and wrinkled arms to Heaven; there were such tumultuous

outbursts of passionate despair in that ancient tongue that centuries of sorrow have consecrated to the holy sacrament of human suffering, that I have been forced again and again to rush away and hide from the appalling spectacle of hopeless anguish. And yet I was only a looker-on; and yet I knew that these young girls were going from a worse than an Egyptian house of bondage to a better than a Hebrew Land of Promise.

Why did they go? Not to escape religious persecution, nor even to advance their worldly ambition; not from the love of adventure, nor from a hatred of home; for no Irish girl would ever leave her native land if she could live in comfort in it. They went, these young girls, unguarded and untaught in the ways of the world, into the dread unknown of earthly life, most of them never having seen a steamer, nor the sea; some of them without a friend to welcome them on the foreign shores on which they would be landed almost penniless. Why did they go? Often it is to save their aged parents from the terrors of impending eviction—that the white-haired woman who bore them might die in peace beneath the old cabin roof.

The Pilgrims were men of tough fiber, and inured to hardship. They went with their families. They emigrated in colonies. They preferred exile to oppression. They acted from principle. I honor them for it. I recognize their courage. But I honor still more these Irish girls who go alone from the land they love—not at the dictation of the manly intellect, but from the promptings of the womanly heart.

I have heard it said that Bridget, fresh from the bogs of Connemara, is more of a Yankee than the Yankees themselves in driving a sharp bargain for her services. I have always regarded this charge as a compliment to the Irish girl. I have looked on it as an augury of good omen to our re-



public, for it seemed to me to show that she was quick to adapt herself to the spirit of American institutions. It appeared to me a guarantee that her children would be sure to assimilate themselves with American nationality. But in Ireland I discovered the true reason for this promptitude, so to speak, of financial naturalization; that it came not from her intellect, but her memory; because she knew, what the American lady did not know, that the old folks at home were at the mercy of a class without pity, but with despotic power. No American who has ever come in contact with landlord power in Ireland will blame Bridget for her dread of it, even if it is shown, as he may think, at his own expense. Let it teach us that no race can be oppressed anywhere without every race being forced to suffer from it. We are taxed in America to-day by the same class that oppresses the Irish at home. The Irish in America pay the rents of thousands of farms in the West of Ireland. Every dollar that is sent there is abstracted from our national wealth, and hence we Americans have a vital interest in the liberation of Ireland from landlord tyranny. Having driven the old Irish from all the fertile lands of Ireland into the once desolate Connaught, and then driven them by thousands out of Connemara beyond the sea, the landlords still pursue them across the Atlantic, and tax them beneath the "Stars and Stripes." "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and as we are not represented in Parliament we owe it to our great national principle to help to destroy the landlord tyranny of Ireland.

If I did not know that Bridget would forgive me without the asking, I should beg her pardon for keeping her waiting during this political digression, but I know that she hates the Irish landlords with such a hearty Irish ha-

tred that she would be willing to stand for hours and hear them denounced.

There is a class of women in Ireland whose purity of life and self-sacrificing devotion to the poor have evoked the admiration of every honest heart that ever beat in their presence. St. Bridget is their representative in the past, and my saintly friend, the Nun of Kenmare, is their representative to-day. I mean the Irish nuns. Not a Catholic nor Irishman among you honors them more than I do, although I am neither Irishman nor Catholic. Not one of you would more quickly or more indignantly resent any imputation on their saintly fame. Not by the millionth degree of a hair's breadth would I lower the lofty pedestal on which Irish piety and Irish gratitude have placed their images. But I ask you to remember—if there is one among you who needs public recognition as a standard by which you must measure human worthiness—that there is another and a larger class of Irish women, not secluded from the world, and enveloped by reverence and guarded by traditional sanctity, but fighting in the thickest and murkiest smoke of the battle of life,—solitary, often tempted, always poor,—who, in every land and among every class, have done an equal credit to Irish character and to womanly virtue and to their religious faith; I mean the "Irish servant-girls." Now, if I were a Catholic, I should still be a republican, and I should insist, if I were placed where my voice had authority, that there should be a democracy in canonization; that if any one man—St. Anthony, for example—was entitled to have his name enrolled on the list of saints for his resistance to one temptation, then, that Ireland should be known in the calendar of the Church, not as the Island of St. Bridget, but the Island of the saints called Bridget.



## X.

## "PARNELL AND HIS ASSOCIATES."

[Mr. Redpath responded to the toast of "Parnell and his Associates," at the banquet on St. Patrick's Day, 1881, at Brooklyn, N. Y. The report is from the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*.]

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :*

THERE could be no more appropriate day than St. Patrick's Day, save one—the sacred day of the Nativity—on which to send a message of thanks and of cheer to Mr. Parnell and his associates, for they are carrying on the work of St. Patrick in the spirit of St. Patrick, as he carried forward the work of his Master in the spirit of the Master.

What is the Irish struggle? It is not a mere squeaking squabble about rent; it is not a selfish contest for selfish ends between classes or between creeds. It is a noble crusade for human rights; it is a holy war to break the chains of the oppressed, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to uplift the down-trodden people of Ireland. Never in our time has there been a grander fight for a grander cause.

The spirit of the leaders in this war is worthy of its lofty aim. They do not seek to array class against class, or race against race, or religion against religion. They issue no appeals to the baser instincts of men. They make no unrighteous demands. They ask only for justice and for equality of rights.

Their creed is a bouquet gathered from the gardens of modern thought, containing not a single flower that liberty has not planted, and philosophy watered, and the love of mankind wooed into beauty. [Applause.]

It is rarely that any honest American citizen can give an unstinted approval of the principles and the leaders of his party. He often feels forced to make a choice of evils—to strike an average—and to cast his ballots, not from his heart, but from his head.

There is no such necessity in Ireland to-day. The leaders and the principles of the Land League are alike and equally worthy of approval and acceptance. I respond with all my heart to the toast of "Mr. Parnell and his associates." I went to Ireland prejudiced against them, but I soon learned there to honor and admire them. They are the advance-guard of American liberty on its conquering tour around the world. [Applause.] It is idle now to question Mr. Parnell's capacity for such leadership as these times demand—which is not the intellectual autocracy of an O'Connell, but the organizing intuitions of a Lincoln. "New times demand new measures and new men"; and the era of autocrats has vanished, or is rapidly vanishing. The new leaders must be content to organize existing forces, and to obey the will of the people—not to create parties and to command them. That nation is not fit for liberty which depends for victory on any one leader. During our war, general after general failed, and our President was slain, but the republic, although it wept, never faltered for an hour. My hope of Ireland to-day is chiefly founded on the belief that if Mr. Parnell and all of his associates in leadership were to die or to be imprisoned to-night, the Irish nation would arise sadder, but as resolute as now, to renew the fight to-morrow morning. [Applause.] No living man is entitled to the credit of organizing the mighty moral forces of Ireland to-day. The Irish people organized themselves. [Applause.] I had the happiness to be a spectator of their work. For the first time in hundreds of years, from the day of Brian Boroihme, the victor, to the day of

Victoria, the evictor [laughter], the Irish people themselves have come to the front. The Land League is the organization of the Irish Democracy. Yet even in a democracy, although leaders are no longer kings, they can largely influence for a time the progress of the popular aspirations. Mr. Parnell and his associates, thus far, have shown great skill and wisdom and courage. They have not yet made a single mistake. The frantic efforts of the monarchical press to proclaim errors only serve to point out where another saber-thrust has penetrated the royal coat of armor. [Applause.] I have watched every movement in Parliament and in Ireland, and I repeat that the Land League leaders, up to the present hour, have not committed a solitary blunder.

Obstruction has not only delayed the triumph of despotism in Ireland, but it has torn off its mask and drawn out most of its fangs. England to-day stands, not arraigned only, but convicted, of tyranny and hypocrisy. When last the coercion laws were enacted, Irish patriots were swept by thousands into the prisons, if not unwept, unchronicled. To-day they can be counted by units, and the British Government has declared that less than one hundred shall be arrested. Only one of the great Irish leaders has been sacrificed—a man so pure, so noble, so self-sacrificing, so patriotic, that the British Government does not dare to leave him at large—a man who loves Ireland and liberty so fervently that he would kiss the scaffold with more than the rapture of a lover if he thought that by doing so he could marry liberty to Ireland—Michael Davitt. [Enthusiastic cheering.]

Boycotting has brought the land-

lords to bay, almost to reason—the first time that either event has occurred in their history. [Applause.]

I have no time to speak of the more conspicuous leaders associated with Mr. Parnell. It must suffice to say that, knowing them well, I regard them as the most noteworthy and the noblest group of public men on this planet to-day.

But, gentlemen, Mr. Parnell has other associates greater than they. When I think of his associates I see behind him the united Irish nation—the center of his army—of which the right and left wings are the Irish race of two hemispheres, while away at the antipodes there is an Irish reserve, eager, liberal, and alert, ready to sustain him if his main army should waver. England cannot evict a whole nation; England cannot imprison a whole race; England cannot coerce the lovers of liberty among every race, and, therefore, if we shall keep step, refusing to quarrel among ourselves, I believe that we shall all live to see the dawn of liberty in Ireland. [Applause.]

I praise the present leaders of Ireland because they are men of our day, with modern ideas—they look ahead, not behind; they do not waste their lives in eulogizing the old chiefs and kings of Ireland, but in preparing the way for the good time coming, when there shall be neither chiefs nor kings on this earth. The man who follows a ghost lands at last in a graveyard. The Irish leaders of to-day have their faces set toward the Zion of republicanism. They are looking forward, and leading their people to the promised land, foretold by so many Irish poets and prophets—the free republic of Ireland. [Applause.]



## XI.

## WILLIAM BENICE JONES, MARTYR.

["Mr. James Redpath," says the *Boston Globe*, "whose letters from Ireland to the New York *Tribune* during the late famine in that unhappy country were read by so many persons in America, and created such a practical sympathy in behalf of the grief and hunger stricken people of that unfortunate isle, is staying at the Parker House, where he arrived after lecturing in Portland, Maine. In view of the Queen's speech to the British Parliament, and its references to Irish affairs, and also in view of several newspaper articles which have recently appeared in this city on the Irish question, the *Globe* desired to lay before its readers some accurate information upon this important subject. Not knowing any person more competent to speak upon it with authority and without prejudice, both from personal observation and from extensive reading,—as all who heard that gentleman's recent lecture in Music Hall in defense of the Irish Land League will admit,—a representative of the *Globe* called upon Mr. Redpath yesterday, and found him conversing upon Irish affairs with the genial editor of the *Boston Pilot*, John Boyle O'Reilly. Receiving a cordial greeting from the host, the reporter explained the object of his call, when the following interesting conversation ensued:"]

REPORTER.—"Mr. Redpath, what do you think of the Queen's speech?"

MR. REDPATH.—"Well, it shows that although his intentions toward Ireland may be as good as any of the good intentions with which Hell is said to be paved, yet Mr. Gladstone thoroughly misconceives the situation in Ireland, and is incapable of conferring on it any lasting benefit. For example: She, that is, he, says that the act of 1870 has conferred great benefits on Ireland, or words to that effect. I quote from memory. Now, the truth is that the law of 1870, which was honestly intended by its author, Gladstone, and its improver, John Bright, to benefit the tenants outside of Ulster, was of no service whatever to them. The reason for this is, that in the West of Ireland the people were too poor to fight before the landlord courts for the rights it conferred on them, while in the east of the island the great landlords, following the Duke of Leinster's example, compelled their tenants to take leases in which they were forced to waive their rights under that act."

REP.—"Was that custom really general?"

J. R.—"Yes, it was almost universal. Take, for example, the case of William Bence Jones, on whom two Boston journals have had editorials within a

week. He never granted a lease until 1870; but since that time he has insisted that those tenants who had largely improved their farms should take leases for thirty-one years. The reason why he granted leases on those terms was that his rents were excessively high, and therefore he could easily evict his tenants if a bad season came. By eviction for non-payment of rent, he confiscated all the tenant's improvements, and was not liable under the Gladstone act for any compensation to be paid the tenant. In this way, 'he unjustly contrived,' to use the language of Father O'Leary, a priest in one of the parishes in which Jones's estates are located, 'to make the act of 1870 a dead letter.'"

REP.—"You say that Mr. Jones compelled his tenants to take out leases for a term of thirty-one years. Am I to understand you to mean that the Gladstone act of 1870 only applied to leases drawn for certain periods, and not to those drawn for other periods, as, for instance, the leases drawn for thirty-one years?"

J. R.—"No. It was intended to extend a fraction of the Ulster custom over the Catholic counties of Ireland. It provided that if a tenant was capriciously evicted by his landlord, that the landlord should pay him seven years' rent; that is to say, if the rent



was £10 per annum, the tenant should receive £70, with a reasonable compensation for improvements made within twenty-one years, and that he should also be recompensed for unexhausted manures; but if he was evicted for non-payment of rent, he got no compensation whatever. Under the Ulster custom a tenant gets compensation under any circumstances, and for improvements made both by himself and predecessors, and he could not be evicted at all as long as he paid his rent. Now, by these leases, the wealthy tenants waived their rights under that law, and, therefore, Jones and the others insisted upon their tenants, to whom formerly they would give no leases, taking them out."

REP.—"Mr. Jones seems to be praised as a model landlord, and the *Herald* says that 'he is beyond question one of the ablest and most authoritative exponents of the views of his class, and that his opinion on agrarian issues carries whatever weight should be granted to an experience of forty years both as a land-owner and as a farmer in Ireland.'"

J. R.—"For more than thirty years Mr. Jones has maintained the reputation in the County Cork of being one of the worst landlords in the South of Ireland. It was said of him that he had raised rack-renting to the level of a science. More than twenty years ago, his life was threatened, and he would have been killed but for the interference of the parish priest. Mr. Jones, in his essays, speaks about his own farm and how much money he has spent on it. He forgot to mention, doubtless in the haste of composition, that his own thousand acres were made into one farm by evicting, without compensation, scores of families whose children are now in exile. His tenants pay the highest rents of any in the County Cork, and, I have heard it said by responsible men, the highest in the South of Ireland. He says in his article in *Macmillan*, 'I never raised any man's rent except at long intervals, or thirty-one years, or his life.' Note that

phrase—'or his life.' Whenever one of his tenants dies, his successor, son, wife, or brother must pay an increase of rent, sometimes to the extent of nearly one hundred per cent. Take two or three examples: When Michael White of Cloheen died, a few years ago, Jones raised the rent on White's widow from £50 to £80. When Patrick Hayes died, Jones raised the rent on the farm from twenty-five shillings to £2 an acre, and compelled the new tenant, under threat of eviction, to take a lease of twenty-one years, which confiscated the improvements that his father had made, although those improvements included a dwelling-house and out-buildings costing fifteen hundred dollars. Only two or three months ago, when a widow named Walsh died, he caused her son to consent to an increase of £15 per annum. Some of his farms were held at such high rates that one after another tenant was ruined. As an illustration, take the Dempsey farm. The Government valuation was ten shillings per acre. Remember that was estimated on the farm as it had been improved by the tenant. Remember that when a tenant in Ireland pays 'Griffith's [that is the Government] valuation,' he is paying a tax on his own industry, improvements, and capital—because the tenant has reclaimed the land at his own sole expense from barren bog or sterile hill-slopes, and 'Griffith's valuation' was based in every case, not on the land as the tenant received it from the landlord, but as the assessor found it when improved at the tenant's cost. Griffith's valuation is a Shylock rental, and yet last winter every landlord who *only* charged fifty per cent. over Griffith's valuation was regarded by his impoverished tenants as a good landlord! On Dempsey's death Jones raised the rent to £2 per acre, and now it is vacant and growing weeds. Three different tenants were ruined by it. Why, a gentleman of Cork recently told a priest, a friend of mine, that he had asked one of Mr. Jones's tenants the



name of his landlord, and the peasant replied, 'Un Diabhoil'—a devil. As to the *Herald's* statement that Mr. Jones is an authority, the *Herald*, among the rest of its vast and varied misinformation on Irish affairs, does not seem to know that the most eminent solicitor in the County Cork, Mr. Wright, in open court more than once, to the entire satisfaction of the magistrates, denounced William Bence Jones as a liar. Jones has always been thoroughly unpopular, not only with the peasantry but with the magistrates also. He has taken so much pleasure in denouncing the Irish people that, when he was asked to subscribe toward the erection of a Protestant cathedral in Cork, he promised a subscription of £500, on the condition that "no Irish architect should be employed." Every magistrate in that district, Catholic and Protestant, denounces him as a dogmatic, insolent snob. A correspondent of the London *Standard*, a Tory paper, who went down to Cork to defend Jones, wrote: 'In Cork I have met, at different times, at least half a dozen magistrates, of Protestant and Catholic, Conservative and Liberal views, who are in accord as to one point only, viz., that Mr. Bence Jones, because of certain peremptory behavior, intentional or constitutional, as the case may be, is not beloved by them.' This is a very mild way of stating that he is universally execrated by the gentry as well as by the common people of Cork. Jones says that, under his administration, whenever there were no leases the rents were considerably raised. 'I was under no engagement, expressed or implied, with these tenants, and therefore felt at liberty to make my own terms with them. I accordingly let them the land at the highest rent it was in my opinion worth to them. This was very often a very considerable advance on the former rent, but it was still less than in my judgment the land was intrinsically worth.' That is cool, but he was still more frank in his conversations in Ireland. He said to a well-

known Protestant clergyman in County Cork: 'I can deal with my farms as with any other chattels.' This remark was made in a conversation about the farm held by Edward Lucy in Castle Liskey, County Cork. This farm fell into Jones's possession, and the first thing he did was to demand an increase in the rent of six shillings per acre, and to tell the old man, Edward Lucy, who had lived all his life on that farm, that he would add at least another six shillings per acre. What was the result of this action of Jones? It is pathetically told in a few simple words by Father O'Leary: 'Lucy gave up the farm and died of a broken heart.' Not only as a landlord but as a magistrate also, Mr. Jones has made himself excessively unpopular by his harsh and despotic decisions. Instances are given in which his arbitrary and excessive findings were appealed from and overruled. Last winter, he made himself especially obnoxious by first denying in England that there was any distress in the district, and by seeking, on his return home, 'to put a stop to the relief works which had kept many families in the town from either dying of starvation or being thrown on the rates.' This is the expression of a resident of the district. He himself did not contribute one shilling to the relief fund."

REP.—"Why should a landlord do those things?"

J. R.—"Lord Lansdowne's agent, Mr. Trench, did precisely the same thing. The landlords do those things because they want to drive out large numbers of poor tenants and confiscate their improvements without compensation, and add them to their grazing farms. This Jones is the sort of man who is held up as a model landlord. Now, the *Journal* states, if I remember correctly, that this man's life was threatened, and that a grave was dug opposite his door, and at the close of its article that paper charges those threats and outrages on the leaders of the Land League. The *Journal* seems not to have known a meeting of the



Land League was promptly called and that it publicly denounced a threatening letter, or notice, which had been served on Jones. The *Journal* also charges on the leaders of the Land League the maiming of cattle and other agrarian outrages. Why, Mr. Parnell is just as incapable of giving any such advice, direct or indirect, as Mr. Stockwell himself. Mr. Dillon is a man as sensitive and refined as the editor of the *Advertiser*, and Davitt is quite as incapable of any such action as Mr. Haskell of the *Herald*. The truth is that not a solitary outrage has occurred in Ireland, except where the Land League was weak."

REP.—"I see, Mr. Redpath, that the *Journal* last week said: 'Mr. Smalley, of the New York *Tribune*,' for which you wrote so many interesting letters on this Land question, 'a correspondent of exceptional information, declares that since the beginning of the disturbance no week has witnessed greater political excitement or more flagrant instances of lawlessness than the week before last.'"

J. R.—"No man who knows Mr. Smalley would doubt any statement made on his personal authority, but, instead of being in a position where he can procure 'exceptional information,' he is in precisely the worst place in Europe to learn the truth about Ireland—London. I know myself, of my own knowledge, that some of the statements telegraphed to the New York *Tribune* by Mr. Smalley when I was in Ireland were false. He simply took his 'exceptional information' from the London press, and nine out of every ten of their accounts of outrages in Ireland were utterly untrue."

REP.—"Mr. Redpath, it has been reported that the Fenians are joining the Land League in great numbers. What do you think of those rumors?"

J. R.—"I think it is quite likely that they are correct. The Fenians, or Nationalists, frequently belong, as individuals, to the Land League, al-

though some of the old leaders are what we call 'sore-heads.' The young men of Ireland, as a class, believe not only in peasant proprietorship, but in independence, and they are only working for the Land League with the hope that it will prove a sort of base of supplies. They not only are not hostile to it, but they are coöperating with it heartily. But they do not mean to be satisfied with its triumphs when they come, as come they will. They will be accepted only as a part of what justice to Ireland demands."

REP.—"The *Journal*, in one of its articles on this movement, says that 'the Land League leaders have disclaimed the intention of precipitating a collision, and admit that the people are not prepared for such a movement; and yet, with a fatuity which is incomprehensible, they have persisted in a course which promises to bring upon Ireland the curse of an unorganized and abortive revolt.' What do you say about those statements?"

J. R.—"I say that that statement is untrue. The Land League leaders have held the people in check. They have permitted no outbreak, and each and every statement that there was an outbreak, and every prediction that there would be one, came from the hopes of the English press, and not from the intentions of the Land League leaders."

REP.—"But, after all, Mr. Redpath, would it not be better, as a practical measure, for the leaders of the Land League to accept a modified system of reform, such as Gladstone and Bright propose?"

J. R.—"No, it would not. The radical wrong of Irish landlordism—a wrong that cannot be overcome by any compromise—lies in the facts that the landlords are absentees; that whether they get rack-rents or more reasonable rents, the money is always drained out of the country, and that the machinery for the enforcement of those laws is in the hands of the landlords. It is not a



question of whether rack-rents or moderate rents shall continue. The question is: Shall Ireland bleed at every pore or only at half of them, or not be bled at all? English legislation is always

founded on a firm faith in phlebotomy. Now Ireland can never prosper until this wound is stopped—until absentee landlordism abdicates in favor of peasant proprietorship."

## XII.

### IRISH CRIMES AND OUTRAGES.

[From an interview published in the *Chicago Tribune* of February 7, 1881, the subjoined passages on Irish outrages are quoted. "In the course of the conversation," says the *Tribune*, "the reporter asked for Mr. Redpath's opinion as to the probable effect of Michael Davitt's arrest and the suspension of the Irish Obstructionists. Mr. Redpath said:"]

THE arrest of Mr. Davitt, I think, will result in a solid Ireland. It will drive thousands of the Protestant farmers of Ulster into the Land League. Of late the Land League has been making rapid progress in Ulster, because the farmers find that they have no adequate protection under the Ulster custom against a constant increase of rent, and they have come to see that their only security lies in a peasant proprietary. They have enjoyed, many of them for over two hundred years, greater rights than Gladstone proposes to extend to the rest of Ireland, and yet they find these rights powerless to protect them against the exactions of the landlords.

REPORTER.—"Is Davitt still as popular as ever?"

MR. REDPATH.—"He has a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than any man in Ireland. His arrest will produce a belligerent animosity against the Gladstone Government, because everybody in Ireland knows that, while Mr. Davitt has maintained the right of free speech, he has never uttered a word urging violence. On the contrary, he has done more to restrain the people from committing violence than all the British troops and constabulary put together. He is the idol of the peasantry. But, even if the British Government should arrest every leader, the movement would go on, because the rising

generation in Ireland are as well educated as the people of Illinois. The national schools there are quite as good as our public schools, and the people are all republicans. This is emphatically a people's movement. It is not the result of agitation by the leaders. This is shown by the fact that the Land League made its most rapid strides while Davitt, Parnell, and Dillon were not directing its movements,—while some of them were in America and others in London."

REP.—"What is your view as to the obstructive tactics adopted by Parnell and his associates in Parliament, which resulted in their suspension?"

J. R.—"The Speaker himself, I was told, has often expressed the opinion that Parnell is one of the ablest Parliamentarians in the House of Commons, and it is certain that he has never been at fault in his motions and objections: This is an English opinion of Parnell, you understand. His action was simply what is known among us as 'filibustering.' By this system of obstruction, the Irish members compelled all Europe to listen to the story of their wrongs, instead of submitting, as they had done before, to be voted down with the silent insolence of a sneering majority of English members. It was a masterly system of advertising the wrongs of Ireland."

REP.—"Have you seen the state-



ment made in the correspondence of one of the Chicago papers relative to the alleged increase of outrages in Ireland of late years?"

J. R.—“Yes; and I have carefully analyzed it. The best answer to it is a telegraphic dispatch by the London correspondent of the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, published in November last. I sometimes read it at my lectures. Here it is: ‘The outcry against crime in Ireland ought to be pretty considerably checked by the results of a return just issued. The proportion of the criminal classes, in and out of prison, taken together, is about half as large in Ireland as in England and Scotland. The proportion of convicts is considerably below one-half, and persons in places of punishment not more than one-half. As regards peculiar classes of crime, I find that, under the heads of offenses against property with violence, Scotland is about six times, and England and Wales about two and one-half times, as criminal as Ireland; and that, under the head of ‘offenses against morality,’ the proportion is as twelve to five against Scotland. Yet *they* tell *us* that we are the most criminal race on the face of the globe!’ This is the answer furnished by the British Government itself to its slanders on the Irish people—slanders now translated into coercion acts.

“Now, as regards the Government report, published in the Chicago paper, official comparative statistics—also gathered and published by the British Government—show that in 1845 there were 2,477 more outrages than were reported last year; that in 1846, 12,374 crimes were committed, as against 5,609 crimes last year; that in 1847 there were four times as many outrages—that is, nearly 21,000—recorded against the Irish people as there were last year; that the crimes committed were, in 1848, 18,080; in 1849, 14,908; in 1850, 10,039; in 1851, 9,144; and in 1852, 7,824. So you see that, according to British official returns, the crime reported in Ireland is far below

what it used to be, although the papers report in general terms more crimes last year than were ever known before, and they attribute these crimes to the influence of the Land League. Thirty-five years ago, when these returns began, there were 21,000 crimes committed. Last year there were about one-fourth of that number.

“That is the final answer furnished by the British Government to its own impeachment of the Land League.”

REP.—“Are these crimes specially attributable to the land agitation?”

J. R.—“If you will analyze the report of the crimes of last year, you will find that one-half of the cases of outrage reported in Ulster are threatening letters, in the proportion of seventy-seven to one hundred and forty-nine; and that the next highest item in the catalogue is published under the marvelous heading of ‘otherwise.’ Now, it is notorious to every one who has studied modern Irish history, and it has been proved again and again, that the most of these threatening letters are written by land-agents and bailiffs, in order to keep the landlords out of the country, so that they may have a better chance to steal from the tenants. There is no pretense that these threatening letters were written by the Land League.

“Take the next province. The number of outrages reported is two hundred and twenty-eight, and of these one hundred and fifty-one were threatening letters. So much for Leinster.

“Take Munster next. There six hundred and forty-three outrages were reported, and of these, three hundred and fifty-six were threatening letters.

“In Connaught, under the head of ‘letters and otherwise,’ there are three hundred and fifty-seven outrages out of six hundred and ninety-eight reported.

“This is the best showing that the British Government has ever been able to make. The authorities for these reports of outrages are the magistrates, and the magistracy of



Ireland, from Lord Chief Justice May down to the lowest stipendiary magistrate, are all landlords and their partisans. The English-Irish bench is the most corrupt judiciary in Europe. Even the moderate *Freeman's Journal*, which was hostile to Parnell while he was in America, and which is owned by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, says that whatever little confidence the people of Ireland might have had in the magistracy of the country as a body, is being rapidly undermined by the course which members of that institution are now taking by giving exaggerated ideas as to the condition of their localities.

"Take the County Cavan, for example. The statements of the magistracy there are emphatically denied by the town commissioners, and by leading citizens who are not members of the Land League. The bishop of the diocese publicly challenged Mr. Forster to name the localities in which outrages had occurred. All unite in saying that the county was enjoying absolute peace. My experience of last summer convinced me that there were fewer crimes in Ireland than among any similar population in Europe. That correspondent who sends these stories to the Chicago paper is an ultra-Orangeman. That is to say, he is a religious Ku-klux, and his statements about Irish outrages are about as reliable as those of a Cyclops of the Ku-klux Klan would be in relation to outrages by negroes in our own South."

REP.—"Yet the London papers often report outrages."

J. R.—"Yes, and never correct them. Here is a specimen of their lies about Ireland, a paragraph from a recent number of the Dublin *Nation* :

"We have this week a fresh crop of bogus agrarian outrages exposed in a manner which the landlord party will, no doubt, think extremely inconsiderate. Thus, a Parsonstown correspondent telegraphed some days since that a Galway landlord, named Gardiner, had been tarred and feathered by a body of masked men in his own

house. It was a capital story from the coercionist point of view, but Mr. Gardiner has stupidly spoiled the effect of it by asserting that it does not contain a word of truth! Another Galway landlord, Mr. Edward Kennedy, Abbey Lodge, Loughrea, was said to have been fired at as he was walking in his garden. Another good story: but then Mr. Kennedy, following the example of Mr. Gardiner, contradicts it. He even adds that he had no difference with his tenantry, and that he is himself a member of the Land League! Again, on Saturday last it was reported that "a bailiff, named John McManus, on Lord Greville's property, near Drumshambo," had been fired at; but Mr. Philip O'Reilly, agent to Lord Greville, writes from Colamber, Rathowen, Westmeath, that that nobleman has no property near Drumshambo, and no bailiff of the name of McManus in his employment! One more: The *Freeman* of Tuesday announces with reference to an alleged slitting of a man's ears at Doon, County Clare, because he paid his rent, that it is enabled authoritatively to say that the outrage never took place. Now, this is too bad. Contradicting "outrage" stories may serve the cause of the tenantry and their friends, but how is it likely to serve that of the landlords? There is, however, one consolation left for the lords. The English public, for whom chiefly the manufactured outrages are prepared, are not allowed to hear of the exposures. The English newspapers, so far as we can find out, have not dared to "spoil trade" by correcting any one of the four falsehoods to which we have referred!"

REP.—"Then there are few agrarian outrages in Ireland?"

J. R.—"No, sir; there are many agrarian outrages in Ireland. Let me give you a specimen of the real agrarian outrages, as reported in a late letter from Michael Davitt, just before he was flung into jail. He writes:

"The following particulars of the



estate of Ballinamore, County Mayo, the property of Mr. Anthony Ormsby, which were published by the League yesterday, will show what an industrious people have to bear under this infamous system of landlordism, and explain the determined stand which they are now taking against its acts and supporters: In seventy-three holdings upon this estate (numbering five hundred and four persons) the Government valuation is £595 19s., while the present rent is £924 5s., or close upon *double* the rent which should be legally exacted. *Almost the entire of these lands consist of mountain slopes, and were all reclaimed by the tenants without any aid from the landlord!* They are also compelled to do duty-work—that is, employ their families and horses for a certain number of days per annum in gratuitous labor for the landlord. Tenants must obtain consent from him ere any of their children are married, under penalty of a fine being added to the rent. J. Casey was fined ten shillings for a stone on the top of a gate not being whitewashed to the landlord's liking. John Ruane was compelled to remove from where he lived and to build a new house on some waste land in order to have it reclaimed. When the house was finished, the landlord made him pull it down again and erect it *ten yards farther away*. When the land was reclaimed Ruane was again removed higher up the mountain, where he shortly afterward died. Pat Walsh, a mason, worked at a building for thirty-five days, but would only be paid for twenty, and upon protesting against this treatment, Mr. Ormsby made him throw down the wall, and then evicted him from his holding without compensation. Thomas Cavanagh was compelled to throw down his cabin and build a new one. After a few years' time he was forced to change to a bog, where he had to build again. When the bog was reclaimed he was changed again, and, upon remonstrating against a *fourth* removal, he was evicted without compensation, and had to

enter the work-house, where himself and wife soon after died. Other instances of similar treatment were also given and published, the truth of which I can vouch for, as I have had the same statements repeated to me on my visit to that part of the West of Ireland during the recent famine.'

"I discovered many similar outrages in the West of Ireland—quite as bad as the cases reported by Mr. Davitt. The London press rarely tell the truth about Ireland. I never read but one true statement about Ireland in the *London Times*—in the number for March 12, 1847. It was exasperated because the Irish famine was taxing the English exchequer, and it rose for a moment to the level of truth. It said:

"Ireland, then, is at the same time rich and poor. It produces a vast superabundance of food, but that food is drained from its shores. It is not, however, drained by the state. It is drained in a great measure by the landlords and their creditors, who, the more they get, the more they will drain. Now what does mercy to Ireland require under these circumstances? Is it mercy to let the landlords go on, drain, drain, drain, forever? Is it mercy to let him go on squeezing the hapless peasant down to the skin of his potato? Is it of any use—has it been of any use—to remit rates and taxes and lend money to the landlords? No! the only mercy is to keep in the island and upon the spot the gracious gifts of Providence and rewards of human toil, and to compel the land-owner to spend them in the employment of the laborer and the relief of the poor.'

"That is sound sense. But there is only one way to carry out that policy—by abolishing Irish landlordism; by making every farmer the owner of the soil he tills; and yet, because Davitt and Parnell and his associates advocated that wise measure of statesmanship, the *London Times* howled until Davitt was imprisoned, and Parnell and his associates brought into court, and the coercion law enacted!"



## XIII.

## AN EXILE OF ERIN.

[There will be few names more famous in the history of Ireland in 1880 than the name of "Capt." Boycott, a land-agent of the County Mayo, against whom the terrible power of ostracism, or social excommunication, was evoked by the peasantry whom he had pitilessly oppressed. "Capt." Boycott, as he called himself, landed in New-York in April, 1881. He was interviewed by the reporters of the New-York *Sun*, New-York *Herald*, and New-York *Tribune*. Mr. Redpath was interviewed about these Boycott interviews by the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, and from that journal of April 14 the subjoined report is taken. It is somewhat elaborated by extracts from Mr. Redpath's lecture on "What I know about Boycotting."]

MR. JAMES REDPATH, the well-known correspondent in Ireland of *The Inter-Ocean*, being temporarily in the city, the opportunity was seized to interview him on the subject of the recent interviews with Captain Boycott, published in the New-York papers, but more particularly in reference to one which appeared in the New-York *Herald*. The result of the interview with Mr. Redpath will be seen in the following report, which cannot fail to be interesting, both on account of the subject and of the person who granted the interview :

REPORTER.—"Mr. Redpath, have you seen the interviews with Captain Boycott, published in the New-York papers?"

MR. REDPATH.—"Yes, I have read the reports in the *Sun*, *Tribune*, and *Herald*."

REP.—"Have you any objection to making comments upon them?"

J. R.—"No. To begin with, the *Tribune* reports Captain Boycott as saying 'the Irish people had been spoiled by being humored. They declared that they were determined to get rid of the landlords, but had no idea what they would then do with the land.'

"My answer to that is, that the Irish people have been humored for seven hundred years by being compelled to submit to the most oppressive laws that any civilized people ever endured without rebellion, and that there is not in all Europe a system of land tenure so degrading to the people as the

land tenure of Ireland, for which England is responsible. The Irish people are determined to get rid of the landlords, but they *have* a clear idea of what they will then do with the land. *They will cultivate it!* Captain Boycott says that the Land League would ruin the people. Now, no popular movement in Ireland has ever done so much before, as has been done by the Land League in two years, to raise the character and relieve the sufferings of the Irish people."

REP.—"As, for example?"

J. R.—"By saving thousands of the Irish people from death by hunger and fevers brought on by hunger. John Mitchell shows that one million and a half of the Irish people perished from hunger, or by the famine fever that was brought on by hunger, from 1847 to 1852. *Then*, in spite of repeated warnings and prayers from every part of Ireland, the British Government did not move until it was too late. Three millions of the Irish people were driven into their graves or out of Ireland, in consequence of that appalling apathy; and in England, when one man, listening to a speech by Disraeli, proposed three cheers for the Irish famine, that Jewish miscreant said, 'There are worse things than the Irish famine.' Its horrors were welcomed by many Tories as a Providential solution of the Irish question. There were hundreds of parishes in the West of Ireland last year where, if no relief had come, and constant relief had not been given, nearly the whole population would have been



swept away. Before Mr. Parnell sailed for America, the English and Irish landlord press and every organ of the British Government, including Mr. Lowther, the Home Secretary for Ireland, denied that there was any famine. Famine would have driven the Irish, by hundreds of thousands, into exile, and thereby carried out the English policy in Ireland for two centuries. When Parnell sailed, the British Government saw that it would be disgraced by any further inaction, and so the Duchess of Marlborough issued an appeal for help. Then the Mansion House, offended at the action of the Castle in undertaking a work of charity that precedent had always confided to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, issued another appeal; and the New-York *Herald*, to conciliate the Irish-Americans whom its assaults on Mr. Parnell had alienated, issued an independent American call for aid. Money poured in from every civilized nation, and there were not more than a dozen deaths from hunger in all Ireland. But I hold that the Land League is entitled to the credit of all the relief, from whatever source it came and through whatever agency it was disbursed; because, but for its action, no relief would have reached the starving peasantry in time to save them. That's the first great service rendered to the Irish people by the Land League.

"The second service is, by so uniting the Irish tenantry that landlord outrages have been rendered equally difficult and odious—such outrages as exacting rack-rents after two years of bad crops and one year of famine, and then, on the failure of the poor people to pay them, throwing them into the road-side to die, as the landlords did after the great famine of 1847. The more impecunious landlords have been forced to reduce their Shylock rentals, in many cases down to Griffith's valuation. The amount of money thus saved to the tenantry is vastly larger than the amount contributed by all the world for the relief of the Irish peasantry last year. I have seen this

sum estimated at fifteen millions of dollars, but I do not know whether this sum is correct, from any personal study. It is certain that it is quite large.

"The third service that the Land League rendered the Irish people was in preventing an insurrection or widespread agrarian homicides. The Irish peasantry in 1847, believing that Providence sent the famine, lay down and died without a murmur. But the young generation in Ireland are better educated than their forefathers, and the belief is general that it was the landlords and not Providence who blighted the potatoes. And they are right. For, while under any system of land-tenure there would be occasional bad seasons, the inevitable result, in every climate and in every soil, of planting the same crop year in and year out in the same field is the final ruin of the crop. Now why do the peasantry plant potatoes only on their little holdings? Because, after the great famine, the people were driven out of the good lands that they had reclaimed at their own expense and by their own labor, and those who did not die or emigrate were driven to little patches on the edges of bogs or on the sterile slopes of mountains—holdings so small that the poor people could *not* rotate their crops. So, blight became inevitable. But even the peasantry who never thought of this cause of blight, knowing that they could not pay their rack-rents from extreme poverty, but would gladly have done so if they were able, were determined not to be murdered or banished for it even under the pretext of the 'enforcement of the rights of property.' They believe that peasants have rights as well as landlords, and that the men through whose unaided toil the bogs and hill-sides of the West of Ireland were made arable have in justice and in law the first equitable title for support from the soil. This is not a 'communistic' doctrine. Gladstone himself has taught it, and John Stuart Mill, and John Bright.



So, if, last spring, the landlords had enforced their Shylock 'rights,' they and their agents would have been killed by hundreds from Donegal to Cork. The Land League taught them a better way, and where fifty thousand British soldiers and Irish constables were unavailing to keep the peace, the leaders of the Land League preserved order in Ireland.

"If the leaders of the Land League had accomplished nothing more than these three reforms, its leaders would have been entitled to rank side by side in the Pantheon of Irish Gratitude with the greatest Irishman, in my opinion, who ever lived—Daniel O'Connell.

"Here is a report of a passage in my lecture that gives another reason for my admiration of the action of the Land League :

"You know that, in Ireland, whenever a Cork man and a Kerry man meet, they quarrel, and sometimes fight. [Laughter.] I heard of a dispute between a Cork man and a Kerry man, when I was in Ireland, that illustrates their traditional antagonisms. The Kerry man advanced a theory which the Cork man repelled by saying that it was contrary to the principles of human nature. The Kerry man wasn't going to be bluffed in that style by a Cork man, and so he said :

"Human natur'! Human natur'—human natur's a damned scoundrel, anyhow.' [Laughter.]

"Now, I don't believe in that theory; I think human nature is a pretty good fellow ; at any rate it isn't in my nature to disparage human nature—but, ladies and gentlemen, when I visited the wretched hovels of the West of Ireland last winter, and saw the broken-hearted women and broken-spirited men there,—for the poor people not only did not know where the money was to come from to feed their children till the spring, but they expected to be driven out of their homes into the poor-house when the spring came,—after I had learned how pitiless the landlords were, and how helpless the tenantry, I went

back to Dublin and said to Michael Davitt:

"I'm afraid it is too late to save your people ; the hunger has crushed their souls, and I believe nothing will restore their manhood except emigration to a land where they will have equal rights.'

"Michael Davitt told me to wait and see.

"I did wait, and I did see. On my second visit to Ireland, I visited the same baronies, the same parishes, the same counties that I had visited last winter, and lo ! there, where I had left a class of cowering serfs, I found a race of resolute freemen ! [Cheers.] That resurrection of the manhood of Ireland is the beneficent work of the Irish National Land League. [Cheers.]"

REP.—"In an interview with the *Sun*, Captain Boycott says that he has never had any personal trouble with his neighbors and tenants, and that the charges circulated against him were an after-thought, and that the Earl of Erne, his landlord, refused to believe them and has declined to remove him from the agency."

J. R.—"That's true. The boot was on the other leg then. The first account of Boycott ever written was my letter to the *Inter-Ocean*, dated October 12, 1880. You had better quote a part of it :

"My last letter ended with the story of a "farmer" who was "terrorized" into paying sixty cents a day to men for harvesting, and thirty-two cents to women. Mr. Bennett, the well-disposed correspondent of the *London Telegraph*, from whom I quoted, showed that he regarded the conduct of the peasantry as an interference with "the rights of property." But who was this "peaceful farmer?" Boycott—one of the most merciless miscreants in the County Mayo—a man who never hesitated to fling families out of their little farms into the poor-house if, from any cause, they failed to pay their rents—even although they had themselves re-



claimed the land from absolute sterility, and drained it, and fenced it, and built the houses on it. He held a rod of iron over his tenants always. They were his serfs—not as “a figure of speech in Parliament,” but as a fact of life in Ireland. If they refused to obey his behests he had the power to ruin them, and he did not falter in using his power.’

“Captain Boycott came into that country seventeen years ago, but had not lived there five years before he had won the reputation of being the worst land-agent in the County Mayo. He raised the rents of the poor tenants, in many cases, to double Griffith’s valuation, and when a tenant in Ireland pays ‘only’ Griffith’s valuation he pays a rent not merely on the land as the landlord gave it to him, but also on the houses, fences, offices, and reclamations that he himself has created.

“In addition to charging exorbitant rents, Captain Boycott compelled the tenants of the landlords for whom he was agent to work for him on his own farm at his own terms, and he paid men one shilling and sixpence (about thirty-six cents), and women a shilling (about twenty-four cents) a day. Eighteen pence a day is about two and a quarter dollars per week. But he always managed to fine men for violating the rules of the estate, so that they never actually receive more than a dollar and seventy-five cents a week, on which they are expected to support a large family and ‘find themselves.’

“These ‘rules of the estate’ are a code of laws made by the landlords themselves, for the violation of which they inflict fines at their own pleasure. For example, Captain Boycott would fine a man sixpence—one-third of his day’s wages—for coming five minutes late in the morning; sixpence for walking on the grass instead of on the gravel; sixpence for putting a wheelbarrow out of its place. He had so many of these arbitrary rules that it was utterly impossible for any tenant to work a week

without violating two or three of them.

“Captain Boycott was one of the most brutal and foul-mouthed ruffians in the West of Ireland. He never addressed a poor man without an oath—without calling him a d——d Mick. Captain Boycott himself is an Englishman. He never met one of his tenants without compelling him to stand with his hat in his hand if he passed him on the road-side, and as long as he talked with him, even if it was raining. This has been the custom for generations in the West of Ireland; but the Land League has abolished that degrading habit. If a poor man went to his office he compelled him to stand as far off as the room would admit of. He was an Irish Legree, without the lash, but with the equally terrible power of eviction, which Gladstone in Parliament pronounced to be equivalent to a sentence of starvation in the West of Ireland.

“The land agitation suddenly aroused the tenantry to a sense of their power, which they could wield without violating any law, if they would combine and act as one man. The first use of this power against Boycott was made when he sent last summer for the tenantry of the estates for which he was agent, to cut the oats on his own farm. He expected them to work, the men for thirty-two cents a day (and feed themselves), and the women for twenty-four cents a day. They asked respectfully that he should pay the ordinary harvest wages—2s. 6d. for men and 1s. 6d. for women. He refused with the most brutal insolence to make this reasonable advance. The whole neighborhood declined to work for him. The willful old fellow swore that he would not be dictated to—he who had always dictated to them. So he and his nephews and nieces and three servant-girls and herdsman and car-driver went down to the fields and began to reap and bind. He held out three hours, but could not stand it. He was heard to curse Father John O’Malley as the cause of the ‘insubordination’ of the peasantry, and to



say that although 'they had got him now he would be even with them soon.' Mrs. Boycott went from cabin to cabin that night to coax the people to come and work for her husband at their own very moderate terms. They came. Mind, these laborers work from ten to twelve hours a day, and yet this strike to get sixty cents instead of thirty-two cents a day—a demand to be paid only five cents an hour—was heralded even by an honest English journalist as an unwarrantable interference with the relations of employer and employed, and by others as one of the lawless and treasonable actions of the Land League! The New-York papers speak of Boycott as a 'pleasant-spoken man'; but in the County Mayo he is known as a bully.

"When November came he sent for the tenants. His day of vengeance had dawned—he thought so; but it proved to be his day of doom. The tenants asked a moderate reduction of rents. He refused to abate the Shylock rents one farthing; although nearly all the tenants of the Earl of Erne had been supported for months by foreign charity and although the Earl himself had not given a shilling for their relief. The Earl is an old man,—it is said in his dotage,—who lives in the County Fermanagh."

REP.—"Could the tenants have paid their rent?"

J. R.—"Some of them could have paid it, but if they had done so they would have been at the mercy of the shop-keepers and the gombeen men. Remember, 1879-'80 was the third bad season. During the first two years, the peasantry, after paying their rents, managed to get through the summer by their credit at the shop-keepers, but all credit was stopped as soon as it was known that the third season would see another failure of crops. The peasantry then borrowed money from the gombeen men or money-lenders and the pawnbrokers, to pay their rents. They were only in arrears one year. Whoever goes un-

paid, the landlord insists on his pound of flesh first. Now, some of these tenants had been in England harvesting and had earned money enough to pay even Boycott's rents, but if they had paid them they could not have paid the gombeen men and shop-keepers, and they would have been prosecuted by them. So they refused to pay the rent if no abatement was made. Boycott threatened them with evictions, but they left his office without paying the rent.

"Boycott issued the eviction papers, and hired a process-server and got eighteen constables to protect him. In Ireland, a constable is not a policeman but a soldier armed with a musket, buck-shot, and bayonet, and under military drill and orders. There are nearly twelve thousand of them in Ireland. The finest cottages and houses in the rural districts of Ireland are the head-quarters of these Irish mercenaries. This process-server served three writs on the women in three different cabins before the purpose of the expedition was known. Note my expression—on the women. In Ireland, if a shop-keeper or any one but a landlord issues a writ for debt, it must be served on the head of the family, but if the landlord is the creditor, the law says—as the landlords make the laws—that the writ may be served on the women, or if they can't be found or shut the door in the officer's face it may be nailed on the door, and recently, I see, it has been decided that the writ may be sent by mail. When this process-server reached the fourth cabin, the woman, a Mrs. Fitzmorris, told the process-server that she would lose her life before she would allow him to serve a process on her. She shouted and raised the signals."

REP.—"What do you mean by that?"

J. R.—"In some parts of the West of Ireland the peasantry have a secret code of signals. By waving a flag (you may call it petticoat if you like) of a certain color, the neighbors come to a



cabin to assist the signaling party, who thus signifies that he is in distress. If I remember rightly, the red flag means that the process-server has come. These signals caused all the women and girls in the neighborhood to assemble."

REP.—"Didn't the men come?"

J. R.—"Such of them as had returned from England. But the women wont allow the men to resist the process-server because they are sent to jail so long for doing so, and, besides, these women think they can take care of the process-server themselves. I saw one woman near Clare Morris, a pregnant woman, who was defending the hovel that sheltered her little family, who had a bayonet thrust into her breast by these loyal servants of a woman,—the richest woman in Europe,—the 'royal lady' who gave only one day's income to relieve these her starving subjects. Do you remember, when Haynau visited Barclay & Perkins's brewery, in London, about 1850, when the workmen found that he was the man who ordered Austrian women to be whipped for political offenses, that he was kicked out of the brewery, and that all England applauded? Is it worse to whip women than to bayonet them?"

REP.—"The men didn't fight?"

J. R.—"No; they looked on. The women gave cheers for the Earl of Erne (he had been a decent landlord before Boycott was his agent), and they gave cheers for the constables (who hate this work as a rule), and they gave groans for Boycott and the process-server. Suddenly they threw mud and manure and stones at him, and he ran off with the crowd of women after him—the constables vainly trying to protect him from the violence of the infuriated women."

REP.—"Why didn't they fire?"

J. R.—"They had no magistrate with them to read the riot act. The process-server was knocked down several times. There were a couple of hundred women and girls pursuing him, and they never halted until they

reached the boundary line of the parish.

"Boycott was furious. He went to Ballinrobe and secured a force of one hundred constables to protect the process-server next day, as it was the last day on which these writs could be issued if the cases were to be brought before the next session of the court. Next day the process-server refused to go, and nobody could be hired to take his place. The reason of his refusal was a visit from a woman of the parish of the Neale to his wife. This friend had told his wife that the women had found out that a process-server had no legal right to nail his writs on a cabin door, unless it was closed against him, nor to take in a constable unless he was resisted, and that they had determined to leave the doors partly open and not to fight him until he should enter, 'and, then, every woman of them 'll have a kettle of hot water handy, and fling it in his face.' Near Westport, last winter, I saw several cabin doors covered up with manure, and near Balla, last summer, I saw cabins all stoned up so as to prevent the process-server from nailing the writs on them. The family expected a visit from the process-server in the morning—he had been resisted in both instances the day before—and the people had slept out all night to be ready for a renewal of his efforts to evict them.

"'Captain' Boycott was now completely baffled, and he was wild with rage. He wrote a letter to the *London Times*, in which he said that his fences were destroyed, the gate of his demesne demolished, and his own life in danger, and that he was thus persecuted because he was a Protestant.

"Meanwhile, the people at the Neale assembled. Brass bands from Ballinrobe brought together all the people of the parish. There is a priest there greatly beloved by his people,—a man of resolute character and highly educated,—and, although he is naturally conservative, he has unbounded influence over every member of his con-



gregation, from the fact that he neither tolerates outrages by his parishioners on landlords, nor outrages on them by the landlords. He addressed the meeting, praised them for asserting their rights to their homes; but urged them, if the constables should come again in force, to offer them no resistance. It is Father John O'Malley.

"I was told by ——— (it would ruin him if I were to give his name) that, after Father John had left, he told the people about my prediction of the effects of a strike against landlords, in my Clare Morris speech, and advised them to try it on Boycott at once. The advice was taken. The men advised Boycott's herdsmen and car-drivers to strike, and the women advised Boycott's servant-girls to strike, and that evening every one of them left his house.

"Next morning, when Mrs. Boycott went to buy bread, the shop-keeper told her that, although *she* was a dacent woman, and they all liked *her*, yet the people couldn't stand that 'baste of a husband of hers any longer,' and she really couldn't sell them any more bread!

"The Boycotts had to send to Ballinrobe for provisions. They would not have been ostracized by the shop-keepers there, but for Boycott's letter. Every statement in that letter was a lie. I rode past Boycott's estate shortly after it was published, and his fences and gates were in perfect order, and if his life was in danger, it must have been in danger from the armed constables who were protecting his cowardly life night and day. It exasperated the people, and they issued a decree of social excommunication against him. No shop-keeper in Ballinrobe now dared to sell him a mouthful of anything to eat, nor a yard of anything to wear."

REP.—"If the shop-keeper had ventured to defy the decree, what would have become of him?"

J. R.—"He would have been ruined. Nobody would have crossed his threshold. Since I left the County Mayo, I

heard of one shop-keeper so rich that he thought he could defy the peasantry. He took a farm from which a poor tenant had been evicted. For three months nobody entered his shop. Whether this story is true or not,—I have no personal knowledge of it,—it is certain that this has been done in the West of Ireland.

"Boycott was isolated. He had to take care of his own cattle. His farm is of four hundred acres. As long ago as October 12, 1880, I wrote to the *Inter-Ocean* that the people were 'determined to drive him out of the county,' and you see they have done it, and that he admitted in New-York that no one could resist such excommunication."

REP.—"You call it sometimes isolation, sometimes excommunication, and sometimes Boycotting. How did the word Boycotting come into use?"

J. R.—"It was invented by Father John O'Malley about three days after the decree of social excommunication was issued against Boycott. Up to that time it had been called sometimes moral and sometimes social excommunication when ostracism was applied to a 'land-grabber,' as a man is called who takes a farm from which a tenant has been evicted. I was dining with Father John, at the Presbytery of the Neale, and he asked me why I was not eating.

"I said, 'I'm bothered about a word.'

"'What is it?' asked Father John.

"'Well,' I said, 'when the people ostracize a land-grabber we call it social excommunication, but we ought to have an entirely different word to signify ostracism applied to a landlord or a land-agent like Boycott. Ostracism wont do—the peasantry would not know the meaning of the word—and I can't think of any other.

"'No,' said Father John, 'ostracism wouldn't do.'

"He looked down, tapped his big forehead, and said:

"'How would it do to call it to Boycott him?'



"I was delighted and said, 'Tell your people to call it Boycotting, so that when the reporters come down from Dublin and London they will hear the word: use it yourself in the *Castlebar Telegraph*; I'm going to Dublin and will ask the young orators of the Land League to give it that name; I will use it in my correspondence, and between us we will make it as famous as the similar word "Lynching" in the United States.' Lynch was the name of a Virginia backwoods 'extra-judicial judge,' you know. Father John and I kept our compact; he was the first man who uttered the word and I the first who wrote it. But Father John is entitled to more credit than the mere christening of the policy. If he had not had so great an influence with his people, Boycott's conduct would have—I have not a bit of doubt of it—so exasperated the people that he would have met the fate of Feerick and Lord Montmorris, both of whom were killed within three miles of Boycott's farm, and both of them within a mile of constabulary stations. By his firmness and his popularity he 'held the fort' until Boycott quietly sneaked out of the parish, and this surrender inspired the people all over the West of Ireland with a faith in the policy of Boycotting that they had never had before and might never have held. To be perfectly just, Boycott is entitled to some credit himself; for even Father John's influence would have been powerless, I think—some compromise might have been made—if Captain Boycott had not been such an insolent tyrant, and hated by every man and woman in the neighborhood who ever had any dealings with him."

REP.—"Did the Earl of Erne get his rents?"

J. R.—"No. He had been popular before Boycott became his agent, and after Boycott was Boycotted—on the very next evening—the tenantry of the Earl assembled, every man of them, and sent him a letter, apologizing for their treatment of his agent, but stating

that they would hold no further communication with him, either officially or otherwise, and that they would never pay him a shilling, but that, as soon as they conveniently could do so, they would pay any other person whom the Earl should appoint to receive the rent. They said that they had come to this resolution because they were convinced that his agent had been prejudicing his lordship against them, and that for their own protection they had determined to refuse to have any further dealings with him.

"*'The majority of these people,'* said Father John,—I am now reading from a letter that I wrote on October 12, and that you published in the *Inter-Ocean*,—*'these tenants of the Earl, had been supported for nine months previously on charity. They got no help of any kind from the landlord. They attributed his neglect of them to 'Captain' Boycott. The Earl stood by his agent, and he has got no rent yet.*

"But Boycott's letter to the *London Times* had a great result. The English Government and the Irish landlords were paralyzed by this new policy. Although the *London Times*, in commenting on my Leenane speech, sneeringly said that the Government would 'know how to deal with this policy of passive resistance with which they were threatened,' it found that it did *not* know what to do about it—because no laws could force any man to deal with a shop-keeper whom he disliked, nor to speak to a man whom he hated. The blasphemous Boycott's suggestion that he was persecuted because he was a Protestant, gave the landlords a cue. They thought they could arouse the old feud between the Protestants and Catholics, by which England has been enabled to divide and ruin Ireland for two centuries. So, they called for subscriptions to organize what they termed a 'Relief Expedition'—to dig Boycott's potatoes. The Earl of Erne anonymously headed the subscription with £50. Money poured in from landlords. Fifty loafers from Fer-



managh were hired—these were heralded as champions of the Protestant faith. The scheme aroused only ridicule in Mayo, because Mayo is the most Catholic county in Ireland, and yet it elected Rev. Mr. Neilson, a Protestant preacher from Belfast, as one of its two representatives in Parliament. Erne owns 31,389 acres in Fermanagh, and only 2184 in Mayo.

“Seven regiments of soldiers were sent to protect the potato-diggers. Nobody would sell them anything to eat. The landlords had paid these men’s expenses and their wages. They went to Boycott and asked what they should do for something to eat? He said, in a surly tone, that he supposed they must eat some of the potatoes they were digging. You’ve heard of Irish hospitality? Boycott invented a new variety. He charged these men, his ‘rescuers,’ fourpence a stone for all the potatoes that they ate. He incurred the hatred of the troops and the constabulary by treating them with similar hospitality.

“It was published that it cost the British Government £5,000 sterling to dig £500 worth of potatoes, but I see that Captain Boycott says, preserving the same proportion, that he had only £350 sterling worth of potatoes; and that it cost the British Government £3,500 sterling to gather them. In fact it taught the people of the West of Ireland that, without bloodshed or outrage, they could successfully resist the aggressions of the landlord.

“So far from Father John O’Malley encouraging violence, as Boycott charges, he simply sanctioned the scheme of ostracism which is now called Boycottism, in order to secure the rights of the tenants, and prevent them from resorting to violence.

“The English Government has charged the expense to the County Mayo,—punishing every one alike, those who, in its opinion, were guilty and those who were innocent,—but as the landlords will exact as rent everything inside of the skin of the potato if

the British Government does not, it makes no practical difference to the people whether the Earl of Erne’s agent or John Bright’s associates vent their Dick Turpin spleen on the poor tenantry. If it costs the British Government £3,500 to dig £350 of potatoes, how much will it cost it to dig all the potatoes and cut down all the crops belonging to landlords in Ireland next harvest if the Land League advises a strike?

“Captain Boycott goes on to say that he has been made a scape-goat for the uprising against the agents because he was more prominent than the others. Translated into plain English, this means that he was more odious than the others, because he was the greatest tyrant in the West of Ireland, with the possible exception of Trench, the agent for Lansdowne, and Mr. Hussey. ‘No matter what the business of a peasant with Boycott might be,’—I am quoting the words of a gentleman of Ballinrobe as I wrote them down in short-hand at the time,—‘the poor man was sure to be cursed and abused by him. He did not treat them as human beings at all: he so exasperated them by his brutal tongue and conduct that when they got a chance they just rose against him as one man. But,’ he added, ‘Boycott is well tamed now!’

“I see that Captain Boycott says that the tenants have paid more money to their leaders than their rent would cost. The Land League has already reduced the rentals of Ireland, as I have already stated, some \$15,000,000 per annum. In a large number of cases, it has already brought the rental down to Griffith’s valuation, whereas last winter, when I was in the West of Ireland, every landlord who ‘only’ charged fifty per cent. over Griffith’s valuation was accounted a good landlord. The money contributed by the people of Ireland to the support of the Land League does not amount to probably more than one-thousandth part of the reduction made through the influence



of the Land League in the rentals of Ireland. There were not more than half a dozen men paid for their services by the Land League—at least while I was in Ireland—and they were men of education, who were content to receive the salaries of second-class clerks in Chicago. There is not one of them who could not have doubled or quadrupled his salary by returning to the business in which he was formerly engaged before entering the service of the Land League. The expenses of the Land League are occasioned by supporting tenants who have been arbitrarily evicted owing to an inability to pay rent after a year of famine, during six months of which they were supported by the credit of the shopkeepers, and during the other six months of which they were supported by the charity of America."

REP.—"Captain Boycott says that the average profits of the landlord at the existing rents have not been four per cent. of the value of the land, and yet he says that he thinks the average abatement of rents has been at least seventeen and a half per cent., and that some of the landlords have abated as much as twenty-five per cent. How do you reconcile these statements?"

J. R.—"My answer is that Captain Boycott, himself, was charging as rent more than any American farmer would give for the fee simple to the soil, and that when he says that the profits have been four per cent. on the value of the land, he ingeniously remembers to forget that ninety-nine-hundredths of the renting value of the land was created by the tenants by their own labor, at their own sole expense. For example, in this very parish of Neale, the land is mostly rock and the thinnest of thin soil, which can only be cultivated by incessant manuring and by spade tillage. Such land in Illinois could not be given away.

"The Earl of Erne, and other landlords for whom Boycott was agent, never spent any money on the improvement of their estates. They compelled their

tenants to make all the improvements themselves, and under Boycott's management, as fast as they created what he calls the 'value' of the lands, the rents were raised. The lands of the Earl of Erne, as nature made them, were not worth a shilling an acre, and the exorbitant rents that he was compelling the tenants to pay for them were a tax on their own industry. The best answer to Boycott's statement that he had never any trouble with his neighbors before Father John O'Malley's speech, is the fact that he was obliged to be attended by two constables for a long time before that date, and that after one of the rises of rent he speaks of he was very glad to escape with his life. I don't know any community in the Western States where he would not have been lynched years ago if he had been guilty of one-tenth part of the insolence and tyranny which were reported to me about him by his own tenants in the County Mayo; and yet the people in that county would die for any decent landlord. For example, while Boycott dare not return there, while Lord Sligo dare not live there, while Oranmore and Browne does not dare to live there, Thomas Tyghe and one or two landlords who live between Clare Morris and Boycott's house, a distance of less than ten miles, could raise a thousand men to protect them. They have no need whatever of police protection, while Rourke, another land-agent within three miles of Boycott's place, is obliged to go around with two constables guarding him whenever he leaves his home, and Feerick, another land-agent who imitated Boycott, was killed last spring within three miles of Captain Boycott's house. That part of the county is inhabited by Fenians, and, therefore, is not a safe country for a tyrant to live in. Yet nothing can exceed the loyalty and devotion of the Irish peasantry to any landlord who treats them decently."

REP.—"I notice that Captain Boycott says that he is in favor of such a



revision of the land laws as will secure to the tenant the value of his permanent improvements."

J. R.—"Boycott himself, ever since he was an agent in the West of Ireland, has taxed his tenantry to the full value of all the improvements they have made on them, and he has persistently opposed, as communism, any attempt to vest in the tenant the value of the improvement he has made. This declaration of Boycott is one of the strongest proofs that I have met of the beneficent influence of the Land League."

REP.—"Boycott further says in the New-York *Herald's* interview, that 'if the land bill of Gladstone should include the three F's, it would not materially improve the condition of the mass of the Irish people, because if they had the land for nothing it would not support them, as it is the sole ambition of an Irishman to get a portion of the land, or even a cow-house, as a homestead; that in mountain districts and on the western sea-board there are large populations gathered together in villages, composed of families having houses and from three to five acres of land, mostly of inferior quality, and they are all the time complaining that from the produce of these patches they are unable to support themselves. Now, how can a man reasonably expect,' he asks, 'to feed and clothe a wife, himself, and, perchance, half a dozen children on the produce of three, four, or even half a dozen acres? The fact is that all the trouble in Ireland is caused by the insane desire of the people to farm land at all hazards. The demand is greater than the supply, and that is all about it.' So says Captain Boycott; what say you, Mr. Redpath, to that?"

J. R.—"English writers, statisticians, and agricultural and political economists, have demonstrated that Ireland can support, with comfort, at least fifteen millions of people, while the population of Ireland to-day is, probably, not more than five millions. The County Mayo, for example, could sup-

port, in comfort, probably five times its present population. But it cannot support the present population, in comfort, when all the good land in the county—nine-tenths of the good land—is held by men like Lord Lucan and agents like Captain Boycott (by the by, his title of captain is a fraud; he is not a captain); by men who take all the good land as grazing farms and throw the poor people into bogs and barren mountain-sides. Remember that all of these good lands were reclaimed from sterility by the people themselves, and that when the famine of 1847 came they were driven from them, either into the grave or the poor-house, or into exile, when they failed to pay a single year's rent. What Boycott calls the insane desire of the people to farm is simply the instinct of self-preservation, because in the West of Ireland there are no manufactures and no industries, and no means by which the people can live, and it should be borne in mind that the manufactures of Ireland were prohibited by the British legislature for generations, and that since the repeal of these laws by the triumph of Catholic emancipation, when any companies undertake to carry on a manufactory in Ireland, outside of Belfast or the Protestant counties of Ulster, which are a part of the 'English garrison,' a combination of British manufacturers ruin them. That is the reason why I am urging the Irish in America to Boycott all British manufactures, and especially Irish linen, because these manufacturers, British and 'West Britons,' are the bitterest enemies of the Irish people, and leave them the land as their sole resource; while, at the same time, they encourage the landlords to confiscate without compensation all the improvements of this wretched peasantry, and to drive them from the farms. Ireland is too small a country to support three sets of feeders—vampires, namely, the landlords; leeches, namely, the land-agents; and the toilers, namely, the common people."



REP.—“Boycott was asked by the New-York *Herald* reporter ‘whether the land laws of Ireland will, in all important points, compare unfavorably with those in France, in England, and other countries, as affecting the interest of the tenant,’ and he answered, ‘certainly not; that the Irish tenant enjoys a greater freedom in dealing with his land than does his brother farmer in England; that, as a rule, no yearly tenant in Ireland is bound down as to how he shall crop and dispose of the products of his land, and that in England there is a hard and fast rule as to the routine of cropping, and what produce may be sold.’ What are your views on this subject, Mr. Redpath?”

J. R.—“The system of land tenure in the Protestant counties of Ireland and in England and Scotland is radically different from the system of land tenure in the West of Ireland. There is no grave injustice in an English landlord evicting his tenant when he is unable to pay his rent, because the landlord built the farm-house and the houses of the farm laborers, the barns, stables, fences, and, as a rule, at his own expense subsoiled and reclaimed the land, or else made an allowance to the tenant for so doing. Properly speaking, there are no peasantry in England. The farmers are capitalists, and employ laborers, who are the most degraded class of workingmen in all Europe, excepting, possibly, the serfs of Russia before their emancipation.

“The English and Scotch landlords live on their estates, and have a personal interest in their tenants, and, as a rule, they are indulgent to them; whereas most of the Irish landlords are either English absentees, or they live in remote parts of Ireland and know nothing whatever about the condition of their tenantry, while the land-agents are paid a percentage of the rents which they collect, and consequently have a selfish interest in squeezing the last penny from them. There is no parallel between the land system of Ireland and the rest of Europe to-day. Even

the late Russian serfs are infinitely better off than the peasantry of Ireland under Queen Victoria. The best proof that the misery of Ireland is caused by the land-tenure system is shown by the fact that since Hardenberg and Stein abolished the feudal system of land tenure in Germany,—and the same may be said of France,—the peasantry of those countries are now the most prosperous working people in Europe, whereas formerly they were as wretched as the Irish. Most of the erroneous and unjust judgments passed by the American press on the Irish Land League movement come from the belief that the Irish land system resembles the land system of America, England, and other civilized countries, whereas it is feudalism stripped of all the features that rendered feudalism tolerable. It represents the most grasping form of the commercial spirit. It recognizes no duty whatever on the part of the landlord. Many of the rents were so high that if the little holding raised a big crop of potatoes, and they should be sold at the highest market price, the amount obtained would not pay the rent.”

REP.—“Then how is the rent paid?”

J. R.—“The poor men have to leave their wives early in the spring and work all summer in England in order to make money enough to pay the landlords. Boycott conveniently forgot to say that those very tenants who Boycotted him were supported for nearly nine months last year by American charity.”

REP.—“Captain Boycott says that the only remedy for the Irish trouble is emigration. What do you say about that?”

J. R.—“I think he is right, and more than that, he is honest, for once, because he has set the example himself. Ireland will be prosperous just as soon as all the landlords and all the agents are forced to emigrate, and not till then.

“Captain Boycott’s other plan for the regeneration of Ireland is the intro-



duction of outside capital to carry on manufacturing industries. He says that there is no reason why Ireland should not have her own manufactories for glass, wool, and many other articles of domestic consumption. He attributes the fact that there are no such manufactories to the faults of the people, themselves; because, at the present time, no capitalist could be found to invest money in its disaffected condition. Why are the people disaffected? Landlordism is the cause of it, and English hatred of the Irish. The Irish who come to America fill our manufactories, and yet while they are well paid here—paid double what they would ever have expected to receive there—our manufactories flourish. Ireland has coal-beds, marble quarries, and vast mineral resources, but it has been utterly impossible for any capitalists to work them, owing to the exorbitant exactions of the landlords. Irish absentee landlordism blights every industry as well as the country itself."

REP.—"Captain Boycott says that he considers that the constabulary is thoroughly reliable, and that the Irish element in the British army would never betray their trust in the event of a rising of the people. Do you think so?"

J. R.—"Yes, I do! The constabulary are not policemen. They are armed and drilled soldiers; armed with muskets, buck-shot, and bayonets, and under military discipline, and whatever their sympathies may be, they are obliged to obey orders. Last year and this year, they have again and again bayoneted and shot down women, and when soldiers do that, they can be 'implicitly relied on' by any form of despotism. I, myself, saw a woman into whose breast a constable ran a bayonet for seeking to defend her own home. As far as the regular army goes, of course, they are trustworthy, because the English Government took special care to eliminate all Irish soldiers from the regiments sent into Ireland. They are all English and Scotch."

REP.—"Captain Boycott says that Parnell is a very good leading man, but denies that his programme has the adherence of the people at large; that the masses are with him, it is true, but that the intellect of the country is against him. How is that?"

J. R.—"I have always supposed that the masses of the people meant the people at large, and as for the 'intellect' of the country being against him, I never read in history of a single instance in which the owners of despotic power were not against the masses of the people."

REP.—"Why did the people cheer the constabulary, and yet maltreat the process-server? Were they not equally guilty?"

J. R.—"Because the people regard the constables as only doing their duty, however degrading that duty may be, while they execrate the process-servers because they are volunteers—they are not obliged by law to serve ejectment notices; they are only obliged to serve civil decrees."

REP.—"What proportion of the landlords in Mayo and Galway are absentees?"

J. R.—"Father John O'Malley told me that there are more absentees in Mayo than in Galway. 'In Galway,'\* he said, 'I should say that one-fourth are absentees; but in Mayo, fully one-half, on the average. Dillon, Sligo, Lucan, Erne, Cooper, Farmer, Farroll, Jameson, Kilmaine, De Clifford, and several others—all large landlords, owners of two-thirds of the County Mayo—are absentees. Nearly one-half of Galway is owned by absentees. Many of them never visit their estates at all, and have never seen them. In the parish of the Neale (where Boycott lived), there is not now, and there has not been for the last half-century, a single resident landlord.'

"I asked Father John whether this

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\* These quotations are from short-hand notes taken at the time, and subsequently revised by the priest.



absenteeism was owing to the reason assigned by the English press, that agrarian outrages made it impossible for the landlords to live on their estates. The priest said :

“For the last twenty-five years there has not been a single agrarian assassination, or an attempt at one, in this parish, either on landlords or their agents. Some of these landlords come over once in a while, for a few days, and never one of them has been, or pretended to be, in any danger.’”

REP.—“What is the condition of the peasantry of Ireland?”

J. R.—“I never yet saw a single cabin in the Southern States so wretched; I never met a slave so badly dressed; I never saw a slave so poorly fed—as three millions of the industrious people of Ireland are lodged, clothed, and fed to-day. Southern slavery, with the single exception,—and that was a very important exception,—of the right to sell vested in the slaveholder, was a system, infernal as it was, vastly superior to the system of Irish tenantry at this very hour. But I have my notes of a conversation with Father John O'Malley, in Boycott's own parish, and it is specific in its details. I will read them, only omitting my preliminary questions:

“‘As to their indolence,’ said Father John, “from my own experience of them, and from what I have heard from so many high authorities about the peasantry in other countries, I consider the Irish peasantry as the most industrious and hard-working race on the face of the earth. What do you think now that you have seen them at home?”

“‘With the sole exception of the Chinese,’ I answered, ‘I think they are not excelled in industry by any race in America, and that they are only equaled by the Germans.’

“‘Not only all over the West,’ continued Father John, ‘does the head of the family himself work, and his grown boys, and all the women, but even the youngest females, as soon as

they are able to do any work—not only in the house, but hard work in the fields, as you have seen everywhere. They are so industrious in their habits, and so soon are they set to work as children, that unless I make it a point to secure the attendance of the children at school between the ages of five and eleven, I might bid farewell to all hopes of teaching them at all. If the people did not work as incessantly as they do, how could they procure even the commonest sustenance for their large families after paying such exorbitant rents and taxes? From my experience and observation, all over this West of Ireland (and I have had a large experience, and seen most of it thoroughly), I can truly say that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, whenever you see any Irish peasant not at work it is simply because he can find nothing to do.

“‘Now, then, as to his improvidence,’ continued Father John, ‘why, Mr. Redpath, the very idea of charging these struggling peasants of Ireland with improvidence is cruel sarcasm. Let me tell you how the ordinary peasant lives. But, after all, I need not tell you how he lives—you have seen enough of it; but possibly you have had no opportunity to see how they are fed?’

“‘No, sir.’

“‘Well,’ said the priest, ‘let me give you the daily bill of fare of these peasant families: For breakfast, potatoes. If they are pretty comfortable, they have a little milk and butter with it. But, in the great majority of cases, they have nothing but the potatoes, or possibly a salt herring. The dinner and the supper are only a repetition of the breakfast. That is their bill of fare all the year round excepting at Easter and Christmas, when even the poorest try hard to get a few pounds of meat—generally “American meat.”

“‘You have seen everywhere that the clothing of the peasantry is made by themselves from the wool. They shear it, spin it, get it woven and dyed



themselves into flannel and frieze. "Frieze?" Frieze is home-made cloth. How *can* any people be more provident than people who live on the meanest diet that can support life, and who not only make their own clothing but make and dye the cloth itself?"

"Would you like some more?"

REP.—"Go on."

J. R.—"Well, let me read the rest of my report:

"Well, Father John, now as to intemperance—I am not asking for my own information, for I know the truth about it—how do you answer the statement that in Ireland, with all its poverty, there is so much consumption of alcoholic drinks?"

"In the first place," said Father John, "the amount consumed in Ireland is not all drunk by the peasantry, which the argument assumes. You must take away, in the first place, all that is consumed by the upper and middle classes, by the Government officials, and in strictly temperate families—for drinking in Ireland, as in England, is a universal social usage—and you must remember that the expensive wines and liquors are consumed by these classes. The poorer classes never drink any liquors that are costly. You must also deduct what is consumed by the working classes—by *all* classes—in the towns and cities, because no complaint has ever been made by Irish reformers about their poverty being *specially* caused by bad laws. They may be affected by an expensive form of government causing heavy taxes—but so are the laboring classes of England; and the Irish worker of the cities has also the additional wrong done him that English legislation destroyed Irish manufactures, while the land laws, by driving out the rural population, ruined all the minor home industries. But to keep strictly to the point, it is against the peasantry that this charge is made—for they are the only class whose grievances at this time are specifically championed. Now I assert, from my

personal knowledge and from the concurring testimony of hundreds of priests in different parts of Ireland—as well as by other trustworthy evidence—that, excepting on very rare occasions, such as a fair-day, the Irish peasant rarely drinks at all. On fair-days he does drink, because it is the custom of the country for the seller to treat the buyer to a drink after the sale of sheep or a cow. The charge that the Irish peasant is a constant drinker is a gross and cruel calumny. Of course, there are a few rash, foolish creatures who are an exception, but as a rule, the Irish peasant is temperate both from necessity and from religious influences. Drunkenness is exceedingly rare in rural Ireland."

REP.—"I see that Boycott says he came to America only on a visit, and he is going down to Virginia to see a friend in Amelia County."

J. R.—"Yes: 'birds of a feather.' I was asked by Father Corbett, of Clare Morris, if I could not have an absentee Irish landlord in Amelia County, Virginia, Boycotted! Little did I ever think that Boycott himself would go there! Father James gave me seven writs of ejectment that this Irish-Virginian had issued against some of the most famished peasants near Clare Morris. I gave them to Major Conyngham, editor of the *New-York Tablet*. They are brought by 'Murray Magregor Blacker, of Haw Branch, Amelia Court House, Virginia, U. S. A., against Thomas Mullee, of Kilcolman, for £6 6s. rent; against Michael Prendergast, of Kilcolman, for £7 10s.; against Patrick Nevin, of Cuilbeg, for £4 10s.; against Patrick Clarke, of Cuilbeg, for £3; against Martin Mudlany, of Lisnaborla, for £12 10s.; against Michael Flannigan, of Boherduff, for £7 10s., and against Thomas Mullee, of Boherduff, for £15 10s.'

"This man, Blacker, never gave a shilling for the relief of these tenants, who were kept out of their graves by foreign charity. Their lands are wretched holdings, and the rents are extortion-



ate, but 'Captain' Boycott's friend, Mr. Blacker, is as pitiless as his guest. Since the yellow fever met the 'cholera at New Orleans a few years since,

there has never been such an illustration of the law that like seeks like, as the meeting of Boycott and Blacker will be!"

## XIV.

### IRISH LANDLORDS AND IRISH LAND LEAGUERS.

[The Omaha (Nebraska) *Herald* of February 15 says: "James Redpath, journalist and the advocate of liberty, lectured at the Academy of Music last night under the auspices of the Irish Land League. The house was filled in spite of inclement weather with a most intelligent and eager audience. Mayor Chase presided and introduced the speaker, who was enthusiastically received. He is a forcible and magnetic speaker. A brief or hasty outline of his speech, which continued nearly three hours, can give but little idea of the graphic pictures that Mr. Redpath drew of Irish life, purity, and fortitude, as he had seen it last year. At the close of the speech, Mr. John Rush read a series of resolutions which were adopted, thanking Mr. Redpath, whom they termed 'the Lafayette of Irish Land Reform.' Rousing cheers were given for Parnell, Redpath, and Davitt. A dispatch was read from the Irish-American members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State, greeting and welcoming Mr. Redpath to Nebraska. In order to obtain his views more fully, a *Herald* reporter interviewed Mr. Redpath yesterday afternoon and was accorded a free expression from that gentleman:"]

REPORTER.—"What, in your opinion, will be the result of the present agitation in Ireland?"

MR. REDPATH.—"The establishment of peasant proprietorship. Of course I do not expect that this result will be reached at once. The landed proprietors will make a desperate struggle—first to resist any change in the present relations of landlord and tenant; then to make as few changes as possible; then to defeat peasant proprietorship. The struggle may last two or three years, but if the Irish peasantry stand firm, and are not provoked into insurrection, I have no doubt that, first, the London companies and all corporations will be forced by Parliament to sell; then that the absentees will have to let go their grip of the soil—and then the rest will be easy. There are only eight thousand landlords of all grades in Ireland, including owners of one acre, and also I believe including the holders of long leases; but two thousand out of these eight thousand hold more land than all the rest put together, and three thousand out of the eight thousand are absentees. They draw—these absentees—\$60,000,000

every year from Ireland, and do absolutely no service in return either to their tenants or to the country—except to slander the Irish people throughout the world, and to call for coercion laws."

REP.—"What do you mean by the London companies and the corporations?"

J. R.—"James the First confiscated six out of the thirty-two counties of Ireland and granted them to favorites and corporations. The Protestant Bishop of Ulster got forty-three thousand acres, Trinity College got thirty thousand acres, and the Trades-Unions of London got two hundred and ten thousand acres, on condition of planting them with English tenants and driving out the native inhabitants. The city of Derry, in the North, was granted to these companies, rebuilt and called Londonderry. Now these companies are all bad landlords. Corporations have no souls, as Blackstone says, to be damned, nor, he adds, the portion of the body that is kicked, but I think they will be kicked out of Ireland. I visited the estates of the Trinity College in the island of Valencia, and at



Cahirciveen, in the County Kerry, and I nowhere saw more horrible spectacles of human wretchedness."

REP.—"You mean their estates will be confiscated?"

J. R.—"No; they ought to be. But they may be purchased by the state and then sold to the tenants."

REP.—"Would not this be an unprecedented action?"

J. R.—"No; it was done in Belgium and in Germany within the present century—not from motives of philanthropy, but as a measure of safety to the state. It is only in Ireland that feudal landlordism exists. It does not exist in England or Scotland. In fact the Irish tenant-at-will is a serf of the soil, and even Russia has abolished that system. Irish landlordism is worse than feudalism,—I might almost say it is the opposite,—for a feudal lord had to feed, clothe, lodge, and protect his tenant in return for his service, while in Ireland the lord of the soil does nothing but starve him, clothe him in rags, pass penal and coercion laws against him, and defame him. These absentees care no more about their tenants than if they were beasts—less, in fact, because they do feed and keep their horses and cattle in prime order."

REP.—"Can you give the exact figures of Irish landlordism?"

J. R.—"Yes, 6,000 are small proprietors; 1,198 own from 2,000 to 5,000 acres each—in all one-sixth of the soil of Ireland; 185 own from 10,000 to 20,000 acres each; 90 own from 20,000 to 50,000 each; 24 own from 50,000 to 100,000, while 3 own over 100,000; over 36,000 own only one acre each. The Devon commission found—in 1844—681,000 farms exceeding one acre. In Connaught, several proprietors had over 100,000 acres each; while, out of 155,842 farms in that province, 100,254 had from one to four acres each. In 1871, the absentee proprietors owned 5,120,169 acres of the soil of Ireland."

REP.—"What is a tenant-at-will?"

J. R.—"A man who can be evicted at the will or caprice of the landlord and have all of his improvements confiscated. There are 682,237 tenants in Ireland. Now out of these, 626,628, or about 73 per cent., are tenants-at-will."

REP.—"Did not Gladstone's act of 1870 protect these tenants?"

J. R.—"It was intended to do so, but it has been a dead letter because the landlords conspired to defeat it, and every case between a landlord and tenant is tried before a court of landlords, and they always construe every doubt in favor of the landlord. The judiciary of Ireland is more corrupt, from Chief Justice May down, than the judiciary of New-York was under Boss Tweed's rule in New-York. The large farmers of the East were cheated out of their rights under the Gladstone act by being compelled to sign leases under which they waived all the rights intended to be conferred on them by the law of 1870, and in the West the tenants were too poor to fight the landlords, as law proceedings are not only tedious but excessively expensive."

REP.—"In the Queen's speech it was said that this law had been of great benefit to Ireland."

J. R.—"It was never enforced until last summer, when the Land League took up the cases brought before them and had them tried before the courts by their own lawyers."

REP.—"What is the quickest way to learn the truth about Ireland on this side of the Big Pond?"

J. R.—"Read what the English papers and books say about Ireland, and then believe the exact opposite. In nine cases out of ten, you will hit the mark by adopting this plan. Remember that all the cable dispatches are sent over here by the bitterest enemies of the Irish people—the most servile parasites of the Irish landlords and the British Government."

REP.—"Why doesn't Parnell go in and support Gladstone and the English liberals?"



J. R.—“Why, because as far as the Irish are concerned, there is no essential difference between English Tories and English liberals, or even English republicans. What the Irish want is the abolition of landlordism, that every tenant shall own the soil he tills, and that Ireland shall have home rule—which does not mean independence, but the same right that every State in this Union has, and every province in Canada has, and every colony in the Australian group has—the right to regulate its own local affairs. Gladstone and Bright believe that the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland should exist, but be modified—and they equally believe in the right of the English to govern the Irish. The Irish don’t want landlordism modified but abolished. The Irish don’t want the English to rule them but to rule themselves. No compromise is possible between these positions. They are inherently antagonistic. Besides, how do you expect Parnell and his party to support the so-called ‘liberal’ government when that same government has done its best to put him and his associates into jail? Would any party in America support a government that was trying to put its leaders into jail?”

REP.—“You don’t take any stock, then, in the liberal professions of the British Government?”

J. R.—“None. The British Government is the most cruel, the most corrupt, the most tyrannical government on this globe to-day, among nations that have even the semblance of liberty. When has it ever done justice, except under fear of compulsion? It grants home rule to Australia, because the Australians are so far away that they could throw off British trammels; it grants home rule to Canada, because Canada is so near the United States; and yet, when Ireland asks for home rule, England yells out that such a policy would be the ‘decomposition’ of the empire. It was forced by the philanthropic classes of England to abolish slavery in Jamaica, but it refused to

abolish there the curse which renders its amazing fertility of no service to its people—the same curse which blights Ireland—absentee proprietorship. No, England will do nothing for Ireland that is worth doing until it is worried into doing it. Parnell knows his people and his enemy, and he is taking the only course that is likely to succeed.”

REP.—“Do you think there will be an insurrection in Ireland?”

J. R.—“No, I hope not; it would only end in disaster at this time. The young Irish are well educated, and they know that it would please England if there was an insurrection, and they have no intention of gratifying her.”

REP.—“How often have you lectured, since you came from Ireland?”

J. R.—“About 60 times in 60 different cities, east, west, and south.”

REP.—“What is the feeling about Ireland?”

J. R.—“The Irish-Americans everywhere are enthusiastic over the Land League programme, and the Americans of the West are solid in their sympathy for the Irish people in this struggle; while in the East the vast majority of the Americans who care anything at all about Irish problems are pleased with it. England imagines that we have forgotten the *Alabama* and the English sneers against us during the late war; but she will find that we have better memories than she gives us the credit of. The Americans only want to understand this Irish land question to be, heart and soul, everywhere—as they are now nearly everywhere—in sympathy with the Land League movement.”

[In a letter describing the famous obstruction debate over the constabulary estimates in the English House of Commons, Mr. Redpath elaborates the same opinion expressed in this interview respecting English liberalism that he has everywhere advocated in America. He wrote:]

“I have lost faith in English Radicalism. The English Radical *thinks*



*in English*; he seems incapable of discussing Irish questions from the point of view of equality or even of justice; he is always arguing whether it is expedient for England to '*concede*' this right or that measure; and, if he has written an article or two in some London weekly or monthly, the English Radical regards himself as entitled to distinguished consideration from the Irish race. John Bright's speech was a corruscation of this sentiment. He did not deny, he said, his utterances in behalf of Ireland; he took not one of them back, but re-affirmed each one of them; he had been, and he was, a friend of Ireland, and of Irish aspirations. And having said all this—not in these words, but with elaborate skill—he asked, *what?* That the Irish members would kindly offer no obstacle against arming a force of twelve thousand constabulary with rifles and buckshot to shoot down the Irish people! There is no more need of an armed police in Ireland than in England—because, as every week's criminal calendar shows, there are fewer crimes committed, in proportion to population, in Ireland than in England.

“‘Call me brother!’ said the French Jacobins, ‘or I will kill thee!’

“‘I have called thee brother, Paddy,’ says Quaker Bright, ‘and now let me shoot thee.’

“‘I will not be the instrument of injustice,’ quoth Quaker Forster, ‘but I refuse to substitute batons for buckshot!’

“Buckshot Quakers, or British Liberals, or English republicans—they are all alike; there is no sense in trying to conciliate them. They must be fought with their own weapons. I trust that as soon as public opinion is so ripe in Ireland that the present time-serving Home Rulers and Liberals will be compelled to act under Mr. Parnell's lead, that, then, obstruction will be advanced one step further, and that Irish members will ‘interfere’ at *every* stage with *every* English measure, and introduce *every* reform bill, one by one, that *any* class of Englishmen demand—making themselves the organs and exponents of English disaffection, just in order to teach the English Government and the English ‘liberal’ members to attend to their own business, and let the Irish rule Ireland, or else showing them that the Irish will rule England through the machinery of her own self-enacted parliamentary rules.”

## XV.

## THE TRUE REMEDY.

[This is a speech by proxy. It was sent by Mr. Redpath to several Land League meetings, and read, in response to large numbers of invitations to speak, after the British press had denounced his addresses at Leenane and Clare Morris. "This letter," says the *Kerry Sentinel*, "was written in reply to an invitation to speak at a Land meeting, but our readers will find in it an exposition so thorough and masterly that we have little doubt it will call forth admiration even from many who may differ in some respects from the theories which it propounds. Only a few months ago, Mr. Redpath came to this country an utter stranger, having no knowledge of the country save, of course, that which one of his education and attainments must have gathered of it in the course of his reading. How prejudiced were the sources from which that information was in most instances derived, he himself has very truly described. But this extensive knowledge, his keen insight, and his long acquaintance with other nations and other peoples, enabled him to see at a glance the enormities of the system of legislation under which the Irish people battle for existence; and he required but to travel amongst them, to see their homes, and judge for himself of the evil effects of the system, when his most generous sympathies were enlisted on behalf of the people of Erin, and we say—truly say—of him that he is now *ipsis Hibernis, Hibernior*—more Irish than the Irish themselves." Here is the letter as read, only two sentences having been added to make the meaning more clear:]

*My dear Sir :*

IT would give me great pleasure to attend your meeting, but my duties elsewhere prevent me from accepting any more invitations to speak for the people—numerous and very cordial as these invitations are. The same duties prevent me from complying with the recommendations of the London and Dublin landlord press to return to America, nor to stand upon the order of my going, but to go at once—many and really sincere as these suggestions are. By priests, and leagues, and audiences in the West of Ireland I have been urged to speak, but in London, in Ulster, and in Dublin I find myself charged, both on public platforms and in the press, with "abusing the hospitality of the country" by having yielded to these requests. If I spoke again I should answer these toadies and parasites of the landlords; and perhaps you will read to your friends a summary of my reply to them?

What right has an American citizen to talk in Ireland on Irish politics? Because Americans believe that taxation without representation is tyranny; and because America is taxed every year to pay the rack-rents of the West of Ireland landlords; and because Amer-

ica, whenever there is a famine, is expected to pay the expense of saving tens of thousands of Irish tenants from starvation, although Mr. Gladstone has admitted that the property of the landlords is legally liable for this charge. As nearly as I can ascertain, more than half of the rents of the small holdings along the Atlantic coast of Ireland are paid by the exiled sons and daughters of their tillers, now in America. That is one reason why the landlords are so anxious to send out the young people—because their earnings enable the old folks at home to pay rents out of all proportion to the value of the produce that can be raised on their farms. When the landed Shylocks of Ireland cease to take half of their pound of flesh from America, then (and not till then) Americans will have no right to discuss the character of their exactions.

But consider the supreme arrogance of these cockneys and landlord parasites! The free people of Ireland are not to be permitted to invite any gentleman, traveling in their country, to address them, unless what he says shall be acceptable to the monarchical flunkies of London and the religious bigots of Belfast! As if *any* honest American *could* speak pleasant words



about the petty tyrants called landlords who rule Ireland! As if every American—Protestant, Catholic, Rationalist, Materialist, Spiritualist—without regard to religious belief or non-belief in religion—did not despise every form and phase of religious intolerance! Oh, yes! England is the “land of the free and the home of the brave”; but if any stranger tells the truth in Ireland—really, you know, “it’s outrageous, you know,” “pure Socialism, you know,”—and Lord Montmorris died of it,—although, to be sure, he lay stark and cold long before the “seditious language” was uttered! “Conscience makes cowards of us all,” and it is because the landlords know their own crimes that one feeble voice crying in the wilderness thus alarms them.

If I had the gift of eloquence, and could postpone other duties in America, I should never leave Ireland until I had addressed the people wherever they invited me—to pay back to England the great gift she made us, with the applause of her aristocracy, in sending George Thompson, one of her most brilliant orators, to denounce and help to destroy American slavery, before that twin monster of Irish landlordism died the death it merited. Our tyrants denounced him, as your tyrants denounced me; but John Bright applauded him across the Atlantic, and preached the same doctrine to us that Wendell Phillips preaches to you—“Destroy the evil. No compromise with it.” The English aristocracy sent money to help on our anti-slavery movement, and the American democracy will pay it back in contributions to help the anti-landlordism movement.

There is a perfect parallel between the development of the anti-slavery movement in America and the growth—albeit the more rapid growth—of the anti-landlordism movement in Ireland. If the parallel shall continue, judging from the past, you are threatened by three dangers—violence, disunion, and compromise.

The young men must be taught that

violence is not criminal only, but stupid; that this great reform must be accomplished by moral, social, and political agencies; and next, that patriotic projects never hinder, but always help each other; and that, although their methods may, and even *must* differ, they never can conflict.

It seems to me, as a friendly and impartial looker-on, that the Land League movement is Ireland’s last hope of saving her race and her nationality from an absorption which, however it might benefit other races and nations, would enable and force the coming historian to tell her story in one sad word—*failed*. For, until O’Connell rose, and after he fell, every patriotic movement has—*failed*. Irish hero-worship is the worship of unsuccess. Think of it: in 1,400 years, two men only have succeeded in their efforts until death overtook them—St. Patrick and Daniel O’Connell. I do not mention the military hero who rose on the ruin of the constitution of his country—for successes such as *his* have always proven to be more disastrous than defeats.

There is a new element in the Irish problem that makes further quarreling fatal. I mean *steam*. While Nationalists, Home Rulers, and Land Leaguers quarrel, young Ireland is buying tickets for America and Australia. It is union or death for old Ireland now.

But greater than the dangers from violence and dissensions is the danger of compromise. Already I see symptoms of this disease of politics. Already I see efforts made to discriminate between good landlords and bad landlords, and I hear pleas made for “perpetual leases,” or leases with “security of tenure.”

Let every leader who talks in this fashion suddenly find himself in the center of a silent solitude. Never denounce any man who has ever done—even one good act for Ireland—it would be ungracious and ungrateful to do so, and besides time is too precious to be wasted in dissensions; but let



every public man know that the one condition he *must* submit to, in leading even a single company of Irish tenants, is to keep afloat the oriflamb of "land for the people," of "free farms for free men," and not the pawn-broker's flag of long leases for peasant serfs, with security of tenure to landlords. This is not a petty scramble for cheap rents, but a grand crusade for free homes.

Rent is the whip with which usurers and usurpers have scourged the backs of the Irish people for centuries, and leases is only another name for lashes. *No compromise!* This crusade is not a Donnybrook Fair fight, to break the heads of the landlords, more or fewer, but a democratic uprising for the immediate and total abolition of landlordism in Ireland. It is not a mad riot against men, but a holy war against a system. The men are bad enough, but the system is worse, and the inherent and ineradicable fault of the system is that if the landlord is bad he can call on the whole power of the British empire to enforce his tyranny; whereas, if he is good, his kindness depends on personal caprice; it is not secured by law; and while his authority is hereditary, his benevolence may die with him.

Quacks had better leave this question to be dealt with by competent men. As high as the heavens are above the earth, it soars above the range of demagogues and politicians. Cromwell was merciless, Cromwell was bloody, but Cromwell was a great statesman as well as a great soldier, and he accomplished, by demoniac methods, his demoniac purpose. He meant to cripple the Irish, and he *did* cripple them for centuries.

As I said about social excommunication, I again say about the Cromwellian settlement: there is no reason why despotism should monopolize all the most effective methods of achievement. Cromwell drove the Irish into Connaught—*now* the Irish must return to the lands from which he expelled

them. Landlords and bullocks must go—to Connaught or England, as they please; but the rich midland and eastern counties of Ireland must cease to be grazing farms, and become the homes of the people of Ireland. The landlords have driven the people into the edges of wet bogs and up the slopes of stony mountains, and they have given the best lands to beasts. *Now*, the brutes must leave and make way for the people. To leave the people in the lands they now live on would be to perpetuate, not the curse of Cromwell only, but the crimes of the landlords for generations since he died.

I do not believe that any large proportion of the Irish landlords have equitable titles. I advanced this theory at Leenane—just to admonish my Lord Shylock that the pound of flesh theory is a dangerous one in law as well as in morals. I talked to a road-side full of peasants, but Shylock's howls were heard in every city of England and Scotland, and they even crossed the Channel to France and were reverberated in America. Now that this argument has served its purpose, I feel it due to my friends among the tenantry to say that England, without a revolution, would never accept it as a guide to action. If the people of Ireland are to be peacefully restored to their ancestral lands, the revolution must be accomplished by purchase.

But I do most earnestly protest against some of the propositions that have been advanced regarding purchase. Without referring to their authors—which might cause needless controversy—I hold that the true theory of purchase must first take cognizance only of the landlords' original possession, and carefully credit to the tenants' account all improvements made by him or by his predecessors. Griffith's valuation is often referred to by well-meaning men as a fair estimate, (on the average) of the letting price of farms. While it is quite unequal in certain sections—because Griffith had



to trust largely to subordinates—on the whole it is approximately correct, *if we utterly ignore the right of the workingman to any property in the improvements and reclamations made at his own sole expense*, and if we admit that the landlord is justly entitled to confiscate the value of these improvements and reclamations. Not otherwise—by the God of Justice, not otherwise! For Griffith's valuation was made (on the average) at thirty per cent. below "the full" or *highest* (that is the rack-rent) letting value of the farms; BUT this valuation was made on the holdings as they were when the valuator saw them, *not* as they were when the landlord let them. Why, if the tenant is to buy his farms, should he pay the landlord for *his own* improvements?

No race and no class of men were ever yet found just enough or good enough to have unchecked control over any other race or any other class. There is safety only in the government of all by all—security only when every man is the guardian of his own property and rights. The rights of peasants and the rights of landlords—that is to say, the prerogatives or demands of classes—must clear the way for the reign of the equal rights of all the people.

Quacks talk of the "impossibility" and "impracticability" of planting the people on free farms, or of inducing the British Government—a body of landlords—to "consent to a confiscation of the estates of the landlords." "The Government of England will *never* do it," they say, "without a revolution, and a revolution means bloodshed." Well, the British Government *can* do it, and it *has* done equally "impossible" tasks without bloodshed. When the British Government says *never*, history shows that (like Sir Joseph Porter of the *Pinafore*) it means "*hardly ever*." It once said that it would never grant Catholic Emancipation—but it did grant it. It said—this body of landlords—that it would never repeal the

Corn Laws—but it did repeal them. And, besides, the official Englishman cares quite as little for the interests of the Irish landlord as he cares for the demands of the Irish tenant. He did not hesitate to disestablish the Irish Church, although he was told that it would lead to the disestablishment of the English Church; and he will not hesitate to disestablish Irish landlordism, if he sees that it is for his interest to do so, even if it should be argued that it would end in the Nationalization of the Land of England.

To the average official Englishman, Irish tenants and Irish landlords are only rival nuisances that he would like to abate in any way that would restore quiet. "A plague on both your houses" is his normal opinion of both parties to the Irish Land War. Irish landlords are resting on a broken reed when they fancy that England will support them in their hour of need, if the people of Ireland refuse to yield to state force or to be seduced by state craft. England begins to see that it does not pay to tax herself to support a class of runaway landlords, to whom she gave the lands originally on condition that *they* should support *her*. When the English find that anything does not pay, its greatest moral prop is gone. And, of all unprofitable institutions to England, Irish landlordism is the chief.

The only "impracticable" and "impossible" idea in planting and transplanting the Irish people lies in the insane idea that this sick Ireland can be cured without abolishing her disease. That *is* impracticable. Landlordism must go, or Ireland must go. Ireland is going as fast as steam can carry her, and I hope there will be a *universal* exodus if any attempt is made to save the despicable despots of her soil. *Out with them!* Better that the whole Irish race should be merged in our composite nationality *in America*, than that the Irish race *in Ireland* should continue to remain a race of perpetual tax-payers to men who got

their lands by confiscation and by perjury, or because the forefathers of their present tenants refused to serve man rather than God, and become false to the faith in which they had been reared, and by which alone they hoped for the life everlasting.

Let it be repeated and repeated, and remembered and remembered, that if the tenant purchased his holding at Griffith's valuation, he would be paying sometimes double, and quite as often quadruple, the price to which the landlord would have been equitably entitled, *even if he had originally come honestly into the possession of his farm.*

Now, I often argued last winter, both in public and in private, that when the time came for universal purchase, in order to establish people's proprietorship, every landlord should be compelled to deduct from the amount to be otherwise paid to him, every shilling that he had received for rent over Griffith's valuation. The landlords pay their share of taxes on the basis of Griffith's valuation, and therefore they should be compelled to disgorge every shilling that they exacted from their tenants since that valuation was made. I am glad to see that a distinguished Catholic bishop has recently advocated the same doctrine. Its extreme moderation is seen from the fact that his lordship is content to ignore the ten-

ants' rights in his improvements, at the time when Griffith's valuation was made.

The next lion in the way of peasant proprietorship is the vast sum that would be needed "to buy out the landlords and pay them at once." Why should they be "paid at once"? Are they "paid at once" now? As soon as the Land League is strong enough, not all the power of England will make it possible for the landlords to be paid *at all!* A strike among the tenants in Ireland would be quite as effective as among the English workingmen; and all the power of the English Government does not dare to lay one finger on the trades-unions. The Queen might die at St. Helena if such an attempt to coerce the British worker should be seriously made.

If, after a careful examination, it shall be determined to compel the landlords to sell (I use the word compel for the sake of clearness, and because I mean it) at, say ten or fifteen years of Griffith's valuation, then—*after* the deductions of rack-renting shall have been made—the Government should simply guarantee the payment of ten or fifteen annual installments, holding the lands in its own name and absolute sovereignty until the full amount was paid. The installments would probably be about one-third of the present rents.

THE END.









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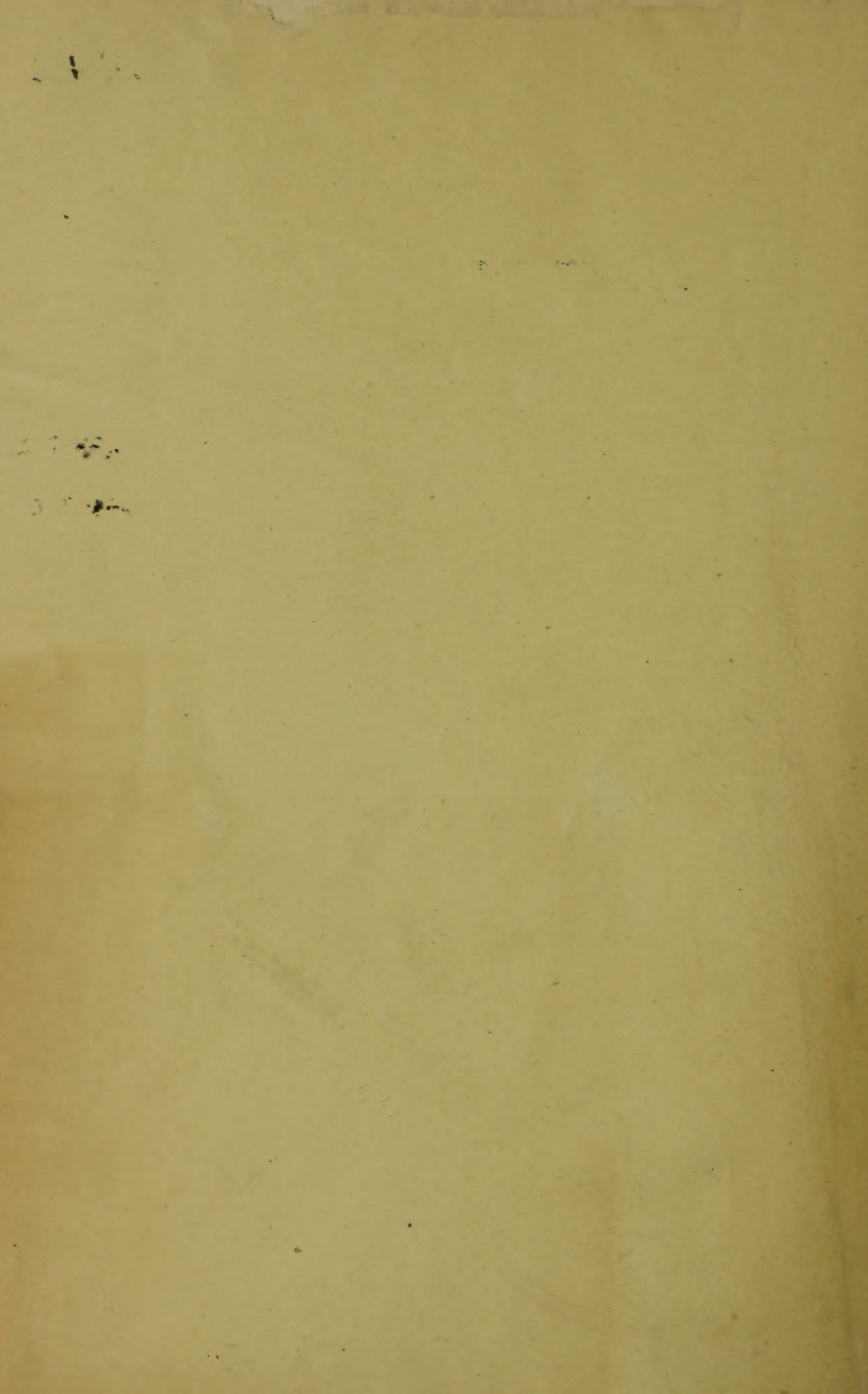






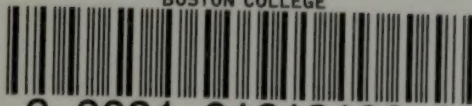








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